April 17, 1956

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear Virginius:

Here is the offending leaflet. We will withdraw it from circulation. I am sympathetic with the problems a man has.

For the record, our policy statement was adopted at the Board and Membership Meetings in November 1951. I don't suppose it got to you, but the project to draft it had been popping around for a year within SRC, and when it came out was published widely in the press, in New South, and in a special leaflet which we did ourselves. And the quotation on the gray leaflet was from your Saturday Evening Post article of November 8, 1952. Post hoc etc. not ergo. And you had been off the Board since January, 1951.

I have not seen "The Virginian", but we all suffer from outlandish accusations.

For a recent statement I cite the enclosed which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor for Sunday, March 10th.

The very next time I can get to Richmond I will come by and hope to find you there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. -

RECEIVED APR 7 1956

Richmond Times-Dispatch
MORNING · SUNDAY · EST. 1850
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

April 5, 1956.

TELEPHONE 7-1851

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

A crackpot sheet called "The Virginian", published in Newport News, with which you may be familiar, has taken out after me in its March issue, a copy of which has just come to my attention.

One of the key items in its assault is a quotation from me declaring that the Southern Regional Council is "the sanest, best-informed South-wide organization dealing with race relations." This quotation is presented check-by-jowl with a quotation from SRC saying that "The South of the Future, toward which our efforts are directed....is a South.....where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed."

The foregoing purports to come from a leaflet or literature circulated by SRC. I am skeptical concerning the truth of anything I see in the "Virginian", but if this is correct, I must ask that you discontinue using the "quote" from me, since I said or wrote it years ago, before the Council came out for integration. In fact, as you probably recall, when I was a director of the Council, I was one of those who were instrumental in preventing it from passing pro-integration resolutions, and it never did so during the period of my affiliation.

To keep the record straight, I have never thought, and do not now think that the South is ready for integration in the public schools. The uproar occasioned by the Supreme Court's decision, seems to me to bear out the correctness of that view.

So please "include me out" of your literature. Since the statement attributed to me was not made with a pro-integrationist connotation, it gives the reader an inaccurate impression. I'm sure you didn't intend it so, but such is the result--if "The Virginian" is correct in its statements on the point. It has some wild ones, about me and others, in the

same article, so I can't be sure whether this alleged quotation from SRC is accurate.

When are you coming this way? I'd like to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney

Virginius Dabney.

April 17, 1956

To: HCF

From: GSM

Yes, I think after brief further use of the gray leaflets we should withdraw them. Perhaps the right thing to do would be to seize to use it as soon as we can replace it, but a corrected edition.

I think the Hodding Carter one would stand up, and I don't expect him to withdraw it.

eab/

M E M O

April 9, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF HCF

SUBJECT: Virginius Dabney's letter

Obviously we will "include him out" of our literature. However, in defense of our good faith, the following points should be noted:

1. The quotation which in fact is carried in our promotion leaflet appeared in Dabney's Saturday Evening Post article of November 8, '52. This was a year after our policy statement on segregation was adopted. (Of course Dabney may not have known about our statement, but there was certainly nothing secretive about it, since it was widely publicized in the press, in New South, and in a special leaflet.)

2. True that Dabney had ceased to be a director of SRC when we adopted the policy. But of interest that he is identified in the note accompanying the Post article as a director. I assume that this unwarranted identification with us came from him; in any case, he did nothing to make us feel that he wanted to be disassociated from SRC's views.

3. You might want to send Dabney some recent public example of SRC's advocacy - perhaps the recent statement in the Christian Science Monitor. It wouldn't hurt him to know what he is repudiating so energetically.

Unfortunately we have on hand about 2,000 of the gray leaflets which carry the offending quotation. Should we scrap and reprint? (If so, I think we better leave Hodding Carter out too, since you never know).

June 27, 1956

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Virginius:

Here is the substitute new issue of our promotion leaflet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

June 29, 1956.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 7-1851

RECEIVED JUL 1 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

My best thanks to you for sending me the revised version of your promotion leaflet. It was thoughtful of you to send it to me. I hope I didn't give you a lot of trouble with this.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

July 7, 1956

Mr. A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Dent:

I passed on to Harold Fleming the matter you raised about the first edition of this leaflet. And it has been revised in a new do as enclosed.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl: "The Southern Regional Council: A brief account of its origins and aims"

November 4, 1948
Dict. November 1

Miss Anne Queen
Office of the Chaplain
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Miss Queen:

Thank you very much indeed for sending along your dues. We are particularly impoverished just now, so that $2.00 is a help and the expectation of a later check for our operating funds is especially appreciated.

I am to be in Athens the afternoon of Tuesday, November 16, for talks at 2:30 and 3:30 to Professor Pfuetze's philosophy classes. I will stop by Lustrat House and hope to see you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE CHAPLAIN
ATHENS, GEORGIA

October 25, 1948

B. DAVIE NAPIER
ANNE ELLEN QUEEN
DENNIS MCCALL BROWN

Lustrat House

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 18th and for the material which you enclosed. I am enclosing the membership blank with a check for membership dues. Later I will mail you a check contributing to the SRC operation funds.

When you are in Athens I shall be very glad to see you. My office is in Lustrat House on Main campus, next door to the Library.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Queen

AQ:gf

Anne Queen

Enclosure

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

29 - Q - Misc -
Queen, Anne

October 18, 1948

Miss Anne Ellen Queen
Office of the Chaplain
Lustrat House
The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Miss Queen:

We put out a good many things which might be useful to you. I send along a sample. There is also a price list—not because I want to bleed you of fifteen cents's, but because that is the handy way of listing what we have.

We are most anxious to have you as a member. In that way you would receive regularly everything we print in the future. The way to join is to turn over the leaflet with the tan map, fill out the blank on the back, and send us the $2.00 which membership costs.

I am occasionally in Athens, and hope I shall get acquainted with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Sending: Fleming pamphlet
"Honest Answer", May 1948 New South on Hospitals,
"Race and Suffrage...", "Housing in the South"

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE CHAPLAIN
ATHENS, GEORGIA

October 15, 1948

B. DAVIE NAPIER
ANNE ELLEN QUEEN
DENNIS MCCALL BROWN

Lustrat House

Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am writing to tell you about the new name of our religious organization here at Georgia. The VRA has now become the University of Georgia Religious Association. In view of our reorganization program I should be glad to receive any material describing your program which might help us with various programs in our Association. We would appreciate your placing our name on your mailing list.

Some time ago I was given an invitation to join the Council but was unable to do so because of lack of funds and my absence from the region. Now that I have returned to this region and do wish to join I am wondering if the invitation is still offered me. I would appreciate your writing me in this regard at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Queen

AQ:gf

Ann Queen

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

8

January 12, 1950

Miss Anne Queen
Chaplain's Office
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Miss Queen:

One of your friends named Wright Gellersteat sent us ten whole dollars today and said he had heard with his ears from you what a good outfit this Southern Regional Council was and wanted con-join to it.

The Secretary-Treasurer is thanking him. I am thanking you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Mis Q

May 3, 1950

Miss Anne Queen, Assistant Chaplain
Department of Religion
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Anne:

How very nice to find your kind letter when I got back to Atlanta. And $5.00 we think is a lot of money. Thank you a lot for it.

When the Board met April 22, they undertook to raise by June 1, $15,500, which is considerably short of enough to see us through the year, but still enough to make us feel fairly safe.

We have set an important meeting of the Finance Committee for the afternoon of May 9, and I could hardly get over to Athens in time to do you any good. Try me again, and I will get there for some later date. I suppose, though, now that means next Fall.

I do hope I will see you when I am in Athens this Friday. They said 2:30 at the Chapel.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

April 28, 1950

Miss Anne Queen, Assistant Chaplain
Department of Religion
The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Miss Queen:

Dr. Mitchell is out of the city for several days and will answer your letter when he returns.

In the meantime, please accept our thanks for your nice donation to the Council. It is ironic that you should learn of our financial difficulties while in the East. We do wish that more people here would take it upon themselves to help support the work that is going on their own region.

We do appreciate your cooperation and interest in our program.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

NH:jwh

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
ATHENS, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

April 27, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am delighted to hear that you are going to be over in Athens to speak to the Foreign Students' Conclave. We feel that you are so good that we are inviting you back to Athens on Tuesday, May 9th, to speak to the University of Georgia Religious Association at 7 o'clock. We should like very much for you and Alice to come over for dinner on Tuesday night if it is possible for you to come and if you are going to be in Atlanta at that time, please don't turn us down. We should like for you to do something which would be of significance as far as better informing the students as to what is going on in the South. If you don't do your speech on the Map of the South ~~and~~ or the Conclave, I would like to have you do it then.

I was very distressed while I was in the East to hear of the financial difficulties of the Southern Regional Council. I hope you have found some money by now. Enclosed is a check for $5.00 which is little but will help some, I trust. I have decided to give a part of what would ordinarily be called my tithe or contribution to the church to the council because I feel that you are doing an invaluable job in the South and if that source of information should be cut off now, I don't know what we would do.

Please give my regards to Alice and know how much we look forward to your coming.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Queen

Anne Queen
Assistant Chaplain

AQ:jsk

RECEIVED
APR 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

AIR MAIL

September 17, 1956

Mr. Martin Quigley
Fleishman-Hillard, Inc.
407 North Eighth Street
Saint Louis 1, Mo.

Dear Quig:

Your much appreciated invitation strengthens my conviction that I am gifted with a reverse Midas touch. Two years your epic is in the making and the premiere falls on the one date I can't possibly come! Unfortunately our Executive Committee is meeting to ponder grave matters next Friday and Saturday. Naturally this knocks George Mitchell out too.

My proxy will have to go to Ping Ferry and Frank Loescher, if he comes. I look forward to seeing the film when it is ready for the corn pone circuit. It couldn't come at a better time.

My best to you and the other local toilers.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
CC: Mr. W. H. Ferry

FLEISHMAN-HILLARD, INC.

407 NORTH EIGHTH STREET, SAINT LOUIS 1, CENTRAL 1-1733 *Public Relations*

September 12, 1956

Dear Harold:-

The film, two years in the making and with a cast of thousands in glorious black and white, is now in the can. We are going to have a private first showing of it here in St. Louis Friday morning, September 21, after which we will discuss its value, probable effectiveness and distribution plans.

Ping Ferry and possibly one or two others from the Fund are coming out, and we join them in hoping that you -- and, perhaps, Mr. Mitchell? will come out, too. The only other people we plan to have in for this session are the local toilers whom you met last time -- Virgil Border of the National Conference, Leo Bohanon of Urban League, Myron Schwartz of Jewish Community Relations, etc.

What with The Troubles in Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, etc., A City Decides is probably a more significant document than we had expected, but Significance, of course, is a two-edged sword.

Anyway, please let us know. Incidentally, you might carbon Ping in on your reply.

Yours,

Quig

Martin Quigley

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MQ:H

November 27, 1957

Mr. Martin Quigley
Fleishman-Hillard, Inc.
407 North Eighth Street
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Quig:

I greatly appreciated your report on the conversation with Hutchins, though it stunned me.

He couldn't be wronger, of course. We were told in advance last spring that any further grant to us would be terminal, but we never asked for it to be, Lord knows. And as for swaring off Yankee money...!

Obviously, I need to get Hutchins reoriented. Many thanks for letting me know how urgent the need is.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED NOV 21 1957

memo from MARTIN QUIGLEY

DearHarold:

I talked with Hutchins on the phone about something else, mentioning my concern about your present and future problems. He said: "My understanding is that they applied for and received a terminal grant." "You mean they applied for a grant and got a terminal grant," I said. "No," he said, "they decided that this Northern money was not doing them any good, that they would have to raise their funds in the South to be for the South. If this is not correct, please ask him to tell me what I should understand about this."

All best.

yrs.

Q

FLEISHMAN-HILLARD, INC.
407 NORTH EIGHTH STREET, SAINT LOUIS 1, MO. CENTRAL 1-1733

RECEIVED JUN 28 1957

QUAKER HOUSE
247 EAST FORTY EIGHTH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

26th June,

Dear Mr.Fleming,

I believe Frank Loescher has written to let you know that I shall be visiting Friends in Atlanta , Augusta, and High Point N.C. for the nextten days.

I am so sorry that I shall not have a chance to visit you, as I do not arrive until after office hours on the 28th. But, I do not leave until 11 o'clock on the Monday morning, and I will call you up before I am on my way to Augusta. I shall be staying with Phern Stanley at 525 Avery Street, Decatur.

The Friends will have planned some speaking engagements for me to talk about the U.N. and our work here, but I hope to have a little spare time. Ishould love to be invited to call at a negro home, and to visit a negro church. However I dont think there will be much time for this at Atlanta, and I had perhaps better see if Tartle Bell , the A.F.S.C. Sec. at High Point can arrange something.
I shall be at Augusta from 1st to 4th c/o ~~David Stanfield, 601 Springfield Rd~~
Faith Bertsche,2230 Edgewood St. Augusta.
5th to 10th c/o David Stanfield, 601 Springfield Rd. Then I have to return here again,

Yours sincerely

J E Brenda Bailey

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

File "Q" gen. corresp.

Mrs Ralph E Quick
110 Sweet Briar Lane
Louisville, Ky

Ten Yrs. of Prelude

Mailed
6/4/64
mmj

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MARTIN QUIGLEY
211 NORTH FOURTH STREET
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

OCTOBER 19 MEETING OKAY ASSUMING I CAN CONVENIENTLY MAKE 4:40 PM RETURN FLIGHT. REGARDS.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Resolved

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

NOT SENT

March 11, 1948

Mrs. Florence B. Widutis
Baldwin and Mermey
205 East Forty-second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Widutis:

We thought Resolved might be interested in some account of the effort by the Southern Regional Council to get wider understanding in the South of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Together with a number of church organizations and with cooperating sponsorship from a variety of civic, educational and labor groups in the South, we conducted in Atlanta on February 27 a well-attended Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights. Representatives from eleven states and over eighty communities in the South were present.

The Meeting examined with care the Report of the President's Committee and then, in four workshops, cast up recommendations for local action to get greater respect for the civil rights of the people of the South. These fell mainly into ~~motions~~ recommendations for improved police protection, jury service, free access to the ballot, free speech and equality of economic opportunity. The Meeting gave its approval to a number of proposed Federal laws in the field of civil rights and asked for ~~deliberate~~ diligent action in Southern communities. Those who attended will serve as leaders of local discussion groups later on.

Nancy G

The Council prepared a twenty-seven page digest of the Report of the President's Committee and issued a mimeographed edition of a pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights," reviewing the experience of the last few years on civil rights in the South. Either of these is available from the Council at ten cents each.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Resolved . . .

A NEWSLETTER DEVOTED TO THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AMONG CITIZEN-ORGANIZATIONS AS AN AID TO INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR PROGRAMS IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Editor: FLORENCE B. WIDUTIS *Published by*: BALDWIN AND MERMEY

205 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 4-4540

RECEIVED JAN 23 1948

January 1948

To Citizen-Organization Executives:

HENRY WALLACE'S DECISION TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT spotlights Progressive Citizens of America and the process through which a citizen-organization carries political action to its ultimate conclusion. Move was forecast before last election when PCA reorganized membership on a ward-precinct basis and trained workers in vote-getting techniques. Chicago Convention January 17-18 is expected to ratify action of PCA Executive Board in endorsing third party movement. At the same time, PCA denies intention of itself becoming a political party.

Statements on economic policy and foreign policy adopted by PCA last fall foreshadowed platform of new third party. Salient points on economic policy are: restoration of price control machinery and rollback of prices; rent control; rationing; action on Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill; reimposition of excess profits tax; public ownership of coal mines, railroads, electric power and the steel industry. In the field of foreign policy, PCA opposes Marshall Plan and the "contain Russia" approach; demands a World Reconstruction Fund operated through UN with no political strings, internationalization of the Ruhr, lowered tariffs and negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements.

YOUTH COUNCIL MOVEMENT will make citizen-organization headlines in 1948. A nationwide campaign to promote community youth councils is taking shape under sponsorship of the Youth Division of the National Social Welfare Assembly 134 E. 56th St., New York 22. Important campaign tool is Assembly's new film MAKE WAY FOR YOUTH (16mm., rental $3.50, Association Films, 347 Madison Ave., New York 17). Movie is based on Assembly's pamphlet YOUTH UNITED FOR A BETTER HOME TOWN (20¢). Discussion guide (4pp., free) was prepared for film by National Institute of Social Relations, 1244 20th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. National Institute's 18-page discussion guide HOW CAN YOUTH WORK FOR A BETTER COMMUNITY (10¢) deserves special mention.

A national council to service and coordinate local Jewish youth councils is in the making. The Jewish Center Division of the National Jewish Welfare Board, now giving guidance to over 150 local Jewish youth councils, has authorized its Jewish Youth Planning Commission to plan a conference (tentatively scheduled for Labor Day weekend 1948) for the purpose of discussing a new national council. Local Jewish youth councils are composed of representatives of YMHA, Zionist organizations, B'nai B'rith and Synagogue and Temple youth groups. Jewish youth councils play an active role in community-wide youth councils, says Meyer Bass, Director of Youth Service, NJWB.

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BROTHERHOOD WEEK has been set for February 22-29 by National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 4th Ave., New York 16. General Chairman for 1948 is Robert P. Patterson. Usual cooperation from citizen-groups will be forthcoming. Five national news reels will prepare editorial footage for movie theaters. Each of the four networks will produce a half hour radio show. The Advertising Council (11 W. 42nd St., New York 18) is making its radio allocations available for Brotherhood Week and will go all out on United America Campaign. Council's campaign guide, newspaper proof books, recorded radio spots, slide films for civic group discussions and community campaign kits will be distributed in January and February.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT, forecast last month, will take place February 2 and 3 in Washington, D.C. Sponsored by National Council for a Permanent FEPC (930 F St., N.W., Washington, D.C.), conference will bring together representatives of local FEPC councils and cooperating national labor, farm and citizen-organizations.

A SIGNIFICANT OPINION POLL ON SEGREGATION has been made by the American Jewish Congress, 1834 Broadway, New York 23. Replying to questionnaires were 517 psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists. Of these, 90.4% said racial or religious segregation has adverse effects on the segregated group; 82.8% said segregation has adverse effects on groups enforcing segregation. Experts from the South voted in same proportion as those from other sections of the country. Commission on Community Interrelations of the Congress will publish a complete report of the survey.

PROJECTED BOOKS FOR INVALIDS is an unusual educational technique and community service sponsored by the American Library Association and Lions International. A machine projects on the ceiling the pages of books photographed on microfilm. Method is designed for invalids unable to sit up or hold a book. About 500 adult and children's books are now available on film. Successful pilot projects sponsored by Michigan Lions Clubs (9283 Philip Ave., Detroit 4) and the Detroit and Ann Arbor Public Libraries launched new service.

STATE CITIZENS COUNCILS are intensifying action programs for state and community welfare.

Committee for Kentucky (506 S. 3rd St., Louisville 2) launched a new radio series December 21 called "The Kentucky People's Platform." A PEOPLE'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM developed by the Committee will go to the Kentucky Senate and House very shortly. The Committee is studying techniques of community development at a series of regional conferences: the first at Murray State Teachers College in October 1947, the second at Berea College in December, with more to come in 1948. James W. Armstrong, Director of Community Service, hopes to recruit leaders for community development in Kentucky. Watch for appearance of President Harry Schacter's book now in preparation for Harpers. It is based on his story of the Committee for Kentucky, "Kentucky Pulls Itself Up By Its Own Bootstraps."

New Connecticut Committee (902 Chapel St., New Haven 10) is, according to organizer and executive Secretary John DeWitt Norton, "struggling to be born." A research agency, it will sponsor and finance joint inquiries into problems of key importance to the state. "Connecticut's Stake in Foreign Trade" will be the subject of a conference January 24, bringing together at Yale University representatives of about 18 state-wide organizations. Discussion material prepared for conference shows what world trade means statistically to people who earn their living in Connecticut.

New York State Citizens' Council (601 E. Genesee St., Syracuse), in cooperation with local citizens' councils, is conducting a series of regional conferences on community planning, development and education. The State Council, under the directorship of Frederick T. Rope, teamed up with the Schenectady Citizens' Council to bring the first regional parley to the tri-city area November 15. Lively conferences followed in Utica, Buffalo and Johnson City. Featured topics were adult education, youth needs, intergroup relations, cooperation with government, effective land use, training of volunteers and organization of local councils. Fifth regional meeting will be held in White Plains February 4. Syracuse will be the site for the final conference.

Georgia Citizens Council (20 Ivy St., S.E., Atlanta 3) has completed plans for ten one-day regional leadership institutes in February. Dr. Grace Sloan Overton, eminent authority on youth, and Miss Juanita Luck of the U.S. Children's Bureau will guide adult youth leaders in coping more effectively with problems of young people. Institutes mark most recent development in an outstanding program of youth guidance, which is one aspect of the Council's broad community organization program.

AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE (300 B St., S.E., Washington 3, D.C.) plans broad program for American children in 1948. APC will press for passage of National School Health Services Bill, National School Lunch Program and federal aid to education. It will cooperate with National Citizens Council on Migrant Labor (RESOLVED December) to meet needs of migrant children.

A WORKING PLAN FOR POOLING RESOURCES has been announced by Community Chests and Councils (155 E. 44th St., New York 17) and National Social Welfare Assembly (134 E. 56th St., New York 22). Assembly came into being as result of successful operation of the National War Fund and the American War Community Services. Joint committees of Community Chests and Councils and the Assembly will be formed on national budgeting, citizen participation and field service cooperation. Advisory Committee on National Budgeting will review budgets of national and international social welfare organizations and develop quota plans for national appeals for funds. Committee on Field Service Cooperation will study improvement of field service techniques and arrange for exchange of information about local communities among field representatives of national organizations. Coming up in Washington January 26-27 is Assembly's National Conference on Social Welfare Needs.

AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA AND THE FAR EAST will get citizen-organization attention at a National Conference January 23-25 in New York City. Co-chairmen T. A. Bisson, W. E. B. DuBois and Stanley M. Isaacs called Conference. (Address: 111 W. 42nd St., New York 18) Sponsors include such individuals as C. B. Baldwin, Progressive Citizens of America; John W. Darr, Jr., United Christian Council for Democracy; Harold Ingalls, National Student YMCA; Jack R. McMichael, Methodist Federation for Social Action; Maud Russell, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Christine B. Smith, National Association of Colored Women; Annalee Stewart, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and Olive Van Horn, National YWCA. Representatives of all citizen-organizations are invited to attend either as official delegates or as unofficial observers. Conference will discuss and plan action on a program to achieve a democratic Far Eastern policy.

"TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS" WILL GO ON THE AIR IN 1948. A series of 13 "Lest We Forget" transcriptions based on the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights will be produced by the Institute of American Democracy, 415 Lexington Ave., New York 17. The Institute reports that its current series "The American Dream", de-

signed to help overcome prejudice, has already been broadcast over 400 stations. Some 800 stations broadcast the earlier series "These Great Americans."

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIMCROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING will hold a conference of citizen-organiation representatives in Washington February 5. Committee, organized by a group of prominent Americans, recently set up headquarters at 217 W. 125th St., New York 27. It is headed by Grant Reynolds and Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Committee will submit to the President and Congress a proposed non-discriminatory measure for the Armed Forces.

NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION FIRST ANNUAL AWARD for the "outstanding contribution through the science of planning to the betterment of American life" was presented in December to Marion H. Hedges, an officer of the AFL electrical workers union and founder of NPA. Mr. Hedges pioneered in planning for practical solutions to economic and social problems.

PUBLICATION OF LIST OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS by Attorney General Clark drew protests from American Civil Liberties Union and National Lawyers Guild and strong denials of charges by some citizen-groups on the list. The National Council of American Soviet Friendship and International Workers Order declared they would fight through the courts the imputation of their loyalty. Shocked denials came also from Armenian Progressive League of America, Council on African Affairs and Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. ACLU has asked President Truman to arrange hearings for the 78 blacklisted organizations.

Since March 1947 liberal citizen-organizations have been raising loud voices against denial of civil liberties in loyalty tests. Fifteen national groups including Americans for Democratic Action, American Veterans Committee, Committee of Catholics for Human Rights, Friends of Democracy, League for Industrial Democracy, Progressive Citizens of America and United Christian Council for Democracy have come out against loyalty order as now written. They demand that an accused federal employee be given a statement of charges against him, a fair hearing, representation by counsel and the right to cross examine witnesses. Support for the government's loyalty check comes from American Legion and Kiwanis International. Few other citizen-groups have taken an official stand.

Florence B. Widutis
Editor

Information in RESOLVED is derived primarily from publications, news releases and action programs of national and state citizen-organizations, and secondarily from the press and periodicals and from direct contacts of the Editor and the Publishers with group leaders and public officials. The Editorial Advisory Committee studies copy for each issue in advance of publication and guards the selection and treatment of material against bias or commercialism. The final form of all material which appears is the responsibility of the Editor and the Publishers.

Publication of RESOLVED has been undertaken by Baldwin and Mermey to fill a long felt need for regular interchange of news among citizen-organizations and to help advance better understanding and cooperation between these organizations and the business world from both of which this firm, as public relations counsel, draws its clients.

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Florence Anderson (Carnegie Corporation of New York), Roger N. Baldwin (American Civil Liberties Union), Persia Campbell (National Association of Consumers), Clifford Carey (National Council of the YMCA's), Thomas R. Carskadon (Twentieth Century Fund), Lucile W. Heming (League of Women Voters of the U. S.), Read Lewis (Common Council for American Unity), Mildred Mathews (American Library Association), Caroline Meyer (Cooperative League of the USA), Virginia D. Parker (Secretary, Program Information Exchange), Guichard Parris (National Urban League).

Ro -
Rotar -

March 11, 1948

Mr. Manuel Hahn, Head
Magazine Service Section
THE ROTARIAN
35 East Wacker Drive
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hahn:

It was very kind indeed of you to send us a copy of Mr. Eleazer's article, "Goodwill on Guard!," in the March, 1948 issue of THE ROTARIAN. It is a fine little article, done by a very useful, accurate and helpful man.

The work of our Council here in Atlanta will benefit greatly by the generous mention of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

LELAND D. CASE, Editor
PAUL TEETOR, Business & Advertising Manager

Ro-
Rotarian

THE Rotarian

Official Magazine of Rotary International

35 EAST WACKER DRIVE Chicago 1, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

March 3, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We thought you would be interested in the article "Goodwill on Guard!" appearing in the March issue of THE ROTARIAN. This feature explains how a rather humorous incident averted a race riot in one instance. Tear sheets are enclosed.

Cordially yours,

Mannel Hahn

Mannel Hahn
Head, Magazine Service Section
lv

See Race Relations material file

Ro - Rural Life + Education Conference

March 19, 1948

Dr.
~~Miss~~ Shirley Cooper, Assistant Director
Rural Service
National Education Association
of the United States
1201 Sixteenth Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear ~~Miss~~ Dr. Cooper:

Thank you for notifying me of the Greenville meeting on May 6, 7 and 8. I shall be on hand to represent the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES
1201 SIXTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

March 15, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
National Farmers Union
410 Law Building,
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Third Rural Life and Education Conference for the states of the South Atlantic Region is being held at Greenville, South Carolina, May 6, 7 and 8. This conference is sponsored by the Department of Rural Education of the N.E.A. and state departments of education in the states of the South Atlantic Region. Its chief purpose is to further cooperative educational planning between lay groups and professional school people.

This is one of a series of conferences which have reached all parts of the country during the past three years. Our experience leads us to believe that they have made a very important contribution toward the improvement of education, particularly in small communities.

We are very anxious to have you attend the Greenville Conference and participate in the program. For your convenience we are enclosing a brief general description of the program and information regarding hotel accommodations.

We will appreciate having an early reply from you indicating you will attend this conference. If circumstances prevent you from coming we will be glad to have you send some other person. We do want your organization to be represented in this meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Shirley Cooper

Shirley Cooper
Assistant Director
Rural Service

SC:JS

Rural Life and Education Conference for the
South Atlantic Region
Greenville, South Carolina, May 6, 7, 8, 1948

The third Rural Life and Education Conference for the States of the South Atlantic Region will be held at Greenville, South Carolina, May 6, 7, and 8. This conference will be attended by professional educators; leaders of social, civic, business, religious and farm organizations that serve rural communities and representatives of rural youth groups from Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

Verd Peterson, member of the South Carolina State Department of Education and chairman of the program committee has announced that the program of the conference will be organized around the general theme, "What is Right for Rural Life and Education." An outstanding feature of the conference will be an opportunity for members of the group to spend a half day in a meeting with pupils, parents, and teachers in the rural school districts near Greenville, where they will study such elements of community educational programs as freezer-locker plants, sweet potato curing sheds, community cooperatives, meat cutting and curing plants, farm shops, canneries, soil conservation programs, adult education and programs of health services. This is a rare opportunity for getting first hand information regarding the way people in rural communities have united their efforts and made good use of every resource available in providing a broad type of educational program adapted to their needs. T. M. Verdin, Superintendent of the Mauldin School, is making arrangements for these group meetings in rural communities. Provisions will be made for transportation from the city of Greenville out to these rural communities at a small cost.

The Greenville Chamber of Commerce is cooperating with the conference program committee in arranging accommodations for the conference meetings and for entertaining visitors from outside the city. The three leading hotels of Greenville have scheduled the dates of the conference in order that other conferences or conventions may not conflict. For your information the rates at these hotels are listed.

Hotel Greenville

Single Room.....$3.50 to $4.00
Double Room.....$6.50 to $8.00

Ottaray Hotel

Single Room.....$3.00 to $3.50
Double Room.....$4.50 to $5.50

Poinsett Hotel

Single Room.....$3.50 to $6.00
Double Room.....$5.50 to $9.00

A limited number of private home accommodations, without meals, may be available to anyone desiring this type of accommodation. Prices concerning these facilities are not available. Persons desiring private home accommodations in rural or city homes are requested to contact R. H. Martin, Agricultural Teacher, Greenville Senior High School, Greenville, S. C. Reservations at the various hotels must be made direct with the hotel of your choice. Persons planning to attend this conference are urged to make their reservations at the earliest possible date.

B - Misc -
Reese, R. H.

April 14, 1948

Mr. R. H. Reese, General Secretary
Daytona Beach Young Men's Christian Association
115 Second Avenue
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Reese:

Dr. Mitchell asked me to send you the enclosed matte, which I believe you requested for use in connection with his speech to the Daytona Beach Young Men's Christian Association on April 26.

Sincerely yours,

E Brietz

Secretary to
George S. Mitchell

Enclosure: Matte (GSM)

R — Raymond

April 14, 1948

Miss Mary Raymond
211 Camp Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Miss Raymond:

Here is a copy of the letter I wrote Glick.

Do please bear in mind that the Southern Regional Council would appreciate some opportunity to cultivate for membership in it people who are working with the New Orleans Council on Race Relations.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: Cy ltr to Prof. Clarence Glick,
GSM:eb Tulane University, sgd GSMitchell,
dtd 14Apr48

SRC ~~Members~~
~~Correspondence~~ -
~~Randolph A. Philip~~
R - Misc
Randolph

April 22, 1948

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street, Room 301
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

We are very grateful indeed for your most kind contribution through Mr. Paul Williams to the work of the Southern Regional Council.

We appreciate the money and we appreciate the evidence of support from you personally and from the Brotherhood.

We have enrolled you as an associate member of the Council, and our various publications will begin to be mailed to you.

Mrs. McRoy

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1ST INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
3456-58 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BENNIE SMITH
2ND INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1308 BROADWAY, ROOM 305
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

TRAIN, CHAIR CAR, COACH PORTERS & ATTENDANTS
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
AFFILIATED WITH THE A. F. OF L.

217 WEST 125TH STREET
(ROOM 301)
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO 2-5080 - 1
NIGHTS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS
UNIVERSITY 4-8262

440

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

E. J. BRADLEY
3RD INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
11 NORTH JEFFERSON STREET
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

C. L. DELLUMS
4TH INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1716 SEVENTH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

R-Misc, Randolph

March 26, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Va.

Dear Mr. Williams:

Just a word to congratulate you upon the splendid work you are doing for civil rights in the South. I think the recent conference held in Atlanta composed of various organizations was significant and farreaching. It is bound to bear fruit. I am enclosing ten dollars ($10) for the cause.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:ha

y.m.i. c.r.l. gry

May 7, 1948

Mr. Grover Hathaway, District Director
United Packinghouse Workers of America
75 Ivy Street, NE
A tlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Brother Hathaway:

Here is a small contribution from me personnaly for the packinghouse workers on strike.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Enclosure $10 in cash

GSM:eb

Georgia Workers Education Service
353 COURTLAND ST., N. E. WALNUT 1961
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
APR 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

April 27, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director, Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As you have kindly offered to assist in raising funds for the Packinghouse Workers who are on strike, we are providing you with the enclosed background information to use in soliciting money from individuals and organizations. As we must work fast, it is suggested that (1) you appear before any organization who might be holding a meeting to make a fund appeal (2) you write letters, or (3) call acquaintances who might contribute.

The funds are to be used for paying for essentials: food for the families of striking employees, utilities and rents where necessary. As the workers have been on strike for seven weeks without incomes, the need is great and immediate.

The enclosed materials will provide information on the fabulous profits of the packers contrasted to the low wages and unpleasant working conditions. The basic argument to use in appealing for funds is that hunger should not be a weapon in an industrial dispute; that the issues should be settled by equal bargaining across the table. If hunger breaks the morale of the people and they are driven back, it will not only discourage the workers but will weaken unions as a force in controlling monopoly industry. It should not be necessary, therefore, to convince organizations and individuals that the union is a hundred percent right but that they are supporting the principle of collective bargaining.

Funds collected may be turned in to the GWES office or may be sent to Mr. Grover Hathaway, District Director, United Packinghouse Workers of America, 75 Ivy Street, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. Checks should be made payable to United Packinghouse Workers of America.

Very sincerely yours,

John W. Piercey

John W. Piercey
Field Program Leader

JWP:rha
Enclosures

Listen Mr. and Mrs. Public:

Here's Why a Meat Packing Strike...

"If you want to know more about our strike, come around our union headquarters and talk it over with some of the men and women who work in the packing plants."

"WONDER WHY some 100,000 packinghouse workers are out on strike? That's simple to explain. We just couldn't make enough money to get along. The companies say that everything is just fine, but they wouldn't give us a raise that would amount to anything. I wonder how they think we can get along on our wages."

FACT 1 More than two-thirds of the packinghouse workers earn wage rates less than $1.10 an hour. One-third of these workers earn rates of $1.02 or less. A government survey showed that a worker needs $1.39 an hour to provide at a **minimum** level for a family with one child. Many packinghouse workers have families with more than one child.

FACT 2 The packinghouse workers, through our union, have been negotiating with the packing companies for more than three months trying to get a wage increase which would mean something toward providing better living conditions for our families. The packers refused to offer more than nine cents which they said was "enough." Our day-to-day living expenses tell a different story.

FACT 3 In the past year, the Big Four packers—Armour, Cudahy, Swift, Wilson—earned operating profits of more than $144 million. This is an increase of over 442 per cent since 1939, or nearly 130 per cent above their wartime peak of 1945. . . . As for return on investment (net worth), the packing companies earnings averaged 24½ per cent for 1947.

FACT 4 The packers can pay higher wages without increasing meat prices for the consumer or reducing livestock prices for the farmer. . . Total wages for the production workers—that is the men and women who kill, cut and pack the meat—amount to less than 8 cents of each dollar in sales . . . Balance this up with the high profits and you easily see that better wages do not require higher prices.

FACT 5 Our union accepted a government proposal to prevent a strike by arbitrating the wage dispute, but the packers refused to go along . . . The union is confident that the cause of the packinghouse workers is just and correct. The packers are not willing to have any neutral person or agency judge whether their position is right.

Your friends and neighbors affiliated with...

The United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO.

ON THE BEAM

SEC. 562, P. L. & R.
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
CHICAGO, ILL.
Permit No. 6746

WITH UPWA-CIO SHOP STEWARDS AND OFFICERS

Postmaster: If addressee has moved, notify sender on form 3547.

Vol. I, No. 7 | Prepared by Organization Dept., United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO. Frank Ellis, Director. Room 515 Engineering Bldg., 205 W. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill. | March 29, 1948

THE INJUNCTION - LAW BY DECREE!

Anti-labor injunctions are now flying thick and fast. In many of our strike centers the packers have opened up a full scale attack intended to crack our strike and smash our organization. Their tactic is to steamroller the picket line with an injunction backed up by the sheriff's deputies, the police and the jails. Then they hope to confuse the strikers with a mass of lies, rumors, threats and promises. They top it off with a big announcement in the press, the radio or through the mails that the plant is in operation and everyone had better hurry back in or lose his job.

The anti-picketing injunction is the key to this whole strike-breaking campaign. If it fails to work they have a still more potent injunction to reach for -- a Taft-Hartley injunction!

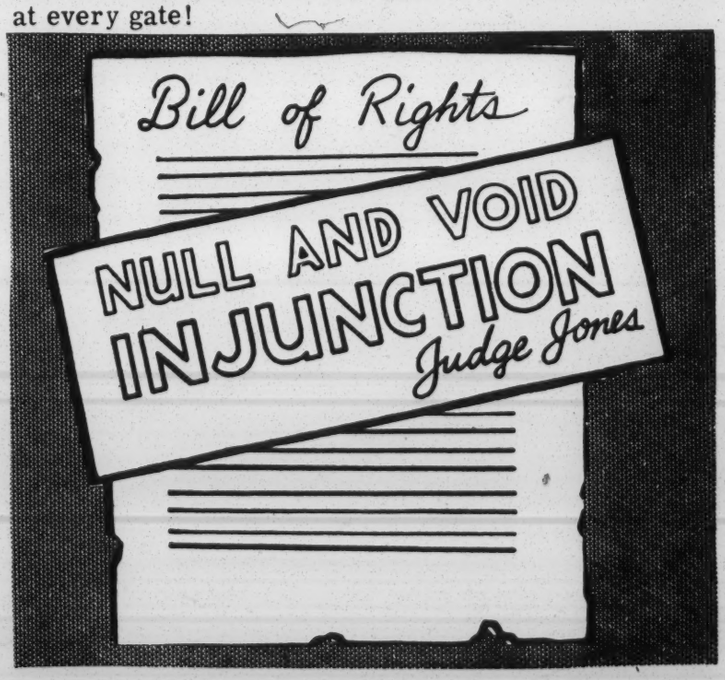
What is an injunction? It is the historic weapon that anti-labor employers have turned to throughout history. It is the employers' way of securing the services of the government itself to act as strike breaker. What happens is just this:

An employer who can't break a strike himself goes to a friendly judge. He tells the judge that the strike is hurting his business and he wants that picket line out of the way. The judge then signs his name on a court order which the company lawyer has prepared for him. Then, here come the deputies and the cops to club the pickets, arrest and jail them and generally intimidate the strikers. Does there have to be a law broken before an injunction is issued? Not at all. The judge simply tells you to stop whatever you are doing that he doesn't like, whether it is against the law or not. He actually has passed a law against us all by himself!

The judge doesn't even have to give us a chance to appear in court and argue against the order. Often he dictates his personal law in the middle of the night without any notice. Can you appeal? Yes, you can appeal to higher courts to have the injunction set aside, but weeks may pass in the legal rigamarole, Meanwhile, you are still forced to abide by the judge's order or take your chances on going to jail for contempt of court! And all the while you are appealing, scabs may be in there helping the Boss break the strike!

These dictatorial anti-picketing injunctions are weapons of the employer. That is true. But there is just this one thing about them. They won't cut a pound of meat or push a single truck. There is no injunction that can be issued to turn policemen into hog butchers!

Our answer to this rash of anti-picketing injunctions that has broken out all over the country is to renew and reaffirm our loyalty and solidarity with one another. The packinghouse workers are still on strike whether some county judge likes it or not. They are still not to scab on themselves and their organization whether there is one picket on the gate or a hundred pickets at every gate!



9 CENTS "NOT ENOUGH" FO

3000 BUTCHERS SET TO STRIKE FRIDAY

A strike of 3,000 butchers is to start on Friday morning in 2,000 shops, including some major chain stores, in Brooklyn, Queens, Nassau, Suffolk and Richmond counties.

The strike action was voted last night by the contract and negotiating committee of Local 342, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union, after, a spokesman said, negotiations with owners had broken down. Describing the projected work stoppage as the first general meat cutter's strike in the area since the union was organized in 1902, Max Block, president, said kosher shops would not be affected.

The union is demanding a $70 minimum for a five-day, forty-five-hour week, a welfare fund payment of $2 per week per employee and two weeks' vacation after two years. Block said butchers now average $62.50 for a forty-eight hour, five and a half day week and get two weeks' vacation after three years. At a union meeting last month the committee was empowered to take any action deemed necessary.

46 Groceries In Marin Reopen

Forty-six Marin County groceries, closed as a result of a contract dispute with their AFL clerks, reopened today with management personnel manning the counters.

Picket lines failed to appear when the stores first opened their doors. Union officials declined to say whether the stores would be picketed later in the day, although they have threatened such action.

Fifty-seven groceries have been closed by the dispute. Eleven of these are members of the Safeway, Purity and Green Frog organizations and will not reopen, employers' spokesmen said.

The meetings ended in an impasse when the employers stood pat on a 48 hour week.

The clerks are demanding a reduction in the work week from 48 to 40 hours and a raise in pay from $56 to $65 a week. The employers have offered $65 for a 48 hour week.

AMOUNT OF WAGE
BY AMALGAMATE
AND BUTCHER
FOR THEIR MEMBERS

(Period- late 19

Los Angeles	20¢ pe
Sioux City	17 1/2
Des Moines	23 1/2
Boston	16 1/2
Minneapolis	13 1/2
St Paul	15 1/2
Kansas City	21 1/2
Omaha	14 1/2
Oklahoma City	17 1/2
Philadelphia	17 1/2
Milwaukee	17¢

Butchers Approve Pacts with 3 Firms

Agreements Call for $5 to $8 Pay Boosts

Agreements between members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen of North America, AFL, and three chain grocery companies have been reached, it was announced today.

The agreements call for a $5 across-the-board increase, back to the minimum $70 for the Food Fair Stores, Inc., and Baltimore Market. The pact with the Atlantic and Pacific Food Stores covers 550 Food Fair employes was ratified last night at a meeting of the union attended by local representatives and members from Easton, Allentown, Trenton, Wilmington, Atlantic City, Lebanon and Reading.

In a vote held Friday, members of the union voted 592 to 6 in favor of the maintainence of a union shop for 610 employes of 115 stores of the A & P stores in Pennsylvania, Delaware and South Jersey.

The Baltimore Market pact affects 750 employes. All of the agreements are expected to be signed within the next few days, company and union officials said.

St. Louis Butchers Voting on Strike

ST. LOUIS, Nov. 9.—(INS)—AFL Union butchers of St. Louis voted today on calling a strike against 155 retail food stores.

PAY PACT WITH MILGRAM

Butchers Are to Report for Work This Morning

An agreement on wages and working conditions was reached last night by negotiators for Milgram Food Stores, Inc., and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen union, local No. 576, A. F. L.

Howard Root, business agent for the union, and Harold L. Audsley, labor negotiator for the Milgram stores, said they had reached agreement and that the sixty-two butchers employed in thirteen Milgram stores here would return to work at the regular time this morning.

The cancelled orders issued earlier for meeting of Milgram butchers this morning.

No change in the situation in independent grocery stores was reported. A few store owners signed new contracts yesterday, calling for a $10 a week increase, it was said. Butchers did not report for work in independent stores Monday morning and remained away Tuesday and yesterday.

The Milgram butchers were absent from work Tuesday and yesterday. The union had asked a $10-a-week wage increase and the company had countered with an offer of more than $6.40 a week.

The three other major companies are continuing negotiations with the union.

R MEAT CUTTERS

INCREASE GAINED
D MEAT CUTTERS
WORKMEN, AFL
IN RETAIL MARKETS

47 to early 1948)

r hour
¢
¢ (A&P)
¢
¢
(offered. AFL holding
for 26.)
¢ (following strike)
¢
¢
¢ (following strike)

AFL'S BLOCK BUTCHERS DO O.K.

WHY ONLY 9¢ FOR PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS?

IT'S A SELL-OUT!

Take a good long look at the table of wage raises shown above. These are the hourly wage increase that our friends the Amalgamated Meat Cutters AFL have gotten for their members in retail markets all over the country. Pretty good raises aren't they? Considerably over 9 cents too!

WHY DOES THE SAME UNION THINK THAT THE PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS SHOULD BE SATISFIED WITH 9 CENTS?

The vast majority of the AFL's members are in the butcher shops-- not in the packinghouses. As far as the AFL is concerned the packinghouse workers are strictly second fiddle. The only thing that outfit worries about is those meat cutters in the butcher shops!

What effect does a packinghouse strike have on the boys behind the meat counter? It's bound to mean less work for them, maybe even a lay-off. And so, the packinghouse workers can get the dirty end of the stick, so far as the AFL Meat Cutters union is concerned! And that's what they tried to give us!!! Not only the dirty end but the short end of the stick! Just nine cents worth for the packinghouse workers while the lad with the white apron at the butcher block gets up to 23 1/2 cents!

Rather than put up a fight for the packinghouse workers' right to earn a living wage, Pat Gorman, head man of AFL Meat Cutters, will roll over and play dead. To use a word from the Armed Services, when Pat Gorman is the general, the packinghouse workers are "expendable"!

But Pat Gorman isn't the general of the packinghouse workers! One hundred thousand of us are in the UPWA and on strike in a fight for a living wage.

NINE CENTS IS NOT ENOUGH FOR US EITHER!

TRUMAN'S BOARD OF INQUIRY

We are all aware that President Truman has appointed a Board of Inquiry under the Taft-Hartley law. Our members will want to know exactly what this Board can do and what our Union is trying to put across to the Board.

In the first place all this Board can do under the law is to make an investigation into the facts of the dispute and tell the President what they find. They have no power such as the War Labor Board used to have, to decide how much increase we should get and then make the packers pay it.

Then what good is the Board? Probably very little! Nevertheless, our union is trying to make the most of this opportunity to state the packinghouse workers' case to a public body in the hopes that getting the real facts out into the open will be of value.

We are confident that any honest and impartial observer would agree with the packinghouse workers that 9 cents is not enough! That is why we accepted a proposal of arbitration made by the Conciliators just before the strike. But, the companies have no confidence in their own case! They refused arbitration.

Again, when the Board of Inquiry opened its first meeting, President Helstein declared that the Board could only be of real service toward settling this dispute if it were given some authority. On behalf of the Union he proposed that the companies and ourselves both agree to accept a wage recommendation from the Board members. The companies again refused.

We next proposed that the Board's hearings be open to the press so that the whole country might know what each side has to say. The Board turned us down on that.

Workers Tell Own Story

As our Union presented the case of the packinghouse workers to President Truman's Board of Inquiry last week, there were many dramatic moments highlighted by the simple, yet heartbreaking real life stories of privation and misery told by the packinghouse workers themselves.

Listen to George Adams, an order filler with six years seniority. Rate: $1.07. Four kids. He owes $45.00 to the doctor and ought to take his kids to the doctor and the dentist, but he's thinking of the $45 he already owes the doctor. He's cashed all his bonds-in fact, cashed them as fast as he got them!

Or Violet Moslowski, separated from her husband, with four kids to support. She's been at Wilson for 8 years where she wraps sallami. Rate: 96¢. They eat meat three times a week and then its soup meat and hamburger. Pork chops are a treat every three weeks. Her rent is $30.00 a month and fuel bills are running another $30 a month this winter. They eat fruit every other week.

That's the story, gentlemen of the Board of Inquiry! The folks you heard from weren't the worst off, nor the best off; neither the lowest paid, nor the highest. Just regular folks bucking up against the regular living problems of packinghouse workers and getting by in the only way they can--cheap meat a couple of times a week, fruit every now and then, no new car, no new radio, no pretty little house with a white picket fence. Just worry, worry, worry! "How can we make ends meet?"

When you make your report to the President, Mr. Chairman and other distinguished members of the Taft-Hartley Board of Inquiry, tell him that the packinghouse workers have firmly made up their minds to make those ends come at least a little closer together by winning a 29 cent wage increase! And that they need and deserve it!!!

THIS TABLE SHOWS THE SHARP DECLINE IN NUMBERS OF LIVESTOCK SLAUGHTERED THIS YEAR. (Before the strike)

Weekly earnings of the packinghouse workers were dropping fast. It will continue like this for at least the rest of the year. If we don't win our wage fight we will starve to death on short hours!

	Jan-Feb 1948 (Number head)	Percentage change from year before
Cattle	2,288,000	-10.1%
Hogs	8,969,000	- 8.6%
Sheep	2,555,000	-10.0%

Total Federally Inspected Meat Production in 1948 by weeks and percent change from year ago.

Week ending in 1948	Millions of pounds	Percentage change from same week year before
January 3	276.4	- 4%
January 10	387.2	- 5%
January 17	389.2	- 8%
January 24	322.8	-11%
January 31	298.5	- 3%
February 7	308.3	+ 3%
February 14	280.6	-15%
February 21	264.7	-13%
February 28	271.8	-14%
	2,799.5	- 7%

As the year progresses, hog slaughter will decline relatively more than in the first two months of 1948, reflecting the 15% decline in last autumn's pig crop. This, together with what is revealed by the decline in slaughter in the table above indicates a larger reduction in meat output than the 10% estimate made by the Department of Agriculture for all of 1948.

THE DECLINE IN AVAILABLE WORK FROM THIS SOURCE ALONE WILL CAUSE A CUT IN WEEKLY AND ANNUAL WORKER EARNINGS OF MORE THAN 15%.

Main Points in UPWA Testimony Before Board

It is impossible to attempt to tell here the full story of the evidence which was presented to the Board of Inquiry. We will try instead to give you a quick idea of the main points our union put across.

Point 1. The Board should not get itself tied up in a mass of statistics and figures, but should remember that it is dealing with real people who have real problems, and who are not a bunch of imaginary statistical averages.

Point 2. The statistics and the arguments of the companies are aimed at keeping the workers on the treadmill -- no wage increases beyond the rise in the cost of living, no improvement of conditions. These were the ideas used by the old War Labor Board in the wartime wage freeze period where the government's purpose was to keep workers from getting ahead. Now in peace time these restrictive formulas should not be allowed to limit the efforts of workers to better their lot.

Point 3. The absolute certainty that there will be a minimum reduction of at least 10% in livestock slaughter in the year 1948 which will unquestionably mean more than a 10% reduction in earnings for packinghouse workers due to the complete loss of overtime unless we get a very substantial wage increase much beyond 9 cents an hour!

Re: Rural Life & Education Conf.

May 10, 1948

Dr. Shirley Cooper, Assistant Director
Rural Service
National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Cooper:

It was a great pleasure to attend the Rural Life and Education Conference for the South Atlantic Region last week.

The Southern Regional Council would like to maintain its contact with the Rural Service Division of the N.E.A. You mentioned the possibility of our becoming a member of the Division; we should like to do so and would appreciate your sending us appropriate application blanks.

We are quite interested in community surveys and organization and would like to keep up with what the Rural Service Division of N.E.A. does in this field. From time to time the Council publishes material which would be of interest to your Division, which we shall be glad to send you.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

May 10, 1948

Mr. T. M. Verdin, Superintendent
Mauldin School
~~Mauldin~~, South Carolina
Greenville

Dear Mr. Verdin:

I enjoyed so much visiting your school and community last Friday afternoon. I was impressed by the feeling of "community" which was expressed by your group.

Thank you for the information on the Greenville County Survey. We are getting the book which you mentioned.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Greenville, S.C. News
5/6/48

Program For Convention

Program for the South Atlantic States Conference on Rural Life and Education:

Today

8 p.m.—Second general meeting at auditorium with Mrs. Ruth Thomas of Walterboro, S. C., president of the South Carolina Education association, presiding.

Music by the Welcome high school band.

Talk by Prof. G. H. Aull of Clemson college.

Friday

9 a.m.—Third general session at auditorium with Mrs. F. C. Beverley, principal of the Whitmell Farm Life school at Whitmell, Va., presiding.

Talk by Dr. B. L. Hummel, professor of rural sociology at Blacksburg, Va., on "The School in Rural Community Life."

1 to 5 p.m.—Conference members will be divided into groups and will visit six rural schools in the area. Schools included in the visits will be Jordan, Mauldin, Taylors, Welcome and Mountain View, all in Greenville county, and the Hickory Tavern school in Laurens county.

6:30 p.m.—Dinner meeting at the school cafeteria with C. A. Furr, superintendent of the Cabarrus county schools of Concord, N. C., presiding.

Music by the Fountain Inn high school glee club.

Talk by Neville Bennett of Clio, S. C., on "Rural Community Development."

Saturday

9 a.m.—Last general session at the auditorium with Pendleton Mitchell, of Tipton, Ga., presiding.

Youth panel on "How Youth Can Build a Community They Want to Live In," conducted by Miss Lois M. Clark, assistant director of rural service of the National Education association at Washington, D. C. Participating will be youths from seven South Atlantic states, who will represent youth organizations and activities of those states.

General summary of the conference by H. Cliff Hamilton, state supervisor of elementary education at Charleston, W. Va.

Conclave Set On Rural Life

(Program On Page Nine)

Over 200 delegates to the third annual South Atlantic States Conference on Rural Life and Education were expected to register early this afternoon at Greenville junior high school prior to the opening session at the school auditorium of a convention dedicated to "What Is Right For Rural Life and Education."

List Areas

The states of Georgia, Florida, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina will be represented during the conference which will continue through Saturday at noon. Jesse P. Anderson of Columbia, state superintendent of education, was to preside at the opening session today. Other outstanding educators, rural leaders and youth workers will appear on the conference program today, tomorrow and Saturday.

The conference was begun in the spring of 1946 at Atlanta, Ga., with a purpose of encouraging rural education and development. Last year's meeting was held at Jacksonville was selected as site for the conference because of the outstanding rural education program here.

M. Price attended conference

PROGRAM

CONFERENCE ON RURAL LIFE AND EDUCATION

SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES

Greenville, South Carolina
May 6-8, 1948

CONFERENCE THEME

WHAT IS RIGHT FOR RURAL LIFE AND EDUCATION

Sponsored by
Department of Rural Education, NEA

States Participating
Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina
South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia

Thursday, May 6

FIRST SESSION

2:00 P.M. General Session - Greenville Junior High School Auditorium

Presiding: Jesse T. Anderson, State Superintendent of Education, Columbia, South Carolina.

Invocation: Dr. B. Rhett Turnipseed, District Superintendant, Greenville District, M. E. Church.

Address of Welcome: P. D. Meadors, President, Greenville Chamber of Commerce

Address: "Education to Meet the Needs of Rural People", Clyde A. Erwin, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Raleigh, N. C.

3:00 P.M. Panel Discussion: "Factors Affecting the Economic Income of Rural People."

Panel Leader: Dr. O. C. Aderhold, Dean of College of Education, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

Panel Members:
Clyde Bonar, President of W. Virginia Farm Bureau
Kenneth Trainer, Economist Agricultural Extension, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
L. C. Burns, County Agricultural Agent, Carroll County, Westminster, Md.
G. H. Aull, Head of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Clemson College, Clemson, S. C.
F. E. Kirkley, Agriculture Teacher-Trainer, Clemson College, Clemson, S. C.
Horace Grieg, County Superintendent of Education, Shelby, N. C.
Claudia Pounds, Teacher-Helper, Greenwood, S. C.
W. J. Castine, Chief Elementary School Supervisor, Columbia, S. C.
W. W. Eure, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.
Floride Moore, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Miss Lumsten, County School Supervisor, Tacoa, Ga.
J. W. Burdett, Soil Conservation Service, Spartanburg, S. C.

SECOND SESSION

8:00 P.M. General Session - Greenville Junior High School Auditorium

Presiding: Mrs. Ruth Thomas, President, S. C. Teachers Association, Walterboro, S. C.

Music: Welcome High School Band

Address: "The Best Education is the Cheapest", Dr. G. H. Aull, Head of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Clemson College, Clemson, S. C.

Friday, May 7

THIRD SESSION

9:00 A.M. Presiding: Mrs. F. C. Beverley, Principal, Whitmell Farm-Life School, Whitmell, Virginia.

Discussion: "The School in Rural Community Life."

Leaders: R. E. Jaggers, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.
Verd Peterson, State Department of Education, Columbia, S. C.
H. A. Chapman, Superintendent, Berea School, RFD, Greenville, S.C.
T. M. Verdin, Superintendent, Mauldin School, Mauldin, S. C.

10:30 A.M. Meeting of groups that are to visit different communities to discuss plans for the visits and to raise questions about community developments they would like to study while in these communities. (Jr. High School Auditorium.)

FOURTH SESSION

1:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M. Group Meetings in Rural Schools of the Greenville Area:

Group I. Jordan School
Leader: ~~J. O. Knapp~~, W. Virginia

Recorder: Claudia Pounds, South Carolina

Consultants: S. G. Stukes, South Carolina
Julia Brunson, South Carolina
Floride Moore, Georgia
Myrtle Nesbitt, South Carolina
Mrs. Lucy Crawford, South Carolina
Margaret Willard, W. Virginia

Group II. Mauldin School
Leader: Willard Hawkins, Maryland

Recorder: Katharine Edwards, South Carolina

Consultants: C. J. Martin, South Carolina
J. M. Wilson, North Carolina
Thelma Ott, South Carolina
June Ragsdale, Georgia
Juanita Thompson, W. Virginia

Group III. Taylors School
Leader: W. J. Castine, South Carolina

Recorder: Hortense Dupree, Georgia

Consultants: J. F. Wyse, South Carolina
H. A. Smith, South Carolina
James Sifford, North Carolina
Jewel Durrence, Georgia
Mary Cox, South Carolina
Pauline Stout, W. Virginia

Friday, May 7
(cont'd)

Group IV. Welcome School
Leader: ~~R. H. Mitchell,~~ Georgia
H. S. Shearouse

Recorder: C. E. Hogberg, Virginia

Consultants: R. E. Jaggers, South Carolina
W. R. Gray, South Carolina
Mrs. Inez G. Eddings, South Carolina
Kathleen Gaston, South Carolina
Archie Means, South Carolina
Eloise Keebler, Georgia
Guy T. Gard, Florida

Group V. Mt. View School
Leader: ~~H. S. Shearouse, Georgia~~
Mitchell

Recorder: Prudence Arthur, W. Virginia

Consultants: E. A. Williams, South Carolina
I. D. Lewis, South Carolina
Dr. Holtzclaw, South Carolina
J. F. Whatley, South Carolina
Lewis Verdin, South Carolina
Mrs. Emily Rickman, Virginia
Mabel Hillinwater, W. Virginia

Group VI. Hickory Tavern School
Leader: Ralph Barbare, South Carolina

Recorder: Annie Mac Coleman, South Carolina

Consultants: J. K. East, South Carolina
C. C. Ervin, North Carolina
Mrs. Elma C. King, South Carolina
W. M. Mahony, South Carolina
Ruby Gammage, Georgia
D. E. Williams, Florida

NOTE: Additional consultants will be selected, based on attendance from the states.

FIFTH SESSION

6:30 P.M. Dinner Meeting in Greenville Junior High School

Presiding: C. A. Furr, Supt. Cabarrus County Schools, Concord, N. C.

Music: Fountain Inn High School Glee Club

Address: "Rural Community Development", Honorable Neville Bennett, Clio, S. C.

Member S.C. House of Reps.

Saturday, May 8

SIXTH SESSION

9:00 A.M. General Meeting - Greenville Junior High School Auditorium

Presiding: Pendleton Mitchell, Tifton, Georgia

Youth Panel: "How Youth Can Help Build the Community They Want to Live In."

Panel Leader: Lois M. Clark, Assistant Director of Rural Schools, N.E.A. Washington, D. C.

Panel Members:

Frances Harper, Future Teacher, Virginia
Marjorie Covington, Future Homemaker, Virginia
William Cline, 4-H Club, North Carolina
Bessie Jean Bolt, 4-H Club, South Carolina
Doyle Conner, Future Farmer, Florida
Billy Stewart, Future Farmer, South Carolina
Alvin Meadows, Future Teachers, W. Virginia
Verlin Butler, Future Farmer, W. Virginia
Joe Turner, Future Farmer, Georgia

NOTE: Members will be added to youth panel, based on youth attending from other states and South Carolina.

General Summary of the Conference - Maud Broyles, West Virginia

REGIONAL PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Verd Peterson, Chr., South Carolina
Pendleton Mitchell, Georgia
S. M. Jenness, Maryland
Cliff Hamilton, West Virginia
C. A. Furr, North Carolina
Mrs. F. C. Beverley, Virginia
J. L. Graham, Florida
Dr. Shirley Cooper, N.E.A. Staff representative

LOCAL COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

T. M. Verdin, Jr., Chr., Mauldin
J. F. Whatley, Greenville
R. H. Martin, Greenville
L. M. Bouknight, Easley

The Committee wishes to take this opportunity to thank the Greenville Chamber of Commerce and the faculty of the Greenville Junior High School for their help in making local arrangements and for providing a convenient meeting place.

We also extend our thanks to each member who participated in the program.

Verd Peterson, Chairman
Regional Program Committee

NOTE: Detail announcements will be made from the floor from time to time concerning the local arrangements.

SRC
Ro-Misc
Ross, Malcolm

May 13, 1948

Mr. Malcolm Ross
The University of Miami
Miami (University Branch)
Florida

Dear Malcolm:

Lucy Mason showed me her copy of your good book. I have done no more than look at her copy, but sometime fairly soon I hope to read the whole thing. The Lord knows I ought to.

The Southern Regional Council served as technical advisor to a group of Jacksonville citizens who did just what you are talking about there. The trick of it was that, instead of having a team of outside experts come in and look over the town and say what's wrong and then leave, the Jacksonville people themselves, through very carefully chosen leaders, did the survey. That provided the city automatically with a follow-up group of responsible and influential people who had been sufficiently angered by what they had seen to be earnest about cleaning up.

I send you separately a copy of the whole survey, for which we ordinarily charge a dollar, and a copy of a condensed version, for which we ordinarily charge twenty cents, and, if it is on hand, a mimeographed copy of some still further follow-up.

The Council would very much like to get into the business of advising on surveys of this kind, but, generally speaking, for small communities. We are now writing a manual which we hope will attain standing as the right way to do small-town surveys and have the incidental result of making surveys which accord with it statistically comparable.

Incidentally, I think maybe one of the ways to get at civil rights is to go after health, housing, police, law enforcement, justice and so on.

Miami is pretty far from me, but I get to North Florida every now and then.

Let me know if I can be of help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Our supply of the mimeographed follow-up on the Jacksonville survey has been exhausted. We have sent for more and will forward one to you.

GSM

Separate cover: "Jacksonville ~~Survey~~ Looks at Its Negro Community";
"By The People."

THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

MIAMI (UNIVERSITY BRANCH), FLORIDA

RECEIVED
MAY 12 1948
Southern Regional Council

May 10,1948

Dear George Mitchell:

Having given your survey on Negro veterans a plug in ALL MANNER OF MEN (have you seen it yet ?) I now demand payment in the form of some dope from you on the general question of a racial survey here in Miami.

I've been spouting to Negro and inter-racial groups a good deal here and have tossed at them the notion of forming a coordinating committee of industrial big-wigs, agencies,Negro groups,city fathers etc etc for the purpose of making a factual survey on minority groups housing, schools, work opportunities etc etc, the final report each year to be publicized without recommendation and merely for ammunition for individual groups.

Has the idea merit in a formative town such as Miami ? Do you have records of similar attempts which you might send me ? I have to talk to the board of the Negro Service Council on May 19th and should appreciate whatever you can send me by that date. Do you ever get this far south ? If so I could use you in talking to a few classes etc.

Regards,

Malcolm Ross

Malcolm Ross

R- Raper, Arthur

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 4, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

It was good of you to help me find a secretary for our work in Greene County. Mrs. Haskins was quite capable and most willing to do the job.

I enjoyed especially the evening in your home.

When you are up this way by yourself or with the family, drop in to see us.

Sincerely,

Arthur

Arthur Raper

Raper, Arthur

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 5, 1948

mailed
em

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. F. L. Chang, who is introduced on the attached sheet, plans to be in Georgia March 10th to 13th. I recommend that he get in touch with you to learn something of the work you are doing. He is especially interested in local cooperatives and wants to see what makes some cooperatives more successful than others. You will find him a most interesting person and I know you can assist him.

Mr. Chang would like very much to visit with your brother Morris. I suggested you could advise him on how best to get in touch with Morris.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur

Arthur Raper
Social Science Analyst

Encl.

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AGRICULTURAL MISSIONS, INC.
156 FIFTH AVENUE
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M. L. WILSON

January 15, 1948

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: Introducing Mr. F. L. Chang

It is a great pleasure to introduce Mr. F. L. Chang, General Secretary of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. Mr. Chang is spending 9 months in the U.S.A. through a grant-in-aid received from the Rockefeller Foundation in order that he may make a study of cooperatives in North America. He is also interested in community projects, particularly in those where cooperative techniques have been used in securing the desired objectives.

Before taking up his work with the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives in 1945, Mr. Chang was Director of the Kiangsi Rural Welfare Service for 11 years under the National Government. In this work he was responsible for the development of 10 Rural Welfare Centers for rehabilitation and reconstruction of village life. This project followed the Communist War, 1927-34, and was an attempt on the part of Government to bring constructive help to the villagers. From 1928-34, Mr. Chang was Rural Work Secretary on the National Christian Council of China.

Mr. Chang graduated from the Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, in 1913 and received his Master of Forestry degree at Yale in 1915. He received the degree of Master of Science in Agriculture at the University of Georgia in 1927. On returning to China from America in 1915, he was Professor and then Dean in the College of Yale in China, Changsha, Hunan, at which institution he taught for 11 years.

Mr. Chang's China address is - China Industrial Cooperatives, 169 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai, China. Until October 1, 1948, he can be addressed - % Agricultural Missions, Inc., 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10.

Any courtesies and help which you may be able to extend to Mr. Chang will be very greatly appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

John H. Reisner

John H. Reisner
Executive Secretary

JHR:S

30- R- Randolph, Andrew

June 16, 1948

Mr. Andrew W. Randolph
413 Buchanan Street
Bristol, Virginia

My dear Bro. Randolph:

I have before me two letters which you have addressed to the Southern Regional Committee in my care in which you state your desire to go to Clark College and your need for financial help. I try always to help any young person who wants to pursue his studies but I must confess that I do not have any funds at my command which I could make available to you. I am sure if you will write Dr. Brawley, President of Clark, he will be able to give you some guidance in this important matter.

I am truly sorry not to be of more help.

Sincerely yours,

AJM:ERV

Arthur J. Moore

413 Buchanan Street
Bristol, Virginia
June 13, 1948

Southern Regional Committee
Atlanta, Georgia
c/o Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Dear Sirs:

I am writing you in regard to a previous letter concerning my application for financial aid with the idea of attending school.

I plan to matriculate either at Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, or, Johnson C. Smith University Charlotte, N. C. My split decision rest upon the great difficulty in being able to be admitted to any school due to the overcrowed conditions.

I hope this letter will be a reminder and that i may look forward to hearing from you in the very near future.

Wishing you a very pleasant summer, i am,

Very truly yours,
Andrew W. Randolph
Andrew W. Randolph

413 Buchanan Street
Bristol, Virginia
June 3, 1948

1

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Committee
Atlanta, Georgia
att. Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Dear Sirs:

I am writting you with the idea of seeking financial aid for the purpose of entering school in the ensueing term of 1948-49.

I have been seeking aid here and was refered to you by one of prominent white citizens of this city.

I have completed my work for the freshman and sophomore years at Morristown Normal Junior College, Morristown, Tennessee and am now eligible to enter a four year institution.

I have plans to enter the field of Natural Science, majoring in Chemistry at Clark College, Atlanta, Ga., with the idea of teaching and also working as a laboratory technician.

The following people may be refered to for recommendations:

Mrs. J. W. Foster
424 Harmeling Street
Bristol, Virginia

Rev. J. H. J. Nash
427 Scott Street
Bristol, Virginia

Dr. Ralph D. Minard
Morristown College
Morristown, Tennessee

If I haven't written to the right committee please let me know at your earliest convenience and also forward the address of the correct persons. Thanking you in advance, I am,

Respectfully
Andrew W. Randolph

31-Ro-Misc-Robinson, H. L.

August 10, 1948

Mr. H. L. Robinson
Virginia Council of Churches
1444 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I find we did write the Acting Director of the Department of Race Relations for the information we want in getting ready for our annual report.

If you will give us what you can, we shall be very appreciative.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. The agricultural program is called "A Protestant Program for the Family Farm - Preliminary Report of a Conference Held at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, March 22-24, 1948 - Sponsored by Committee on Town and Country, Home Missions Council of North America, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the International Council of Religious Education, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York, May 1948." The enclosed slip with this information is for you to pass on to your Congregational friend.

P. P. S. You were going to send me names and addresses of church papers in Virginia. Please do.

GSM

GSM:eb
Enclosure-listing of publication contained in P. S. above.

31-Ro-misc. —
Ruth, Kent A McK
please return
let. to me.
emr

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

219 N. Broadway
Geary, Oklahoma
11 October 1948

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks greatly for your letter of October 5, giving me some very much appreciated information and advice.

In the first place, let me agree with you completely on the matter of on-the-spot research. I sincerely wish it were possible to come to Atlanta at this time. When Mr. Miller at Harper's and I were discussing this article, both of us felt that first-hand research would be most helpful. But since this is as yet a 'tentative' article, there is no attached expense account, and if you are familiar with Harper's rates, you will appreciate the hesitancy with which I regard a trip to Atlanta from Oklahoma at this stage of the game. Perhaps later, if this piece develops as I hope it will, the chances for having a personal talk with you will be improved. Thanks for the offer to dictate your views on the matter. I won't ask you to go to that much trouble just yet, at least until I've been able to outline the article somewhat more completely.

Thank you too for the names and addresses of the CIO and the AFL public relations heads. I'm writing them today. And the printed material you sent was also most helpful. On that score, I am inclosing two U.S. dollars for a years membership in the Council. I trust you'll pass it on to the right desk.

I'm wondering if you met Gunnar Myrdal when he was in the South researching for "An American Dilemma." It is truly a monumental work, as is the more convenient "The Negro in America" by his assistant Arnold Rose, which book I was happy to review for "The Daily Oklahoman" when it appeared this summer.

Thanks again for your most kind assistance. I'll be writing you again before too long.

Sincerely yours,

Kent Ruth

P.S. Pan

31 - Ro - Misc. -
Ruth, Kent

Separate cover:
"Honest Answer"
"Condition of our Rights"
~~"Wanted: A Healthy South"~~
~~"Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation"~~
~~"Housing in the South"~~
~~"Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940"~~
Explanatory folder - SRC

October 5, 1948

Mr. Kent Ruth
219 North Broadway
Geary, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Ruth:

Guy Johnson took up again his job at University of North Carolina in September, 1947, and I have inherited his place here with the Council.

I made a field study in just your subject in 1934. My results are embodied in the chapters on the Birmingham district and on railroad car shops, in a book called Black Workers and the New Unions done jointly with Horace Cayton and published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1940.

A couple of years ago Fortune magazine sent down two writers to find out about the union organizing campaigns in the South. They interviewed me and a short paragraph or so of my sort of thing is in their article in the November, 1946 issue of Fortune.

As to the CIO, your best source of fresh information would be Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, 75 Ivy Street, Atlanta 3, Georgia. She is southern public relations person for the CIO.

For the A F of L, write to George Googe, Hurt Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

As Atlanta is headquarters for both the A F of L and the CIO organizing campaigns, you ought to come to Atlanta. If you do that, we could talk at length. The Council has little in print just on your subject. I send you one or two other things that would be of interest. If you are going to come to Atlanta, I will save myself a lengthy letter. If you can't come, I will try to find time to dictate my views, but that is a considerable task.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

Executive Director

RECEIVED
SEP 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

219 N. Broadway
Geary, Oklahoma
29 September 1948

Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

To begin with, may I introduce myself by saying that I am a free-lance writer working on a tentative assignment from Harper's Magazine to do an article on organized Negro labor in the South. The kind of article Harper's has in mind is something like this: what gains has the Negro worker made in the South through the efforts of organized labor, how have they been made, and what do these gains promise for the future? I wonder if I might enlist the aid of the Southern Regional Council in researching for the necessary facts and figures.

Here are just a few of the specific matters I'd like information on. Union membership, Negro and white, in the South ... what industries ... classification ... comparative wage scales ... working conditions ... growth and improvements through the years ... specific examples of progress in southern industry through the abolition of racial segregation and discrimination (figures on new industries and the growth of old ones) ... benefits reflected in housing, health and voting. Also helpful to me would be the names and addresses of companies, unions and other organizations such as your own that have been particularly cooperative in this program of racial betterment so that I might contact them for different viewpoints and more localized data.

Perhaps much of this information is included in material you have already printed and available for distribution. Perhaps there are some pertinent articles in past issues of "The Southern Frontier" that you might be able to send readily. If not, I do hope that some one in your Council will be able to find the time to help dig them out for me ... and, incidentally, be available for future reference. I share with many other white Southerners the conviction that the time is long past when we can sit back and let the 'Negro problem' solve itself. A solution must be found and we of the South are the logical ones to find it. Perhaps a partial solution is to be found in organized labor. At least Merle Miller at Harper's thinks it might be so and that's why he has asked me to see what I could discover. Because I admire the work the Southern Regional Council has done and is continuing to do, I am appealing to you for help ... and advice, if you care to throw that in too! Thanks to you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Kent Ruth

Kent Ruth

P. S. I'll be more than happy to repay you for postage and handling on any material you may be able to send me.

31-RO-Misc -
Ross, John M

December 6, 1948

Mr. John M. Ross
318 South Bunker Hill Avenue
Los Angeles 13, California

Dear Mr. Ross:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of November 23.

Here is a pamphlet describing the Council, and another giving the full text of our recent statement on civil rights.

We should welcome any help you can give us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

Los Angeles 13 Calif
318 S. Bunker Hill ave.

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Dear Dr. Williams. Pres.

I am delighted at reading about your Commission & objectives in C. S. Mon 7-11-20 - this from the East, where I have for some time worked on a plan & program for aiding both the South & West to get a fair start toward recovery & progressive economic action. I have excellent letters on my proposition one is from Leopold, King of Belgium in which he says, in part: "I am intensely interested"; "you have something the world badly needs"; "Really you have started something"! &c

If you will mail me full information about your activities & facilities for & with which to do things & I will come to organize groups & to operate economic enterprises, it will aid me in preparing a fuller reply to your reply to this letter - The Land - yes all income property, bonds stocks - store, office & hotels & apt houses cut-over timber land, farms farms. farms are all the best kind of capital for corporations

2. formed to operate by Ross S.O.S.
which initials stand for all kinds of business
Services with Opportunities & Safety
for All

The South Could go forward at a
greater speed in obtaining all kinds of
locally owned payroll enterprises -
locally owned Wholesale & chain stores for
all lines of goods -
a Ross System College of Agriculture,
mechanic trades, Practical Business
training. Ross Home Building Plan -
this is much a better plan than is any
other that I have yet read in the papers -
Send me statistical data about Ga -
& I would be glad to have names
of any & all groups that are working
to create better conditions in any
& all matters of their communities.
The Capital is there & is available
by Ross S.O.S. for all the needed corporations
to Supervise & Manage all the needed
payroll enterprises - These wholesale &
locally owned chains would not own 1% of
the goods they sell by Ross S.O.S. but will
sell only for others - this is a wonderfully central &
dependable for outlets for small mfgr & producers
sincerely John M. Ross

over

P.S.

I was once a successful business man but a powerful block broke me - they won one a valuable property which they forced from me - my sufferings came from the school of actual experience in life & Men.

I would take great pride in helping to put the South Fork economically from the gurdy with Rest by Ross - plans Shaking Off the Shackles of the East -

I could help the Gas & Flu Ry to get out of bankruptcy & become successful - by my Plan for Rys

30 - R - Misc -
Reddick, L. D

December 7, '48

Dr. L. D. Reddick, Librarian
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reddick,

In a book I have been reading recently I came across an interesting passage about Libraries, which it occurred to me might be in some manner useful to you as a Librarian. The book is by Margery Perham, published in London by Faber and Faber, and called "The Government of Ethiopa". (1948) On page 239 the author describes the foundation just after the return of the Emperor (at the end of the Italian occupation) of the new national public library, in Addis Ababa. On the occasion of the dedication of the Library the Emperor said, in part, what I have copied on the attached sheet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

"In this We must remember that the full measure of a library is not to be calculated simply by the numbers of those who go to read, but in the honesty and quality of good minds who use it. A good and honest mind assimilating knowledge and gaining inspiration from study may be the greatest service to the future generations who come into this building to gain more knowledge or a wider inspiration. As the Apostle Paul has pointed out to Us, it is not enough simply to read or even to mark. The criterion of honest learning is the inward digestion of what has been studied. Opinions which spring from superficial reading; the glib use of a glib word culled from the desultory ~~turning~~ turning of the pages of the book may be a great danger to right progress. Let Us earnestly recommend to those who will come to use this library that they avoid this superficial knowledge ....In the present terrible situation in the world today it is perhaps with special pleasure and hope that We open this library. It is of some inspiration for the future and for Our hopes in peace to recall that what is highest in human achievement has got its interest beyond mere geographical boundaries. The world of a library is the world of knowledge. The world of knowledge of the search after truth. It is a world which is truly international".

A footnote indicates that a full account of the library is to be found in Library Association Record (London?), March, 1943.

CC to Paul Williams
Harold Fleming

30-R-Misc-(2)
Readers Digest

December 14, 1948

Mr. Fulton Oursler
Navarre Hotel
112 Central Park, South
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Oursler:

Paul Williams asked me to write you about the Southern Regional Council.

The main job of the Council is to get the South to see that prejudice and bitterness are in part shadows cast by poverty and inequality. Much of the South still thinks that our conflicts are "natural" and will be eternal. The Council believes our conflicts can be greatly lessened if we contrive better circumstances for all our people. We have, therefore, worked to get before the people of the South the facts about where our shortcomings are and to explain how they can be remedied.

We have not made a head-on attack on race prejudice. We have worked with and through people who don't have it, serving to that degree to give an example of its absence and to spread that example into as many communities as possible; but the object of working together without it is to get for the whole South material conditions which we think will dry up most of it. Thus we press for whatever will get the South health and housing and schools and jobs and good farms.

Except for this formula we have no set remedy. In the field of health, we are for more doctors, more dentists, more nurses, more hospital beds, and a higher standard of care; it seems to us quite secondary to argue about whether we can best get these things through private effort or through state or municipal or federal aid. In the field of employment, we want more, and more rewarding, industrial and commercial enterprise in the South. In agriculture, we have worked for maximum opportunity for whatever proportion of the people now in southern farming wish to stay in it. In housing, we want the slums of our cities, towns, and of the open country replaced with livable structures; and so long as the price can be afforded, we are not advocates of either public or private financing. In schools, we want an equal opportunity for every child.

The Council is made up of 3,000 dues-paying members, all of them living in the thirteen southern states. While we have never counted, we think our membership is about half white and half Negro. Most of those who belong to it are responsible people. They are teachers in schools and colleges, they are college heads, they are ministers drawn from all denominations, they are businessmen, farmers, and plain citizens. They are thoughtful people, all of them grieved by the oppression and injustice which they know lives in the South, and all of them working in their own communities to lessen that burden. They have formed state divisions of the Council in South Carolina and Florida and Alabama and Kentucky and Mississippi and Tennessee. The state divisions have their own programs in line with the Council's general purposes. We have a formal link of affiliation with state interracial commissions in North Carolina, Georgia, and Texas, and we work similarly with the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches. Thus we are closely in touch with organized private statewide bodies in all the southern states except Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, and we have influential membership in each of those three. None of the southern states as yet has the official state-aided commissions on race relations which are now becoming common in the northern and western states, and these groups linked to the Southern Regional Council fulfill as best they can on a voluntary basis that role of adjustment.

Our staff here in Atlanta at the Council's main office is drawn from both races. So far as I know, the South, the whole area does not contain more than four or five other such offices in which Negro and white employees work together without distinction of any kind. The same rule applies straight through to meetings of the Council's members in local communities. Our people come together on the basis of equality to talk about their common needs and to plan ways of bettering things.

Notwithstanding our own convictions, we have never made it a point to be so far in advance of the surrounding custom that our people lose effectiveness in pushing for change. In any city in the South, we have always been able to bring together effective local citizens of our temper who would be well received in the mayor's office or by the chief of police. In country places we can reach court officials. In state capitols we get considered attention from governors and their subordinates. We are on good terms with the leading newspapers of the South. Indeed, many of their editors are our vigorous supporters.

With most of our members, perhaps, religion—and not the Council's pamphleteering—is the real teacher. We are, therefore, close to the consciences of most of the great religious groups in the South. We have links also, as I have said, to people in business and in agriculture and to the labor movement.

For so small an organization, clearly without any mass pressure of its own, it would be untruthful to claim spectacular accomplishment. We have had a hand in many things, and we are glad to give to others who have worked too the credit for the good that all have done. I can list some of these things at which the Council has worked particularly hard:

1. Lessening outbreaks of racial violence. The old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, whose work in the South spanned the period from 1920 until the Council succeeded it in 1944, concentrated its effort on the crime of lynching. It carefully collected the facts about each lynching and gave out a truthful story. It early saw that women could do more than men to turn public opinion against lynching, and it organized the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. This group, under able leadership, for years brought to the public's mind the horror with which southern white women regarded that crime. It is commonly accepted in the South that that long, earnest and courageous campaign was by a good deal the most important factor in bringing down the lynching figures from the twenty and thirty a year which were common twenty years ago to the few which we have today. The Council picked up this work and continues to organize local people to prevent lynchings and to get the people of the South to realize the enormity of each one that does occur.

On this matter of preventing violence, the fact that the Council's membership is a network of people who are friends across the barriers of race is the main thing. Successive generations now have been trained to know the signs of incipient violence, to know whom to go to for the facts, to know whom to go to with the facts, and to be relentless in pressing for the public action which can prevent outbreaks. Back of that, of course, lie the years of building in local places confidence which reaches across race lines. People who have worked together quietly in their home towns to get street pavements and garbage collection and school buses and school buildings and teachers and law enforcement build a bridge which by its very existence lessens the desperation which plays a part in most violence.

2. Law enforcement. Any sensitive person who lives in the South knows that the law is enforced in one way for white people and in another way for colored people. The Council has worked always to change this. Through every channel of public attention which we could reach, our people have hammered at equality before the law. When justice miscarries, we complain and we talk and work for fairer judges and honest verdicts. We have found it particularly fruitful to work for the addition of Negroes to police forces. It has been abundantly proven that Negro police officers are considerably more effective in preventing crime and in catching criminals in areas of heavy Negro population than white police officers. There have long been a very few southern cities which realized this and used a few Negro policemen. The Council and other agencies have built on this experience and by representations to police committees and chiefs have been able to get the quite remarkable increase in the use of Negro police officers which has occurred in the last few years. See, for example, the October, 1947 and September 1948 issues of New South.

3. Schools. We have everywhere worked to equalize schooling for Negroes and whites. On each of the occasions when our local membership meets, the first problem attacked is nearly always that of unequal schools. Certainly the South as a whole has made remarkable progress in the last

few years in bettering Negro school opportunities, but in many a town it has been the local interracial committee which has served as the channel for shaping the Negro grievance in detail.

4. Civil Rights. This is not a new cause with us. We have worked at it through many years. We have tried to enforce the law as it is written; we have tried to broaden the state and federal law. We welcome the national prominence of the civil rights movement since the Report of President Truman's Committee. One of our active staff members was, indeed, a member of Mr. Truman's Committee. Since the report we have tried in every way possible to deepen its educational impact on the South. With pamphlets, with local discussion meetings, and through all the various bodies which we could influence, we have tried to get the South to see the necessity for granting and implementing now the fundamental civil rights of its people. I must say that we have seen in addition that effective achievement of civil rights must be accompanied by advances in the status of the people who most need the rights; here again we have argued that jobs, farms, homes, schools, and health must underpin law. You will see from the Digest of the Report and the pamphlet "The Condition of Our Rights" and the statement called "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy" the approach which the Council has followed.

5. The Community Self-Survey. We are now pushing as a device for broader understanding the corrective action which we call the home town self-survey. Experience has shown that if responsible local citizens push through the work of a written audit of their community in health, housing, schools, employment opportunities, law enforcement, recreation, and public welfare, the local citizens will themselves become a follow-up committee, on fire with what they have found, and, in a matter of a year or so, will correct much of what was wrong. We have just prepared a manual to enable the towns and smaller cities of the South to make surveys of this kind. The Council offers a professional advisory service for towns which undertake this job. We have hopes that such work, spread over the South, will speed the groundswell for improvement.

In all the above I have said nothing of how the Council came into being. That is too long a story to run through, but some things can be recalled. The South had nothing of the sort until just after World War I. Race riots occurred in many places in 1919 and 1920. To combat them local interracial committees were hastily formed. After things settled down, these committees were federated into state interracial committees and they, in turn, into a Southside Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with headquarters in Atlanta. The Commission lived mainly on such subsidies as it could beg, mostly from foundations, and from its resources it helped the state committees to keep going. For more than twenty years it built throughout the South a network of people of both races who met together frequently and worked for change. They were people who could get things done. In the typical town the interracial committee had a banker, an editor, some ministers, and some interested women citizens from the white community. The Negro members would often be the school principal, a leading minister or two, a dentist or doctor, and others with some claim to speak for their people.

This group, meeting together every month or two, opened channels through which a then voteless and almost voiceless Negro community could get its needs to the attention of people who could do something about them. The work was done sincerely and quietly. The same group had also an emergency usefulness. When trouble struck on some back street, Negro leaders knew whom to 'phone or see in order quickly to get the matter dealt with officially.

As the years wore along and in many parts of the South the Negroes gained the ballot and some wider links with the white community, the simply interracial committee began here and there to lose importance. Most people interested in the work got the vision also of general economic advance as the main support for the better race relations. This idea was focused through the work of Dr. Howard Odum in southern regionalism at the University of North Carolina. It became current not long before the strains of the approach of World War II brought to the surface the anxieties of the Negro population of the South. In a great series of meetings at Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond, in the years 1942 and 1943, southern leadership of both races saw the need for an organization which would work out in detail the channels of advance. The Southern Regional Council is the outcome of these several sets of ideas. It received a Georgia State Charter in January of 1944, and began its operation early in that year.

You will see from what was said earlier that the Council absorbed the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation and has in the years since built its own Southwide organization on the basis of the Commission's local and statewide groups.

The Council began with seven or eight hundred members. It has grown now to over 3,000 members, and it reaches indirectly, through affiliated committees, at least another 2,000 people.

The Council has kept going a small magazine called New South, which each month takes up some matter of topical interest. The organization has also issued a remarkable series of pamphlets on health and housing and farming and the other main aspects of the economy of the South. These are sent, along with this letter.

We do greatly hope that Reader's Digest will find the Council and its approach worthy of space in some forthcoming issue.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P.S. Our files contain an inquiry of September 30 from Helen Sigrist, of the Editorial Department of Reader's Digest, for the text of the civil rights statement of September 15. We answered Miss Sigrist October 4, sending her that and various other things about the Council.

GSMindh

31-Ro-Misc-
Rogers, G. D.

December 23, 1948

Mr. G. D. Rogers
1416 North Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

After several tries, I was able to get in touch this afternoon with Bishop Bowens at his office, 250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

We had a pleasant talk, the more enjoyable because in his recent trip to Florida he had opportunity to talk with you.

I carried him quite a little stack of the Council's various pamphlets and talked with him a bit as to what each contained. I had hopes that he would be at work on setting up reading circles or something of the sort in the various churches, and he did tell me that he was considering something like that and that possibly the Council's materials would come in usefully for it.

He spoke with great respect for you. I do hope things will work out for you to follow through and get his active help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

December 15, 1948
Dict. December 10

Mr. G. D. Rogers
1416 North Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

How very kind of you to send us that welcome $100!

We have sent out a letter to all our members (except those like you, who have been thus generous in the past) asking them to try to give or get $10 for us before February 15, 1949.

We are also working out a plan to convene the Board members state by state and, through a committee of them, approach persons in each state who might join you and Dr. Odum and the several others in putting up $250 apiece.

Bishop Bowen's address is 250 Auburn Avenue. I will go and see him in the next day or two and write you about it. Your idea is excellent, and I am sure will be most fruitful.

I went out the other day and had a most happy interview with Bishop R. R. Wright, who is the new Bishop of Georgia in the AME Church. He was glad to agree to become a member of our Board, and told me also that he was interested in getting reading circles going in all of his churches. He thought the Council's various pamphlets would serve admirably for those circles. I am hopeful, therefore, that the AME Church will be a good outlet for some of our store of pamphlets. Perhaps I can interest Bishop Bowen in this same thing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Central Life INSURANCE OF FLORIDA Company

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TAMPA (1) FLORIDA

December 7, 1948

215 Auburn Ave

100 00

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director.

Dear Sir:

At our meeting there November 10, if you will remember I promised to contact Dr. J. W. E. Bowens who is Bishop of the Methodist Church stationed there in Atlanta, to see if it would be possible to get him to let me come before the Annual Conference this winter in an effort to raise at least $100.00 on the budget of the Council. I have been very tardy in contacting Dr. Bowens but I am writing him today asking for the privilege of coming before the conference and for his moral support.

I am also asking him to come over to the headquarters and have a talk with you and that you would provide him with literature that you feel would help him in learning more about the Council and its work. I am sorry I dod not have the Bishop's address at my hand but I am addressing him in care of the Episcopal Residence of the Bishop, Methodist Church there with the hope that he will get it. However, I would like for you to look up his residence and call him to invite him over to your office. I think your contacting him would help me in my effort to get the whole Conference interested in our program.

You will also remember I promised personally to secure $250.00 for the 1949 budget. Due to my limited ability of getting around and not being well, I have not made any contacts outside, but I am enclosing check in the amount of $100.00 toward my promise. I am sure I will be able to get the balance in the office before it is too late.

Best regards to the office force and my personal greetings to you. I am

Sincerely yours,

G. D. Rogers

G. D. Rogers, Sr.
President

GDR-t

RECEIVED
DEC 9 1947
RESERVE
Southern Regional Council

31- Ro-Misc.
Rogers, G.D.

October 15, 1948

Mr. G. D. Rogers
1416 North Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

You came notably to the help of the Southern Regional Council last year. I am satisfied the Council's activity and usefulness have grown greatly, partly with the help of what you generously gave.

The Council's good judgment and courage have brought it to the place where it contributes in a very important way to the molding of the public mind of the South. The reception given all over the South--and indeed, all over the nation--to the recent statement on civil rights shows the broadened effectiveness of the Council's work.

It still needs money. It has run during 1948 on a budget of some $5,000 less than that for 1947. It needs to have the funds with which to fulfill the promise of its present influence. Do you think you could find $500 for it? That is a goodly sum, and I hesitate to ask you for it after your gift last year. Still, it is badly needed, and I believe you will be willing to make a gift to this statesmanlike cause.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:t

1/25

GSM:

I have not seen a reply to this.

met

30-R-Mux—
Ray, Edgar W.

December 23, 1948

Mr. Edgar W. Ray
The Tampa Times
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Ray:

I suspect your fine contriving hand in the invitation which I greatly appreciated (and accepted!) from the Tampa Urban League to be their speaker on the evening of their annual meeting January 27, 1949.

It occurred to me that in going to Tampa I might do a little promotion work at the University of Tampa--in the way of speaking to somebody's class or something of that sort. This I would, of course, do for free, as a means of enlisting wider interest in the Council.

I have to head straight for Chicago the night of the 27th, but shall expect to be in Tampa all day the 27th, and suppose I could absent myself from the Urban League's meeting long enough to go out to the University.

Is there someone out there who would welcome relief from his own teaching for an hour that day? If you could explore interest at the University, I would be very grateful.

Sincerely,

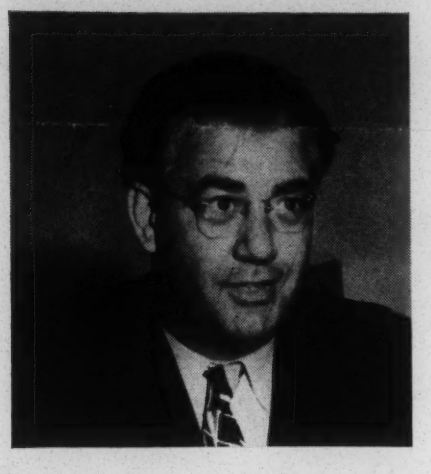
George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

30 - R - Misc
Ray, Edgar W.

How I Became Interested in Racial Justice

• By EDGAR W. RAY



Edgar W. Ray,
Managing Editor,
"The Tampa Daily Times."

I WAS asked to write how and why I became interested in the problems of the Negro in America. The task is not easy because I realize now, as I think about it, that my thinking today concerning Negroes is the result of an evolutionary process.

It had to be evolutionary. I was born in Macon, the heart of Georgia. The parents of both my father and my mother were well-to-do plantation and slave owners when the War Between the States impoverished them. My parents were not Negro-haters, but they could not help feel that the Negro was an inferior individual, deserving only of a menial position in life amounting to economic slavery.

I could not help but develop during my early years the same attitude of my parents—the typical Southern attitude. It was as natural as the cracker in my voice.

But I was more fortunate than most boys. When I was a high schooler of fourteen, I landed a flunky's job on *The Macon Telegraph* where Mark Ethridge, now the publisher of *The Louisville Courier-Journal and Times,* was managing editor. He rounded up a staff of young Southerners who liked to think and debate. The question of the Negro in the South and his rights as an individual often was debated. I first listened and then when my timidity decreased and general knowledge of life increased, I joined in.

The Ku Klux Klan was running rampant in those days. *The Telegraph,* then a liberal publication, fought and exposed the hooded brutes. When the Kluxers lynched a Negro accused of attacking a white woman one day and carried their sadism to the extreme of dragging the victim's body behind an automobile through the main street of the Negro section, it was so terrible that I must have hidden away a resolve in my mind to try to contribute something to betterment of relations between the races.

That resolution—it may have been just a fleeting impression—may have begun to operate when I was writing sports, which I did until 1935. In my column in *The Tampa Daily Times,* which I joined in 1933, I wrote as fairly as I knew how about Negroes and their contributions to athletics.

Then when I became managing editor of *The Times* in 1935, the resolution kept working. I should make every effort, I told myself, to see to it that Negroes were treated fairly in the news columns and that they should have their news about their own daily doings in a special page designed for them. In hiring Negro reporters for that special page, I tried to find those who would do an honest and thorough job.

From there the resolution worked to lead me into community work—activity designed to see that Negroes had equal opportunities in schools, with the police and in the courts; that they should have opportunities to increase their economic standing so that they could have decent homes and rear their children in a good environment.

The greatest opportunity to do this service was through my own newspaper by giving the truth to the people. The next greatest was through the Urban League which, through an interracial board, faced ugly facts and systematically went about trying to change them into fairer and more acceptable looks.

I have never professed to be a flaming "liberal." I am not one who believes that long-established patterns in any community can be changed overnight. I am not one who believes that poverty and its attendant ills can be wiped out with words.

But I do believe that every American has a right to equal opportunities in those phases of our life that the public controls—schools, courts and other such institutions; the right to vote for those who govern him or her; the right to find a place for a decent home; and the opportunity to find gainful employment.

That is why I am interested in the problems of the Negro in America. In the South, where 75 percent of American Negroes live, many of their rights as citizens have been denied them. I have tried to help them gain first things first.

The Urban League is opening up long-closed minds in the South. And I believe it is only such organizations as the Urban League that can keep opening them.

This revealing article by Edgar W. Ray, appears in the Winter Issue, 1948, *of* OPPORTUNITY, *official publication of the National Urban League,* 1133 *Broadway, New York* 10, *N .Y.*

31- Ro-Mus-
Robeson, Mrs. Edna

December 31, 1948

Miss Edna G. Robeson
7357 North West Miami Court
Miami, Florida

Dear Miss Robeson:

At last I am getting your manuscript to you. We are expressing it today. I have dictated my notes and they will reach you as soon as my secretary can get them transcribed, which should be only three or four more days.

Your point of view is interesting and consistent. I do not think there is a chance that events will bring things you say. Over any long period segregation will weaken, though from time to time, in waves of reaction, it may seem to be made more rigid.

The way in which you have constructed the book, I think mistakenly, of quotations which though carefully chosen are of violently unequal historical authenticity. Inevitably much truth is omitted, without even that passing reference which comes in the comprehensive paragraph thought out and written by an author doing a whole book.

Those parts of it which are yours, done yourself, are strong and clear.

I should think the best thing for you to do would be to cast aside all of those elaborate snippets and write a pamphlet that expresses your own thought.

Again, I must say I think your own thought is mainly wrong; but it is yours; and you have read, studied, observed, and thought enough to entitle you to express your view.

As a general comment I would add this: The work shows little familiarity with the industrial South. I grant that (regrettably) the plantation South still sets the patterns, but those patterns are being weakened by the approach to equalitarian institutions arising in industry. You constantly argue the history and fate of the South in terms of the history and fate of the agricultural and, really, the plantation South.

While I am thus critical, I concede the truth of much of what you argue. I only wish there were opportunity for us to sit and talk for a long time, and see more into each other's thought about this part of the world that we both love.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

AIR MAIL

September 1, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Soutyern Reginal Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of August 30th has just come in and I am delighted with it - delighted to know that you have actually read my manuscript and will make comments about it. So often, in a long business life, I have found that many men will promise a "slice of the green moon", and never keep the promise.

I can't tell you how grateful I am to you - that by your knowledge you will help me to send out (if I can find a publisher) a book which it seems to me just <u>must</u> get out, in order to help the racial matter.

This note is not only to thank you but to suggest you do not hurry too much, for the reason that I am in the very midst of getting applications made for two patents, and each one of them takes considerable time, If I should receive your comments by the first of October, that would be fine, for by that time I should be able to move aside everything else and give myself up to the rewriting of the manuscript --- and some additional study, too, of course.

Again, thank you. I have worked on this for years, in the conviction that God has intended me to do this thing - to do it, perhaps, because I am never too much concerned about what people say or think of my actions (they always being kept within decent bounds).

Sincerely,

Edna G. Robeson

Edna G. Robeson
7357 North West Miami Court
Miami, Florida.

July 24, 1948.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Reginal Council, Inc.,
Atlanta, Ga.

D ear Mr. Mitchell:

Under date of April 23rd you wrote me that you were reading my manuscript, The Potential Untouchables of America, and would let me have your opinion.

I shall be glad to hear from you, as there is still work to be done on this before it can go forth, and I exceedingly appreciate your interest.

Sincerely,

Edna G Robeson

7357 North West Miami Court,
Miami, Florida.

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

Ro-
Robeson, Edna

April 21, 1948

Mrs. Edna G. Robeson
7357 N. W. Miami Court
Miami, Florida

Dear Mrs. Robeson:

It is taking me longer to read your manuscript than I had expected.

I write you this note to assure you that I have got it and am well into it. I shall try to get it back to you with comment in a few days.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

March 24, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Re; Potential "Untouchables" of America.

By express today I am sending you copy of the manuscript. It is bulky - but don't be alarmed: I am not asking you to read all of it, though I would be happy to have you do so. On the index sheets I have circled in red the chapters which I would like you to read, and upon which I would like your comments as to whether I have rightly stated the attitude of the South.

I have been five years writing this book, during two years of which I was unable to read, and my vision now about half normal.

The book has no literary merit, so don't consider that phase. I am a college woman but have no gift for writing.

I was born among the Negroes of eastern Northcarolina (Tar Heel, Bladen County), and I think the time has come to help the Negro to get on a higher level. It seems to me this rests upon three points:

1. The status of the Negro in the South will be elevated only when the White of the South voluntarily agrees to have it elevated.
2. The country outside of the South ~~should~~ must read the history of the South and so be able to understand the attitude of the White of the South towards the Negro and "social equality" with him.
3. The Negro must accept Booker T. Washington's pronouncement that "in all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress".

What I have started, maybe a better writer will later be found to get it in shape acceptable to a first class publisher. I should be happy to have any comments from you- criticism from the use of a word to a change of viewpoint.

Sincerely,

Edna G. Robeson

Edna G. Robeson,
Miami, Florida.

RECEIVED
MAR 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

March 17, 1948.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you! I am trying to elevate the status of the Negro, and my strength is not sufficient to lift this mountainous load very high.

Scribner's is returning the manuscript. Whether their refusal of it is due to the sentiments set forth or to its literary merit - its complete lack of literary merit! - I do not know.

I will take the copy of the manuscript to the binders and hope to have it in the express office not later than Saturday.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Edna G Robeson

Robeson, Edna

March 15, 1948

Miss Edna G. Robeson
7357 North West Miami Court
Miami, Florida

Dear Miss Robeson:

Yes, indeed, I should be happy to read and comment on at least the chapters on the attitude of white people in the South toward the Negro.

Do please send me the manuscript.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

AIR MAIL March 14, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Reginal Council, Inc.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In re: The Potential "Untouchables" of America.

This is probably my last cry to you for help and it is based upon a letter received yesterday from Dr. Odum, saying "... if George Mitchell would be willing to do so he would know just about as nearly as anybody what the South's present attitude is towards the Negroes."

The manuscript of my book has been sent to Scribner's, who wrote they would be glad to read the revised work, they having refused the original some three years ago. If they don't accept it (and they may not!), I shall keep on until I find some reputable publisher who will send it out.

I am enclosing a copy of the Index, which will give a slight idea of what I am attempting. In several chapters, indicated in red on the enclosed copy, I have stated that so-and-so is the attitude of the Southern Whites. towards the Negro.

This letter is to ask if you will read that part of the manuscript which has to do with my statements as to the attitude of the White of the South towards the Negro? There are, perhaps or approximately, 175 pages on this subject.

I am not asking for a review or criticism or correction of the book as a whole (though I would "just love" that, of course), but help in giving to the world a true picture of the attitude of the White of the South towards the Negro. If you will look it over I will send a copy of the whole manuscript to you, so you may get an overall idea of what I am driving at, but will clearly indicate the pages which I am asking you to read.

May I send this manuscript to you?

Sincerely,

Edna G. Robeson

Edna G. Robeson,
7357 North West Miami Court,
Miami, Florida.

3.

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30-R-Misc. —
Reddick, L.D.

LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

January 4, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your letter in which you included the statement by the Emperor of Ethiopia on Libraries. This is a good one and we shall be sure to make some use of it here.

About the same time, quite accidentally, I ran into a quotation from John Donne. It is, I believe, one of the best I have ever seen in which the book and the Library were used as symbols of life. We put it on our little Christmas card this time, later we expect to put it on something more substantial.

Please continue to remember us in the future.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick

Encl.

L. D. Reddick

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

LDR:cj

Volumes of Good Cheer!

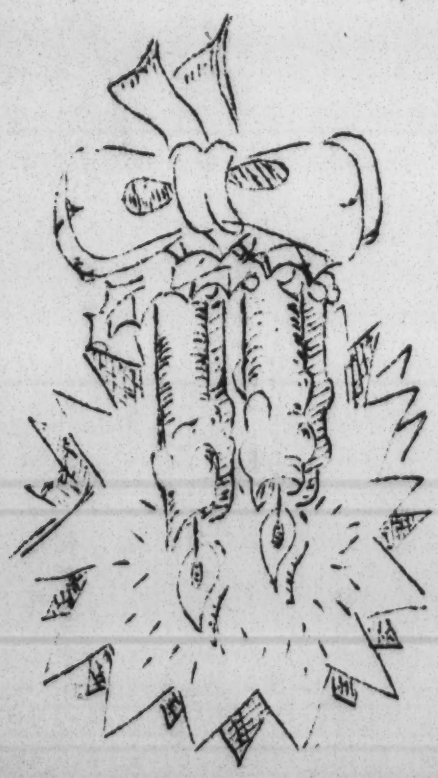
... All mankinde is of one Author, and is one volume; When one Man dies, one Chapter is not torne out of the booke, but translated into a better language; and every Chapter must be so translated; God emploies several translators; some peeces are translated by age, some by sickness, some by warre, some by justice; but God's hand is in every translation; and his hand shall binde up all our scattered leaves againe, for that Librarie where every booke shall lie open to one another: ....

-John Donne

From the;

Library Staff

Season Greetings-



31 - Ro - Duc
Rogers, Maude M.

January 5, 1949
Dict. January 4

Mrs. Maude Massey Rogers
115 McDaniel Avenue
Easley, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Rogers:

That was a very nice and encouraging letter from you. I was glad, too, to have that long account from Professor Nicholas Mitchell, whom I remember with pleasure.

The South has a wonderful opportunity now to reap a harvest of good will and progress from a show now of honest intent to be fair. Things are at a place where the voice of even four or five southern governors speaking up for right things would cause the whole nation to be willing, generously and with a degree of forbearance, to help the South in getting the basic health and housing and jobs and farms and so on that would bring for nearly everybody realized civic rights.

It is fine that you urged these things on the Governor.

We had inquiry from your Chamber of Commerce in Easley some weeks ago about the home town survey idea. We sent them a copy of the manual (for the moment not in stock, or I would send you one) and expressed the hope that Easley would go forward with it. Would you care to explore the possibilities?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

(Mrs.) Maude Massey Rogers
115 McDaniel Ave.
Easley, S. C.

December 31, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Please forgive me for the long delay in sending you Dr. Nicholas P. Mitchell's tribute - to your father. I send it now with - humble apologies for my thoughtlessness in not searching it out among my millions of clippings when we first spoke of it. I wish I had known your father. Everyone who knew him speaks of him with such respect, admiration and affection.

I am utilizing the last days of the year to read leaflets, pamphlets, magazines, etc., which have piled up unread due to illness and much absence from home, and the last copies of SRC publications seem to show much more awareness of our "problems" and a greater spirit tolerance and understanding on the part of an ever-increasing number of the South's citizens. Do you, too, feel this?

The "die-hards" are continuing to make "poor old South Carolina" the butt of ridicule and disapproval of fair-minded people all over - not only the United States - but the entire globe!

Our dear "Mary E." is now in Rex lovely new home, praise God, and is spending Christmas in Richmond. She is one grand girl. Happy new year!

Sincerely yours,
Maude Massey Rogers

Maude Massey Rogers
115 McDaniel Ave.
Easley, S. C.

In my opinion, the Dixie-crat movement in S. C. would have subsided considerably save for the cold-blooded, yet rabid, determination of Governor Wright (who sat quite near me when we had lunch at Wade Hampton in Oct.), and Bumpkin like his friend Governor Bumpkin. I met the latter and he was more effusive — unaware of the very unflattering opinion I had of him and his ilk!

Had a serious talk with Gov. Thurmond several weeks ago. I had told him and his sister how I felt before the real campaign began so he knew I had no sympathy whatever with his campaign. "The campaign is over now. You have very important State-business demanding your attention and I want you to concentrate on that and let's see if we can't get some of these important and urgent matters put into effect." He agreed that was his own thought & said he would do so. "and I want you & Olin to stop taking pot-shots at each other in the newspapers with an eye on 1950, too," I announced. "He has important business in the Senate, and you have important business here & I wish you'd both remember that." He asked for specific instances of "pot-shots" & I warned that all statements — by both — would be diligently studied for a political bias. If the "fire-eaters" whose jobs are endangered were not so vociferous in screaming "States Rights" (financed by oil companies?) may be

we'd begin to look like Christians, good citizens and worthy hi-
[illegible] of God's universe — think so, if this is not a "right point" = [illegible]
which is sort of a new, also a clear, "

GSM:

You wanted to know where Bettis Academy is. It is a Junior College located at Trenton, South Carolina.

met

Pardon this card, but I want to tell you at this late date that I am told at Morris College of Mr. Townsend's transfer to Bettis Academy. My delay in telling you this was due to the hope that I might be able to go to Bettis, but that seems rather hopeless. If any opportunity occurs, I shall certainly try to do your bidding.

where

With best wishes always, R. R.

Rebecca Reid.

29 E.Calhoun,Sumter
Jan.15,1949

30 - R. Misc.
Reid, Rebecca

December 20, 1948

Miss Rebecca Reid
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Miss Reid:

The Reverend Mr. Z. Townsend, Morris College, Sumter, is president of the South Carolina part of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. When they have meetings, state and local, they sometimes have need for pamphlet material such as ours. If they aren't already using it, probably they could and would.

Is it too much to ask you to go and see Mr. Townsend, and try to work out something that would help the Council get its materials into the hands of his group?

Appreciatively, and with warmest regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mrs. Eugene Spearman

30-A-Misc-
Raymond, Mary

January 25, 1949

Miss Mary Raymond
211 Camp Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Miss Raymond:

That was a mighty nice luncheon. Paul and I both greatly enjoyed it.

In Baton Rouge I saw various people who could be helpful: The Governor's Secretary, Mr. Fredericks, a fine young Judge named Carlos Spaht in Parish Court, and the publisher of both papers, Mr. George Manship, besides Marion Smith and the Sociology Department at LSU. Their problem is to find someone who will take the lead, and I think they will get somebody.

I want to get Mrs. Tilly to come over into upstate Louisiana this spring and see what she can do.

We will be hopeful that in due time our friends in New Orleans will find a way to play their part in a Louisiana Division of the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

30-R-misc-
Raymond, Mary C.

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES
211 CAMP STREET
NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.
RAYMOND 7131

CHARLES PAYNE FENNER, JR.
PRESIDENT
LOUIS G. LEMLE
VICE-PRESIDENT
ANDRE LAPEYRE
TREASURER

MARY C. RAYMOND
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

January 6, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have never thanked you for the sets of literature you sent me November 18th. I appreciate these and hope we can use them to advantage.

Sincerely yours
Mary C. Raymond
Mary C. Raymond
Executive Director

MCR/eb

30 - R - Misc -
Raper, Arthur

3/11/49

March 11, 1949

Dear Arthur:

Ten coming at you for free, and for love, and for hope that Honorable U. S. Government will buy some more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Mr. Arthur Raper
Social Scientist
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Washington, D. C.

(10 copies "Machines in the Cotton Fields")

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 8, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I like your letter of February 23, first, because you refused my unreasonable request and, second, because you did it so quickly. I know it is not logical at all for the Council to pay for the bulletins for me as a federal employee to hand out to folks asking for information from a government agency. I am suggesting to the Economic Information Division of this Bureau that they can buy pamphlets from you at the prices you quoted. In the meantime - and here is my payoff for being so nice to you thus far - send me one more half dozen "free".

Sincerely yours,

Arthur

Arthur Raper
Social Scientist

AR:mgp

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

30-R-Misc -
Robertson, Archibald T.

March 11, 1949

Dear Archie:

I have a secretary who is a good egg and bears no visible marks of the early condition known as being an "A.R.P." She told me that the Due West Railroad, which used to operate between Due West, South Carolina, and Donalds, owned by the A.R.P.'s, in all its thirty-odd years of toting passengers, never ran on the Sabbath day but once. That was when a woman had to be hauled to Donalds for an emergency operation.

I know you are through with railroads, but I thought you would cherish this bit of information.

Also a clipping, on snake-handling.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Mr. Archibald T. Robertson
Chain Bridge Road
Washington, D. C.

30 - R - Misc.
Rich, Donald H.
JP 4/26/49

JP -

Send:
price list
20 punch
20 Survey leaflets
5 Oct. 47 NS
10 honest answer reprints
10 Dec.-Jan. New South (49)
10 Feb. "
10 Mar. "
5 Oct. 46 New South

April 26, 1949

Mr. Donald W. Rich, Jr.
The Peddie School
10 Memorial Hall
Hightstown, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Rich:

We greatly appreciate your letter of April 23, and do wish we had supplies enough of leaflets to send to you the things you so kindly offer to get into the hands of the students.

On an exiguous budget, with printing costs what they are, we send you what we can.

The bundle has in it twenty copies of "What Kind of South Do You Want?", twenty home town self-survey leaflets, and fifty assorted and mainly recent issues of New South.

I do hope that some of the students will be interested in joining the Council or in writing us directly for particular things that would help them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Mrs. McKoy

The Peddie School
10 MEMORIAL HALL
PHONE 499
HIGHTSTOWN, N. J.
DONALD W. RICH, JR.

April 23, 1949

RECEIVED
APR 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Gentlemen:

We could use either fifty or two hundred copies--whichever we can get free of charge--of your publications:

The Home Town Self-Survey
New South
What Kind of South Do YOU Want

Fifty copies would allow us to distribute the material to the Senior Social Studies Classes; two hundred copies would mean we could get the literature in the hands of all our students in the Social Studies Course.

It would seem that such a distribution would be very good Public Relations for you; and for our part, I am very anxious to hear from you as the Seniors are studying race questions now.

Very truly yours,

D. W. Rich

Chairman, Social Studies Department

DWR:RT

What do you suggest for this

31-Ro, Misc

Rahesan, Edna G.

April 29, 1949.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Nearly a month late, I write to express my appreciation of your kindness in reading the manuscript of my book, and of your spending so much time in talking with me about it, in Miami.

I have not started the revision of it as yet, being as busy as I can be in finishing up a manuscript on music. But I hope to be able, presently, to write a book that will prove to be of some benefit in settling the problems of the race question.

With best wishes for you,

Sincerely,

Edna G. Rahesan

7357 North West Miami Court,
Miami, Florida.

RECEIVED
MAY 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

31 Ro-Misc — Robeson, Edna

Short Typewriter Co.

53 N. W. FIRST STREET MIAMI, FLORIDA

OFFICE MACHINES

March 31st - Thursday

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am asking you to meet me at the office of Mr. Short - Short Typewriter Co.

I shall be here at any time following three o'clock, as I am quite at home here and can find plenty of thingx tweed until you arrive. And if you find it convenient to do so, you could phone me here - phone - 2-0464.

This place closes sho½ at 5:30 and we will ha e to get out at that time - but if need be, we could adjourn to the steps of the County Court House, just across the street.

This is a place in the heart of downtown, and will be easy for you to find or to reach.

I am looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Edna Robeson

Incidentally, I am no longer a young lady - my head is white.

7357 Northwest Miami Court
Miami.

RECEIVED
APR 1 1949
Southern Regional Council

See SHORT for LONG Service

3 - RO - Misc - Robeson, Edna

RECEIVED
MAR 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

7357 N W Miami Court,
Miami, Florida.
March 30, 1949.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I really have not lost my mind but when you read this you may think that, at least temporarily, it departed from me.

I received your letter of the 23rd, upon my return home about five o'clock. For some queer reason I jumped to the conclusion that you would be here the following Monday, and it was then Friday evening. So Itried to phone you, and being unable to get you there - your office said you were out of town - I phoned your home. Not until 9:30 did I realize that the date you had set was for a week later, and there was plenty of time for me to have written you.

It would be better for us to meet down town than where I live because such a meeting would upset my landlady. She is a Dane and has knowledge of the Negro from her life in Chicago, and has not an atom of sympathy for them. As we use the same room for living room, dining room and kitchen (this is in Miami!), you can understand how it would be. From down town I will finish this letter.

Please apologize to Mrs. Mitchell for calling you at home in the evening. This letter sounds crazy, too - but I am working intensely to finish another matter.

I will have to write you as to a meeting place tomorrow, as you could receive it Friday

Edna Robeson

March 29, 1949

Miss Edna G. Robeson
7357 N.W. Miami Court
Miami, Florida

Dear Miss Robeson:

I am sorry I wasn't at home the other evening when you were kind enough to call. As I got the message, I was left in some doubt as to whether you were under the misapprehension that I would be arriving on your doorstep yesterday, Monday, March 28.

I do hope that you will be available on my correct date--Monday, April 4--for some time in the late afternoon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

5

March 23, 1949

Miss Edna G. Robeson
7357 N W Miami Court
Miami, Florida

Dear Miss Robeson:

My trip to Hollywood, Florida, puts me there for the morning of April 4. If I might appear at your home, say at 4:30 in the afternoon of April 4, that would be a good opportunity for us to confer.

I expect to be at the University of Miami April 5, and could doubtless fit in a meeting with you that day, but the afternoon of the 4th is a bit better for me.

Will you let me know if that is all right?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Tickler March 20

February 1, 1949.

RECEIVED
FEB 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Reginal Council, Inc.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Truly, "life is wonderful".

I live here, so I expect to be right here on April 4th and 5th. Hollywood is only about twenty miles from here, and the buses run on an hour schedule. I shall consider it a very great privilege to have an opportunity to discuss with you the subject about which we have been doing so much corresponding - the racial matter.

When the date draws near you can advise me your plans, and I will meet you at any time and place you designate.

In the same mail with your letter comes an invitation to spend the evening with friends who have a wonderful home and be their guest at a concert - University of Miami Symphony Orchestra and James Melton, Metropolitan Opera singer.

Truly, life is wonderful, and because I have had so much I should be able to pass along something worth while to others less fortunate.

Sincerely,

Edna G. Robeson

7357 N W Miami Court
Miami, Fla.

January 26, 1949
Dict. January 24

Miss Edna G. Robeson
7357 N. W. Miami Court
Miami, Florida

Dear Miss Robeson:

Somebody invited me to make a talk in Hollywood on the morning of April 4, and I am to be there then. Apparently Hollywood is somewhere tolerably close to Miami. Do you expect to be in Miami at that time? If so, I will hope that we could have an hour or two together on the 4th or the 5th. It would be a pleasure for me to talk with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

31 - Ro - Music -
Robeson, Edna G.

January 25, 1949.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Reginal Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have waited so long to answer your letter of the 10th that I am really ashamed to do so now. But there have been really good reasons for postponing things from day to day - like the last words of Cecil Rhodes, I can say, So much to be done, so little time to do it.

How I shall find words to express my appreciation of the effort you made to hold out a helping hand I do not know. I never dreamed of asking for anything like that - nor dreamed of receiving anything like the comments you made.

I shall rewrite this book. Not having any God-given ability to write books, I may fail in doing a good job. But I shall try, and in that trying I shall consider deeply every sentence you have written in your comments.

Thank you, Mr. Mitchell.

Sincerely,

Edna G Robeson

7357 N. W. Miami Court,
Miami, Florida.

RECEIVED
JAN 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

31-Ro-Misc-
Robeson, Edna G.

January 10, 1949

Miss Edna G. Robeson
7357 North West Miami Court
Miami, Florida

Dear Miss Robeson:

So nice to have your letter of January 4.

I do hope you will come through Atlanta, and we can sit down and talk.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure: notes on her manuscript

January 4, 1949.

RECEIVED
JAN 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Reginal Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

More than I can express do I appreciate your letter of December 31st, containing comments in regard to my book.

I know it is pretty bad; I know that I am not a writer in the sense of being an author; I do not know the subject very well, and because of my impaired vision during the years when I was trying to get my statements in shape I was not able to read up on the subject, as one should do.

However, I have some ideas on what should be the eventual outcome of some of our race problems, and I shall try again to express them, in the hope somebody will read them with some profit.

The manuscript has arrived, and I appreciate the courtesy which prompted it to be sent prepaid. When your further comments are received I shall study them all carefully, and in viewof them will plan my next endeavor.

Just now, I thank you for your willingness to lend such a helping hand.

Sincerely,

Edna G. Robeson

7357 N W Miami Court,
Miami, Florida.

I have an idea that during the summer, before I could possibly finish writing the book, I shall be privileged to have a trip back to Atlanta - where I lived for twenty-five years. If so, perhaps we can then have a talk.

December 31, 1948

Miss Edna G. Robeson
7357 North West Miami Court
Miami, Florida

Dear Miss Robeson:

At last I am getting your manuscript to you. We are expressing it today. I have dictated my notes and they will reach you as soon as my secretary can get them transcribed, which should be only three or four more days.

Your point of view is interesting and consistent. I do not think there is a chance that events will bring things your way. Over any long period separation will weaken, though from time to time, in waves of reaction, it may seem to be made more rigid.

In the way in which you have constructed the book of quotations which, though carefully chosen, are of violently unequal historical authenticity, inevitably much truth is omitted, without even that passing reference which comes in the comprehensive paragraph thought out and written by an author doing a whole book.

Those parts of it which are yours, done yourself, are strong and clear.

I should think the best thing for you to do would be to cast aside all of those elaborate snippets and write a pamphlet that expresses your own thinking.

Again, I must say I think your own thought is mainly wrong; but it is yours; and you have read, studied, observed, and thought more than enough to entitle you to express your view.

As a general comment I would add this: The work shows little familiarity with the industrial South. I grant that (regrettably) the plantation South still sets the patterns, but those patterns are being weakened by the approach to equalitarian institutions arising in industry. You constantly argue the history and fate of the South in terms of the history and fate of the agricultural and, really, the plantation South.

While I am thus critical, I concede the truth of much of what you argue. I only wish there were opportunity for us to sit and talk for a long time, and see more into each other's thought about this part of the world that we both love.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

VOLUME I

Page

10 Spain has been left out. Of course not a member of United Nations, but certainly one of the nations.

12.2 You do not actually quote from Mayo, so why a footnote citation?

13 Maybe a definition of progathism would be helpful.

15. Who was Patrick MacRoberts?

26 On Brazil, I had always thought that she did not emancipate until much later. See also your last paragraph on page 28, and again, your final sentence on page 29.

30 Few would agree that the history of the South is the history of the politicians ~~of the~~ in the South.

32 I wish we could have a good long talk about the function of politicians. It seems to me you hope for over-much from them, and condemn them too easily.

39 Paragraph 3: The construction is awkward. You are not quoting a statement from the platform; you are quoting a summary only.

50 The central paragraph beginning "The controversy" is, to my mind, far too flat a statement. Constrast with your quotation in next to last paragraph, page 51.

54 How could you prove your opinion in the middle paragraph that the Emancipation Proclamation was not intended as an act of mercy to destroy slavery, but as an act of punishment upon the southern Confederacy because of its attempt at secession?

7 Misprint for "paroled".

95 Point 1: First paragraph, repetitious language used. Next tolast paragraph, page 81.

97 Why so down on scalawags? There is another view, you know, which considers them inheritors of the tradition of freedom which was rooted in the South well before slavery spread. From their point of view, the plantation aristocarts were far from being the natural leaders of the South, but were persons whose grasp over an immoral and uneconomic institution had supported them in a doomed and erroneous leadership.

VOLUME II: I read, but made no comments.

VOLUME III

Page

225 Second and third paragraphs. It is an odd assumption that all white persons in the South are employers--whether of domestic help or of factory operatives. Surely, down through southern history, as much as two-thirds of the white families in the South never had any Negro hired help. And many white adults today are employees, not employers. When Negroes and whites are employees together in factories and mines and mills, a great many instances could be cited to show departures from the mutually armed truce you describe.

230.1 It is some time since I read careful analyses of the Philadelphia transit strike, but what I recall is that the Transit Company had petted a company union which had been replaced by a regular union. The officers of the disestablished company union, probably with the connivance of the company, saw in the racial grievance an opportunity to destroy the regular union and reinstate the old regime. Granted that the taboo showed itself clearly, but not, at any rate, automatically.

259 I greatly doubt that Argentina is a country whose peoples are mainly Germans or of German descent.

264.1 Of course I know what you are talking about when you decry what you call the "carpetbagger spirit" in northern personages today. But I don't agree with you. The northern figures whom I know who want to improve things in the South are moved by conscience, and not hope of personal profit.

280.2 I think your Negro correspondents were right. Negro rent payers do indirectly pay taxes.

280.8 First paragraph: You use the word coerce. With that word history may prove you right. But my guess is that the predominant spirit in the North is not one for coercing the South, but for getting the South to see its shortcomings, by methods less than coercion.

284 I do not accept at all that Negroes in the South have any greater "natural inherent" dislike of labor than white people. The institution of slavery was enough to establish a cultural tradition of avoiding labor. We have capped that by practices which impose a scarcely penetrable ceiling to the ambitions of most Negroes. Those two forces are enough to produce a take-it-easy attitude. It will take a good while to undo past damage, but the damage is not to the genes.

299 "America was settled by The White." Of course it depends on your definition of settling. To me, settling is felling trees and building houses and cropping land. Certainly Negroes had a big share in this. Of course settling can be defined as the planning and fighting and politicing that went with opening new land.

VOLUME III (continued)

Page

299.1 and 299.2 It seems to me that distinction for human achievement should be accorded to people as humans, and not as members of particular races.

308 Last paragraph: Why does indifferent work predominate?

VOLUME IV

328.2 I believe there are about a million Negro veterans of World War II.

384 Mid-page: Surely one of the most powerful influences at work in the South for improvement of interracial understanding is the relationship of Negro and white employees as co-members of trade unions.

394.8 You so easily find as villain the carpetbagger. That is something like the position of those who today suppose that social ills are best cured by hunting out communists. To my mind the carpetbagger was, as the communist is, a zealot, but the way to avoid the ~~a~~tentions of zealots is to cure the evils which they constantly decry.

31 Ro-Rut - Rosen, Abbot

April 29, 1963

Mr. Abbot Rosen
527 S. LaSalle Street
Chicago 4, Illinois

Dear Mr. Rosen:

Alex Miller passed on to me your request for back copies of New South to complete your file. I am sending them separately, and have put you on our mailing list.

Enclosed is our latest leaflet on the Council itself. Couldn't we persuade you to become an associate member?

We still remember gratefully your help in making the Southwide civil rights meeting a success last year.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encl

31-170-Misc.-
Rosen, A. Abbot

May 4, 1949

Mr. A. Abbot Rosen, Director
Chicago Executive Offices
Anti-Defamation League Of B'nai B'rith
327 South La Salle Street
Chicago 4, Illinois

Dear Abbot:

Many thanks for your letter and check. We are delighted to have you as a member.

I hope you will have occasion to come to Atlanta again soon. Meanwhile, if you need any information from down this way that we can supply, let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

327 SOUTH LASALLE STREET • CHICAGO 4, ILLINOIS • WEBSTER 9-5288

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May 2, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of April 29 in which you advise you are sending me copies of the NEW SOUTH to complete my files and that you are putting me on your mailing list as well.

Enclosed is a check for $3.00 for an associate membership in the Southern Regional Council.

I hope one of these days to get to see you and your colleagues in Atlanta. Your civil rights meeting of last year was one of the real high spots of my year. I am looking forward to pitching in again with you one of these days.

Sincerely yours,

AR

A. ABBOT ROSEN, Director
Chicago Executive Offices

AAR:HKG
Enc.

3.00 ck Mem.
CAC has

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425 New York Life Bldg., 20 W. 9th St., Kansas City 6, Mo.

SOUTHWESTERN REGIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL,
1003 Scanlan Bldg., Houston 2, Texas

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS. TO PRESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

May 6, 1949

Mr. Richard T. Rives
P. O. Box 347
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Rives:

I do appreciate your kindness in writing me May 4.

It seems to me you are planning wisely, and in a way that will carry on into other men's lives the concern which I am told your son had for kindness and growth in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

30 - R. Misc
Rives, Richard T.

LAW OFFICES OF
RICHARD T. RIVES
235-237 PROFESSIONAL CENTER
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

RICHARD T. RIVES
JOHN C. GODBOLD

P. O. BOX 347
TELEPHONES 3-0264
3-0265

May 4, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3 , Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was most kind of you to write me as you did in your letter of April 28th, and also to send me the Volume "Investment in People".

We find however, that Dick's insurance did not carry double indemnity as we had thought and there is only $21,000 available to start this Fund. A meeting of Dick's close friends yesterday afternoon advised that with this limited amount we should undertake to establish a small charitable corporation here in Montgomery with broad powers, but with aims principally to help young Montgomery colored graduate and undergraduate students. One thought was that the Board of Trustees, probably nine, might serve informally as a much needed interracial council in this City.

I do appreciate your offer to come to Montgomery but as you will see from this situation that is hardly necessary at this time.

A committee was appointed to draft the proposed corporate charter and when that is done, I shall take the liberty of sending you a copy for any suggestions you may have to make.

Again thanking you and with all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Richard T. Rives

RTR/r

30- R. Misc.
Rives, Richard T.

April 28, 1949

Mr. Richard T. Rives, Sr.
Park Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Rives:

Mr. Douglass Cater very kindly wrote us about your wish to commemorate your son, and asked us to write you with the Council's ideas.

Our suggestion would be use of the sum as scholarships for promising southern young persons, most of them Negroes, with a particular view to training them in work which would open new opportunities.

As you know, for a matter of twenty-odd years the Julius Rosenwald Fund conducted a scholarship program of that order. The Rosenwald Fund closed out its work last year and such scholarships are no longer available. From conversations with former officials of that Foundation, I know that they regard the scholarship effort as probably the most rewarding of all of their enterprises.

The results come out clearly in the volume Investment in People, of which I send you a copy.

Nothing builds respect for Negroes more rapidly than achievement by Negro persons. Witness, in the field of foreign administration, Dr. Ralph Bunche and Governor Hastie. Experience has shown that Negro talent is gladly used wherever there is special demand for the ability concerned. That makes room for a continuing effort to have prepared ahead of demand Negroes

with specialized abilities. The whole field of medicine is open for further development in this direction. The same is true of hospital administration. Another field is that of city planning, in which so far as I know, no Negroes are now serving prominently. Criminology is another field. Colonial administration presents itself now as a most promising field, as it is clear that this country will play an important role in Near Eastern and North African affairs.

The area from which talent of this kind should be drawn should be at least Southwide, though I see no difficulty in the way of giving some preference to students from Alabama, if that should be in accordance with your wish.

The problem of administration of such a fund is of some importance. The administrative body should have wide contacts with colleges in the South and should have ready standing with institutions in the North and abroad. It should be in a position also to devote to the service of the fund a continuity of talent and information, with a minimum of expense. It seems to me such an arrangement would be most feasible were the task of administration put upon some already existing organization experienced in that field.

I cannot speak authoritatively for our Southern Regional Council, but I take it as altogether probable that the Board of Directors would be happy to assume the administrative service of a Richard T. Rives, Jr. Scholarship Fund, for some such purposes as I have outlined. The Council has close links with the wealth of experience in scholarships of this kind accumulated by the Rosenwald Fund. Among the Board of Directors, it so happens, are the presidents of many of the leading white and Negro educational institutions of the South.

I would be happy to come to Montgomery at your pleasure if this idea or some related one seemed to you worthy of further development.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Douglass Cater
Gould Beech

31-Ro-Misc -
Robinson, J. M.

T.C.A.C.

May 17, 1949

Dr. J. M. Robinson (M.D) (Co-founder of the Ark. Negro Democratic Assn of Arkansas)
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Robinson:

How very kind of you to send the Council your check for $3.00. We are entering a membership for you.
M.C.K.

I send you a new leaflet about the Council, and a copy of a recent publication about the franchise in the South.

If we can be of assistance to you, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

New Member card 5-26-49

cc: Mrs. McKoy
Note that we are entering the membership for him, and not for the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association of Arkansas, as the check and letter indicate.

I.T. Gillam

Copy

May 12, 1949

University of Arkansas
Department of Sociology
Fayetteville, Arkansas

In response to your letter received this morning, I am enclosing you herewith, a copy of our Constitution and By-Laws, — in Pamphlet file — See 28 - Politics and I think our political accomplishments to date are a matter of history and speak for themselves. I am enclosing my check with a copy of this letter to the Southern Regional Council as you suggest.

Thanking you, I am

Yours,

J. M. Robinson, M. D.

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MAY 16 1949
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AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE OF TEXAS

COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

DEPARTMENT OF
AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

June 22, 1949

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Abuurn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Since I sent you a copy of the Bell County report it has been decided by the administration that the data were too old for a 1949 report. Therefore, the progress report has been withdrawn, and because of this fact I believe that if your group ever has occasion to use the report or parts of the report that you treat it as "unpublished material."

The form of leasing has been one of the South's problems for a long time now. A system which operated under one agricultural system simply won't under a livestock or dairy program. It is gratifying to know that organizations such as yours are aware of the problems growing out of one-year unwritten leases, and that you are doing something about the problem.

Thank you for your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Wayne C. Rohrer

Wayne C. Rohrer
Assistant Professor

WCR/jw

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Southern Regional Council

31-Ro-Dwe
Rohrer, Wayne C

June 17, 1949

Mr. Wayne C. Rohrer, Asst. Professor
Dept. of Agricultural Economics and Sociology
Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas
College Station, Texas

Dear Mr. Rohrer:

We were most happy to receive the copies of your report on "Farm Housing in the Blackland Prairie Area of Bell County, Texas". It is an excellent study and usefully supplements our material on Southern housing.

Your observation that written farm leases would greatly improve housing is of particular interest to the Council. We have long advocated such a requirement in the tenant-landlord relationship; a pamphlet now in preparation will further emphasize the point.

We will appreciate copies of future reports which you may issue.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE OF TEXAS

COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

DEPARTMENT OF
AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

June 2, 1949

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing three copies of a housing report in which I thought you might be interested. Your criticisms and comments will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Wayne C. Rohrer

Wayne C. Rohrer
Assistant Professor

WCR/jw

PROGRESS REPORT 1172
TEXAS AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION—THE TEXAS A&M COLLEGE SYSTEM
R. D. Lewis, Director, College Station, Texas, May 28, 1949

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Southern Regional Council

FARM HOUSING IN THE BLACKLAND PRAIRIE AREA OF BELL COUNTY, TEXAS

Wayne C. Rohrer, Assistant Professor
Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology

Housing of farm people has become a national problem through an intermingling of cause and effect. Because many farm tenants move frequently--often annually--they do not acquire the attachment for a house which is necessary to insure that the house is maintained in a sound condition. On the other hand, many landlords, who have had a succession of tenants who failed to care for their property, will not spend money on repairs or improvements. Because farmsteads are comparatively isolated, it has been considered too costly to provide most community public services for rural areas. Thus, the deficiency of gas, electric, water and disposal services has contributed greatly to the low level of rural housing. The irregularity of farm income is another characteristic of rural life which has prohibited routine maintenance and improvement of the farm house. Years of low income have failed to provide the necessary cash, and the money received in years of high income has gone to clear debts incurred in previous years or for additional land, livestock or farm machinery.

This report is concerned with the housing of 294 white farm operators, 162 tenants, 53 part owners, 79 full owners, living in eastern Bell county, Texas in 1942. (A full owner owns all the land he operates. A part owner owns part and rents the remainder of the land he operates. A tenant operates only rented land. Rent is paid in the form of cash, a share of the crop plus cash, or by crop share, usually one-third of the grain and one-fourth of the cotton.) This portion of Bell county was selected as representative of rural conditions in the Blackland Prairie type-of-farming area.

Despite the age of these data, they are representative of the relative levels of tenant and owner housing as found in the Blackland Prairie in 1949. Tenant housing in 1949 is more adequate than it was in 1942, but it still lacks many facilities and conveniences found in the house of an owner. Since the end of World War II, landlords have improved tenant housing by re-roofing, screening porches and re-painting. Owner housing has been improved by building new houses or re-modeling old houses. Re-modeling has included the addition of sanitary facilities, re-roofing, re-painting and additional rooms. Farm housing will be improved so long as farm income remains at a high level.

The data indicate that tenure and size of farm unit influence the level of housing attained by the farm family. As tenure is the more important of the two, the level of housing is given for each type of operator without regard to size of farm. Full owners live in the best houses; the part owner's house is nearly as adequate; and the tenant's house is the least adequate. Because tenure is so influencial in determining level of housing, strengthening the landlord-tenant relationship should benefit housing of tenant-operators. Improvement of the farm leasing system by introduction of written farm leases that include provision for improving farm housing would do much to make stable and secure the landlord-tenant relationship. Then it would be likely that the landlord would improve tenant housing, and the tenant would take care of the landlord's property.

Within each type of operator group, those who farmed the large units (120 acres or over) have better houses than do the operators of small units (0-119 acres).

Some Characteristics of Farm Housing

A well cared for farm house will be a well painted one. Paint has high economic value in that it is a preservative and thus extends the life of a house. At the time of the survey over half of the tenants lived in unpainted houses, or houses whose exterior paint was in poor condition (Table 1). On the other hand, 58 percent of the part owners and 61 percent of the full owners had houses whose exterior paint was in good condition.

Table 1. Condition of exterior paint

Type of operator	Unpainted	Painted	
		Poor condition	Good condition
	%	%	%
Tenants (162 cases)	32	20	48
Part owners (53 cases)	25	17	58
Full owners (79 cases)	11	28	61

Fifty-six percent of the full owners lived in a house which was less than 25 years old (Table 2). Over half of the tenant and part owner houses were more than 25 years old.

Table 2. Age of house

Type of operator	0-9 years	10-24 years	25-49 years	50 years and over
	%	%	%	%
Tenants (162 cases)	6	35	43	16
Part owners (53 cases)	23	23	47	7
Full owners (79 cases)	27	29	38	6

Seventy-six percent of the tenants and 58 percent of the part owners lived in houses which provided less than two rooms per person (Table 3). On the other hand, 63 percent of the full owners lived in houses which provided two or more rooms per person. This difference is at least partially attributable to the variance in number of persons in a family. Tenant and part owner families included more than three persons living at home; full owner families included less than three persons. (The stage in the family cycle is emphasized by the difference in the age of the family heads. The average age of the tenant-operator was 42 years, the part owner was 49 years, and the full owner was 55 years.) Another significant factor was the difference in the average number of rooms in the house. Tenant houses averaged four rooms, part owner houses five rooms, and full owner houses nearly six rooms.

Table 3. Rooms per person

Type of operator	Less than one room	One room, less than two	Two rooms or more
	%	%	%
Tenants (162 cases)	29	47	24
Part owners (53 cases)	13	45	42
Full owners (79 cases)	5	32	63

A majority of the farm operators had a house which included at least two bedrooms, a separate living room and a separate kitchen (Table 4). Seven out of 10 of all owners had a house which included a separate dining room.

Table 4. Room type

Type of operator	One bedroom	Two bedrooms	Three or more bedrooms	Living room 1/	Dining room	Other 2/
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tenants (162 cases)	24	46	30	77	45	9
Part owners (53 cases)	11	59	30	91	68	2
Full owners (79 cases)	6	47	47	81	72	9

1/ Only rooms used solely as living rooms were counted. If a room served as a living room and also as a bedroom, it was counted as a bedroom.
2/ Includes dens, parlors and sun porches.

Fewer tenant's houses than owner's houses had sanitary facilities such as a drained kitchen sink, running water and a bathroom (Table 5). More operators had drained kitchen sinks than had either of the other two facilities. It might be interesting to note here that the Czech operators fell behind other farm operators in providing sanitary facilities for the house. (The sample included 88 Czech farm operators. An operator was considered to be of the Czech ethnic group if the Czech language was the primary tongue used by his family.) This was true when size of holding and tenure status were held constant.

Table 5. Sanitary facilities

Type of operator	Kitchen sink	Water piped into house	Bathroom
	%	%	%
Tenants (162 cases)	17	14	9
Part owners (53 cases)	56	56	43
Full owners (79 cases)	65	55	48

Thirty-nine percent of the tenants, 82 percent of the part owners and 74 percent of the full owners lived in a house which was lighted by electricity. It is evident that tenure is influential in this aspect of farm housing. The farm home and business are made more convenient and efficient through the addition of electricity. Also, electricity usually

stimulates the farm family to install other housing improvements. Thus, the addition of an electrically powered water pump will likely be followed by the installation of sanitary facilities.

The effect of tenure was apparent when comparing the value of the house which was occupied by each type of operator. The average value of a tenant house was $698; part owner's, $1,043, and full owner's was $1,512. Low as the average values are, the eastern Bell county farm house compared favorably with farm houses in the rest of the country. The median value of farm houses in the 13 Southern States in 1940 was $443, and for the other states it was $1,048, according to "Housing in the South," published by the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, April 1948. (These regional averages are based on housing of all farm people. This report does not include housing of share croppers and farm laborers.)

The eastern Bell county farm operator's house had a floor of planed softwood. The few hardwood floors found by the survey were in owners' houses. The house had a wooden shingle roof which did not leak. Three doors and between two and three windows per house was the general rule. Generally, windows and doors were well screened.

Summary

The ownership of the farm unit is a strong influence in determining level of housing. It was found in this survey that a farm owner-operator's house as compared with a farm tenant-operator's house was larger, newer, better painted, and had a higher value. Also, it was more likely that the owner's house had sanitary facilities and electric lights. Housing of both owners and tenants was improved during the war and postwar periods. However, the relative differences in the housing of owner-operators and tenant-operators are still in existence.

The size of the farm unit is also an influence in determining level of housing. It was found in this survey that operators of large units (120 acres or over) had better houses than did the operators of small units (0-119).

Most farm operators in eastern Bell county lived in a one-story house which provided one-to-two rooms per person, well-screened windows and doors, a finished floor of softwood and a sound roof of wooden shingles.

Acknowledgment

This report is based on data collected for the Regional Land Tenure Research Project under the sponsorship of the Southwestern Land Tenure Research Committee, composed of representatives of agricultural economics and rural sociology departments in the land-grant colleges of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas, and one representative each from the USDA Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Farm Foundation. The project was financed by the institutions represented and the General Education Board. The data were collected in late 1942 and early 1943.

The purpose of the survey was to study land tenure and the effect it may have on the economic and social life of the farm family and the rural community.

- 0 -

30- R- Frac
Roberts, Shelby

July 20, 1949

MEMO TO ACCOMPANY MAP SPEECH PAMPHLET

(Notes on conversation with Shelby Roberts, Jr., July 19, 1949)

The book by L.C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860 has valuable maps.

The best informed man in the country about the French Counties in Louisiana is Vernon Parrenton. He is a blind professor of sociology at L. S. U. He wrote his Harvard thesis on the Techa Country.

Margaret Hagood who now works with Arthur Raper in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. has done a report of the country, county by county, showing levels of living. In the North, the best land has the highest living levels. In the South, the best land has the poorest. John Griffin has a copy of her book with maps. Should get.

The expert on plantations in the B.A.E. in Washington is Ken Bachman, an Oklahoma man.

We could get some help from Joe Ackerman of the Farm Foundation.

At Clemson, Charles Butler or Buller (I don't know which) is attached to B.A.E. and knows most about types of farm areas. In Washington, in B.A.E. see Lee Langaford.

There remains in Washington, unpublished but completely compiled, Carl Taylor's material analysis of rural communities. Frank Alexander among many others worked on this. They did Dallas County, Alabama, Coahoma County, Mississippi, and Clayton County, Georgia.

George S. Mitchell

GSM:vgd

30- R- Miss
Reid, Rebecca

August 16, 1949

Miss Rebecca Reid
29 E. Calhoun Street
Sumter, S. C.

Dear Miss Reid:

Thank you for your letter of August 15 about South Carolina's plan making for the coming year.

I would work on equal schools, on the franchise, and on housing.

There is a law suit on in a south Georg a county for equal school facilities. You may have one or two in South Carolina, if not now, then soon. It is very helpful to get people in the state and people in the counties and cities who can act to know ahead of time that such law suits are inevitable and will be won. School Boards which confer with Negro leadership in advance of such suits can, probably, work out agreed schedules for complete equalization.

On housing, now that the Federal bill is passed, the main thing to do is to get as many communities as possible to learn their exact housing needs and put in for new ones. The only towns which will get benefit from the bill will be towns, the citizens of which are so convinced of the need of housing that the public officials will act diligently to get them. The home town self-survey fits in neatly there. Obviously, the towns that make surveys will be in position to get their officials to get some housing. South Carolina is already a banner state with Greenville making one and Rock Hill cooking one. I would love to see others in places like Walterboro, Dillon, Clover and McBee.

Ten thousand other things to work on but those would be my pick.

I should think particular effort should be made to strengthen our machinery for discovering threatened violence and getting it controlled.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A COUNCIL TO ATTAIN THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION THE IDEALS AND PRACTICES OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH

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ORANGEBURG

REV. A. J. WRIGHT
BENNETTSVILLE

29 E.Calhoun St.
Sumter,S.C.
August 15,1949

Dr. George S.Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave.N.E.
Atlanta 3,Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The meeting of the S.C.Executive Board August 30 is called chiefly to plan the October meeting as preparatory to the Regional meeting in November. Will you let us know just what emphases you would like to have us make with this in mind.

Cordially yours,

R. R.

Rebecca Reid.

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

equal schools
the vote
housing (surveys as an aid)

ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Mrs. Alice Anderson, Rev. E. A. Adams, Dr. J. A. Bacoats, Mrs. Rosamonde W. Boyd, Earle R. Britton, Mrs. W. T. Cassels, Rev. Maxie C. Collins, Franz Daniel, Mrs. Beautine DeCosta, Mrs. Louise J. DuBose, Laura Ebaugh, A. C. Flora, Mrs. Phyllis Gibbes, Wil Lou Gray, Mrs. Madge Harper, Rev. A. W. Hill, J. M. Hinton, Mrs. J. Roy Jones, Leila Johnson, Vonnie Lance, Mrs. Norman Lynch, John H. McCray, Mrs. Sarah McCullough, Mary Helen Oetzel, J. F. Potts, Josephine Pinckney, Mrs. Corrie Plyler, Dr. W. M. Ratliff, Julia R. Reynolds, Mrs. Hyman Rubin, Dr. J. J. Seabrook, Edwin G. Seibels, Gadsden E. Shand, Mrs. Andrew J. Simkins, Mrs. Albert Simons, Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, Mrs. J. R. Thornton, Marion A. Wright.

30 Reid, Rebecca

August 2, 1949

Miss Rebecca Reid
29 E. Calhoun St.
Sumter, S. C.

Dear Miss Reid:

I do appreciate all the kind attention that went into getting out the Collier's article.

Here is our check for eleven dollars and sixty-five cents ($11.65).

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure: check

30-R-Inc
Reid, Rebecca

July 19, 1949
VIA AIR MAIL

Miss Rebecca Reid
29 East Calhoun Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Miss Reid:

In our forthcoming issue of New South, we plan to run an article — the third in a series — on South Carolina's legislative apportionment. Enclosed is the brief manuscript, just completed. Your comments, including any changes you think advisable, would be most important to us.

Since we are behind in our New South schedule, we are proceeding to have the article set in type. But we shall gladly make such changes in the proof as are necessary.

Could you give us your reactions within the next day or two? I am sure you will understand the pressure of time which makes it necessary to ask for such a prompt answer.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCFinn

20-R-Misc.
Reid, Rebecca

July 15, 1949

Miss Rebecca Reid

Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Miss Reid:

When you can let me know the names of the persons to whom the Collier's article has been sent, I will be grateful. I merely want it for the files.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

30 - R - Jane Reid, Rebecca

1201

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(49)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AC25

A•SRA075 PD=SIMTER SOCAR 9 241P=

1949 JUL 9 PM 2 54

DR GEORGE E MITCHELL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=

PLEASE SEND LIST PERSONS TO WHOM SC FINANCE LETTER WAS MAILED=

REBECCA REID•

RECEIVED
JUL 11 1949
Southern Regional Counc

SC•

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RETURNED
1949 JUL 9 PM 4 41
MSGR. NUMBER
ONLY ATLANTA
1949 JUL 9 PM 3 08
ONLY ATLANTA

June 28, 1949

Miss Rebecca Reid
29 East Calhoun Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Miss Reid:

Send me, if you will please, the quotes on Wade Hampton's endorsement of civil rights in 1876.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

30-R, Misc Field Reports
Reid, Rebecca

29 E.Calhoun St.
Sumter,S.C.
June 9,1949

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George E.Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are not sound asleep over here, but chronically dopy. After efforts on the May 3 meeting, and the finance letter, we are only beginning the circulating of the Survey pamphlet. We hope we are going at it wisely and with the propsect of some response. We are priming pumps. Where thers is water, we trust we will get response. Where the well isdry, that is another matter, and will need different treatment. Discovering new springs, perhaps.

This note is simply to let you know we are here and pegging at is. Any suggestions at any time will be greatly appreciated.

With best wishes always,

Cordially yours,

Rebecca Reid

Rebecca Reid.

Did you know that Wade Hampton endorsed the Civil Rights points in his Inaugural Address in 1876? Believe it or not! And I told the UDC about it. They sat on the edges of their chairs.

30-R Misc
Reader's Digest

August 18, 1949

The Reader's Digest
Pleasantville, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Right good piece, this.

Hopefully submitted as deserving place in Reader's Digest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

31 - Ro - Misc
Rotary Club
Miami

September 1, 1949

Mr. H. L. McCay, Secretary
Rotary Club
Box 448
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. McCay:

You were kind enough to write me way back in April saying that if I had plans for coming to the Miami area again, I should let you know for possible use of me for a talk.

I recently accepted an invitation to appear, expenses paid, before the King of Clubs in Miami on Sunday, January 15, 1950.

I have written people at the University of Miami offering them any of the following Monday that they might want and have written Mr. Morton McDonald offering myself for any use he may arrange the preceding Friday January 13 and the Tuesday, January 17.

If you can foresee any way in which we could match up, I would be delighted to be of any service to your group I could.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

31- Ro - Misc
Rotary Club

August 22, 1949

Mr. Morton McDonald
120 West New York Avenue
Deland, Florida

Dear Mr. McDonald:

I still recall with pleasure the opportunities you were kind enough to give me before the 1949 District Conference No. 167-B at Hollywood Beach, Florida. (Rotary)

I have been asked to come to Miami with expenses paid for a talk on Sunday, January 15, 1950, and have agreed to go.

I write you merely to say that if there should be a group or two on the way down or back which will be needing a speaker, I would be happy to be of service.

It is part of the Council's job to get its point of view known to responsible people in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

3s - R - Misc
Reporter

September 20, 1949

Mr. Douglass Cater
c/o The Reporter
220 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Doug:

Please forgive this long delay in answering your last letter. We have been snowed under here the last couple of weeks with a Southwide Conference of Church Women, at which Mrs. Roosevelt was the guest of honor. It went off very well and, I think, will bear good fruit.

I see by the most recent issue of The Reporter that you have been busy too. That was quite an assignment you took on. A swell job of reporting, too.

Doug, I don't know whether or not you're still contemplating a profile of Col. Palmer. I hope so. Anyway, here are a couple of suggestions. Don C. Shoemaker, editor of the Asheville (N. C.) Citizen, might be a good possibility. He is in the area, has the necessary background, would know Palmer, and is supposed to have a lot on the ball. All that is important, since half the story of Palmer lies in the peculiarities of that area.

I don't know if John Popham, Southeastern correspondent for the New York Times, ever does any magazine stuff or not. I do know that he is a very able guy with plenty of information under his belt. He works out from the Chattanooga Times and can be written there.

Most notable Southern profiler just now is Harold Martin, of the Atlanta Constitution. No doubt he would do a good job, but I fear he has been spoiled by the fat fees from the Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, et al. Better yet, why don't you prowl around down there and do the piece yourself?

I'll try to do better on the story ideas. Meanwhile, I'm sending separately our two latest products. The pamphlet Race in the News looks very promising. The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has agreed to send a copy to each of its 425 members.

All the best,

WA 4235

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

The Reporter

220 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

August 29, 1949

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for the favorable comment on the Our Liberties issue. I think The Reporter is gradually finding a place for itself. The Russian issue was picked up and reprinted for distribution overseas by the State Department and we even got favorable comment in an editorial of the New York Daily News.

I am returning you the material which you lent me with apologies for having delayed so long. By the way, you are not supplying me with as many story ideas as I would like. Do you have a suggestion as to who could write a profile on Col. W. E. Palmer of Kingsport, Tenn.? From what I can gather he would make an ideal subject for a study on a successful Southern businessman. I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Doug

Greenville - Freeman
City Ed., Knox News-Sent.

Asheville + Ramsey (Ed.)

TVA:

Ed.

Mr.

Asheville

2-2727

Express

Alan C. Shoemaker
Ed., The Citizen

John N. Popham

Harold Martin

31- Ro - Misc
Rogers, G. D.

September 26, 1949

Mr. G. D. Rogers, President
Central Life Insurance Co.
Tampa 1, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

That was mighty kind of you to order fifty copies of Race in the News. We are sending them out today. The check for $7.50 will help us a lot. If these first ones produce a further demand, let me know.

I think really that the little pamphlet will press along and shape a movement which will be one of the most significant of modern improvements of things in the South. I enclose a list of those to whom you and Mr. Daniel so kindly sent your joint letter June 6.

Of these, the only one who has sent a contribution in response to the letter is Mr. George E. Lewis, Lewis State Bank, Tallahassee, Florida. I am not forgetting, of course, your own large gift toward this campaign.

Mrs. Havens and Mr. Daniel and the others who met originally in Jacksonville to plan the campaign sorted out most of the names and undertook follow-up steps through various individuals for particular ones on the list. Thus, Mr. Gray was to see Dr. L. R. Hampton, Mr. Joe Higdon, Mr. Albert M. Lewis and Mr. John Phipps. Daniel was to be in touch with Mr. Alexander Brest, Dr. T.Z. Cason, Mr. P. N. Coleman, and Mr. J. W. Spratt. Mrs. Havens took some and Mr. Havens took some. I don't know the extent of the various follow-up efforts, but obviously they have not yet had results.

I feel sure that anything you can do toward getting any of them to make contributions would be in order, and I have great faith in the effectiveness of your own efforts.

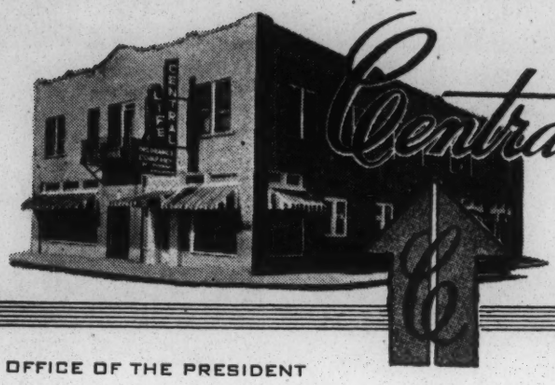
I will sent Mrs. Havens a copy of this so that she will know of your plans to move things along.

The total number of $250.00 contributors thus far from all over the South is sixteen. We have had another five or six contributions of smaller amounts sent in in response to requests for $250.00. I still hope to reach the goal of one hundred 250's.

Sincerely and appreciately,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMswgd



Central Life INSURANCE OF FLORIDA Company

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TAMPA (1) FLORIDA

September 22, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Your letter and note received with many thanks. I would appreciate very much if you would s end me a copy of the Florida list of people which I plan to contact and the list would help me greatly.

I am enclosing $7.50 for which you will please mail me 50 copies of "Race In The News". I am starting with 50 with the hope of increasing the demand for copies as I go along. I am giving the plan a great deal of my time and thought.

Hello to everybody and with best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

G. D. Rogers Sr.

G. D. Rogers,
President

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

31- Ro, Inc
Rogers, G. D.

September 16, 1949

Mr. G. D. Rogers, President
Central Life Insurance Company
Tampa 1, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

How very kind that was of you to send your check for fifty dollars.

It helps us greatly to have that good stiff sum.

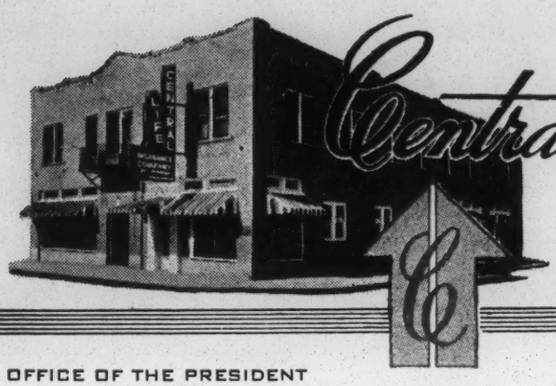
I shall hope also that the Board will like the pamphlet. We really think it is going to be one of the most effective things the Council has ever done--not just the printing of the pamphlet but the pushing of a movement for getting courtesy and fairness into the Southern papers.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

3- Ro, misc
Rogers, G. D.



Central Life INSURANCE OF FLORIDA Company

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TAMPA (1) FLORIDA

September 15, 1949

Mr. Geoege S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgis

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Both of your letters came to me but I am sorry to say that rhey found me indisposed. However, I am very much interestedin the literature you sent and zm having the matter taken up with my Board this afternoon. I will not be able to attend the meeting but am having it brought to the attention of the Board.

I am enclosing my personal check for $50.00 as payment on my pledge. I regret I have taken so long and that I cannot pay the full amount, but I am called upon for so many gifts and donations, then school has just started and you can imagine just what it is with four children in college. However, I hope to take care of the whole amount before the end of the year.

Just remember that you have my whole-hearted support in the great work you are doing.

Mrs. Rogers joins me in best wishes to you.

Very truly yours,

G D Rogers

G. D. Rogers,
President

RECEIVED
15 1949
Southern Regional Council

P O Box 3286
Tampa 1 - Fla

31 - Ro-Ric
Rogers, G. D.

September 6, 1949

Mr. G. D. Rogers, President
Central Life Insurance Co.
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

You will recall my letter to you of August 19 about the pamphlet "Race in the News."

We had a letter just the other day from Mr. C. C. Spaulding saying that the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company had read the manuscript and had been much pleased with it. They ordered a thousand copies and sent us a check for one hundred and fifty dollars ($150.00).

I will send you sample copies in a couple of days. (The printer hasn't sent them to us yet.)

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

31- Ro-Inc
Rogers, G. D.

August 26, 1949

Mr. G. D. Rogers, President
Central Life Insurance Co.
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

You were most helpful to Mr. Fleming in his working out the details of the recent outburst of mob violence in Lake County, Florida.

It occurred to me that you might wish to have on hand a small supply of this article about those events. I, therefore, take pleasure in sending you ten--more gladly if they would be of any use.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

31- Ro, Misc
Rogers, G D.

August 3, 1949

Mr. G. D. Rogers
1416 N. Blvd.
Tampa, Fla.

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Out of your great kindness, you undertook, at the annual meeting of the Council in November 1948, to find us $250.00 during 1949, and you also said that you would undertake to get for us from the Florida AME Church another $100.00.

With all due promptness, you did send us $150.00 on your own pledge. As yet, the Florida AME Church has made no move toward helping us.

We are in a particularly pinched situation just now. I scraped the barrel to make our payroll July 31st. Unless we can draw in quickly the remaining amounts that are pledged to the Council, I don't know where to turn for the August 15th payroll.

By a fortunate circumstance, the future of the Council is assured by the new and gratifyingly large resources we will have, but which won't be available to us for many months or perhaps a year.

Would you find it too much of a strain now to send in the other $100.00 of your own pledge and to press for action from the Florida AME Church.

I hate to write so faithful a friend in this way, but I am under a hard necessity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

30 - R - Misc
Randolph, A. Philip

September 27, 1949

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street — Room 301
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Every now and then we send you some encouraging item from our Council. I think you will like this latest pamphlet. The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has sent it to all its members. Mr. Spaulding's Board bought a thousand copies for the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company to mail out.

I started writing this just to send you the pamphlet. But now I think maybe the Brotherhood would like to have a block of them! Fifteen cents apiece. I am most anxious to get them into the hands of interested newspaper readers, because from that base we or they can get up small local committees that will visit editors and urge upon the editors the good sense of following the simple rules laid down in the little green book.

Anyway, we want you to see it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

30-R-Misc-
Randolph, A. Philip

July 8, 1949

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
217 West 125th St., Room 301
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

We have appreciated through the years your friendly interest in the Council.

I thought you would like to have a copy of this article by Hodding Carter from the current issue of Collier's, which, on page sixty-four, goes at some length into the work the Council is doing in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

R-Misc
30 — Randolph

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3456-58 South State Street, 5th Floor
Chicago, Illinois

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit, Michigan

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants

AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
Affiliated With the A. F. of L.

217 WEST 125th STREET
(Room 301)
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO 2-5080-1
Nights, Sundays and Holidays
UNiversity 4-8262
440

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
International Secretary-Treasurer

E. J. BRADLEY
3rd International Vice-President
11 North Jefferson Street
St. Louis, Missouri

C. L. DELLUMS
4th International Vice-President
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California

March 25, 1949

RECEIVED
APR 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Brother Mitchell:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of March 7th with copies of "The New South". I shall read them with interest.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

R-30-Misc-
Randolph, A. Philip

March 7, 1949

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

We were greatly pleased to see your fine letter of February 8, printed as correspondence in Interracial Review for February, 1949.

Lest the two most recent issues of New South from their routine arrival escape your notice, I send copies of them. The one on King George County, Virginia, has been the most widely used issue in our history. We sent copies to every state and county superintendent of schools in the thirteen southern states. The Atlanta Urban League has distributed 5,000, and the Negro teachers of Georgia are sending a copy to each of their members. We think that particular issue will speed up things considerably.

The one on the vote is a lay appraisal of how things stand on that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

30 - R - Misc.
Richardson, Harry

Program

OF THE

INAUGURATION

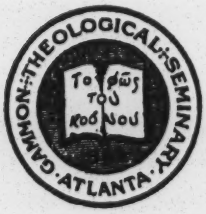
OF

HARRY VAN BUREN RICHARDSON

as the Tenth President of

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA



MONDAY, OCTOBER THIRD

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINE

CONFERENCE
ON
THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

"The Needs of Present Day Theological Education"

★

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1949

10:00 A. M.

★

DEAN MELVIN H. WATSON, A.M., B.D., S.T.M., TH.D.

Morehouse College School of Religion, Presiding

☆

DEVOTIONS . . . . . **THE REV. E. W. MCMILLAN, B.D.**
Warren Methodist Church

ADDRESS . . . . . **THE REV. J. NEAL HUGHLEY, M.A., B.D., PH.D.**
Professor of Social Science and
Director of Religious Activities
North Carolina College at Durham

ADDRESS . . . . . **PROFESSOR WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING, A.M., PH.D., L.H.D., TH.D., LL.D.**
Alford Professor Emeritus
Harvard University

DISCUSSION DIRECTED BY . **PROFESSOR HENRY M. JOHNSON, B.D., PH.D.**
Candler School of Theology
Emory University

THE INAUGURAL CEREMONY

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1949 — 2:00 P. M.

BISHOP JOHN W. E. BOWEN
Atlantic Coast Area, Methodist Church, Presiding

★

PROCESSIONAL HYMN . . . *"The Church's One Foundation"* . Samuel S. Wesley

INVOCATION . . . . . BISHOP RICHARD R. WRIGHT, JR., PH.D., D.D., LL.D.
African Methodist Episcopal Church

READING OF THE SCRIPTURE THE REVEREND JOHN W. THOMAS, B.D., S.T.B.
District Superintendent, Methodist Church

SALUTATION . . . . . THE REV. DR. HENRY BURTON TRIMBLE, D.D., LL.D.
Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary

ANTHEM . . . . . *"Almighty God Our Father"* . . . . Will James
Clark College Philharmonic Society
J. De Koven Killingsworth, *Director*

PRESENTATION . . . . BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, D.D., LL.D.
Atlanta Area, Methodist Church

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AND
CHARGE . . . . . BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM, S.T.B., D.D., LL.D.
New York Area Methodist Church

ANTHEM . . . . . *"Beautiful Savior"* . . . . . Christiansen
Atlanta Spelman-Morehouse Chorus
Kemper Harreld, *Director*

RESPONSE TO THE CHARGE . PRESIDENT HARRY V. RICHARDSON, S.T.B., PH.D., D.D.

INAUGURAL PRAYER . . . BISHOP ROBERT E. JONES, B.D., D.D., LL.D.
Methodist Church

CHORALE . . . . . *"A Mighty Fortress Is Our God"* . . . . Luther
Gammon Men's Chorus

GREETINGS FROM

The Student Body: J. HAROLD JONES, II, A.B., '50

The Alumni: THE REV. CHARLES H. DUBRA, B.D., A.M., '32

Methodist Schools: PRESIDENT JAMES P. BRAWLEY, PH.D., ED.SC.D.
Clark College

Other Schools: PRESIDENT FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, D.V.M., PH.D., LL.D.
Tuskegee Institute

Churches: REV. DR. WILLIAM HOLMES BORDERS, B.D., M.A., D.D.
Wheat Street Baptist Church

Citizens of Atlanta: MR. L. D. MILTON, A.M., LL.D.
President, The Citizens Trust Company

THE GAMMON HYMN

THE BENEDICTION . . . THE REV. C. W. LOUGHLIN
Board of Education, Methodist Church

RECESSIONAL . . . . . *"Onward Christian Soldiers"* . . Arthur S. Sullivan

LIST OF OFFICIAL DELEGATES

The institutions are named in the order of their founding

1636	Harvard University	*Robert Langdon Foreman, A.M.*
1740	University of Pennsylvania	*Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.*
1754	Columbia University	*Grant S. Shockley, B.D., M.A.*
1789	University of North Carolina	*T. B. Higdon, A.B.*
1808	Andover Newton Theological School	*Rev. James Pickett Wesberry, LL.D.*
1812	Princeton Theological Seminary	*Rev. Robert W. Rayburn, A.B., Th.B.*
1822	Yale University Divinity School	*Henry M. Johnson, B.D., Ph.D.*
1828	Columbia Theological Seminary	*Professor Cecil A. Thompson, B.A., S.T.M., D.D.*
1831	New York University	*Prince A. Taylor, B.D., Ed.D.*
1831	Wesleyan University	*Stanley E. Grannum, S.T.B., Ph.D.*
1833	Oberlin College Graduate School of Theology	*Melvin H. Watson, A.M., B.D., S.T.M., Th.D.*
1835	Albion College	*Byron E. Ballard, M.A.*
1836	Emory University	*Dean Henry Burton Trimble, D.D., LL.D.*
1836	Union Theological Seminary	*Wyatt Aiken Smart, B.D., D.D.*
1838	Duke University	*C. Ray Jordan, B.D., A.M., D.D.*
1839	Boston University	*Charles B. Copher, B.D., Ph.D.*
1842	Ohio Wesleyan University	*Hazel E. Foster, A.M., B.D., Ph.D.*
1842	Willamette University	*Floyd Field, M.A., Sc.D.*
1850	Illinois Wesleyan University	*President Merrill J. Holmes, S.T.B., A.M., S.T.M., D.D.*
1853	Garrett Biblical Institute	*Aaron Rapking, B.D., D.D.*
1854	Hamline University	*William M. Parker, B.A.*
1854	Lincoln University (Pa.)	*President Horace Mann Bond, Ph.D., LL.D.*
1854	Lincoln University Theological Seminary	*Dean Jesse Belmont Barber, S.T.B., Th.M., D.D.*
1855	Chicago Theological Seminary	*Rev. Homer Clyde McEwen, B.D.*
1859	McCormick Theological Seminary	*Rev. R. Dale LeCount, B.D., D.D.*
1859	Southern Baptist Theological Seminary	*Rev. James W. Middleton, B.D., Th.M., D.D.*
1860	Simpson College	*Harry L. Upperman, M.A., D.D.*
1861	Philadelphia Divinity School	*Rev. James B. Vaught, Th.B.*
1863	Johnson C. Smith University	*Dean Arthur H. George, S.T.B., S.T.M., D.D.*
1864	The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia	*Rev. John R. Brokhoff, A.B., M.A.*
1865	Atlanta University	*President Rufus E. Clement, M.A., B.D., Ph.D.*
1865	College of the Bible	*Rev. R. H. Stewart, P.Th.B.*
1865	Cornell University	*Elbert Parr Tuttle, A.B., LL.B.*
1865	Shaw University	*President Robert P. Daniel, Ph.D., LL.D.*
1867	Crozer Theological Seminary	*Rev. Eric Adam Oesterle, B.D., M.A., D.D.*
1867	Drew University	*Paul T. Fuhrmann, Th.D., Ph.D.*
1867	Morehouse College	*Benjamin E. Mays, A.M., Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., Litt. D.*
1867	Morehouse College School of Religion	*Assistant Professor G. Murray Branch, B.S., B.D., A.M.*
1867	Morgan State College	*Katherine E. Leonard, A.B.*
1867	Saint Augustine's College	*Rev. Henry J. C. Bowden, B.D.*
1867	Talladega College	*President A. D. Beittel, A.M., B.D., Ph.D.*
1867	Virginia Union University	*President J. M. Ellison, A.M., Ph.D.*
1868	Hampton Institute	*President Alonzo G. Moron, M.S., LL.B.*
1868	Philander Smith College	*President Marquis LaFayette Harris, B.D., M.A., Ph.D., D.D.*
1869	Claflin University	*President J. J. Seabrook, B.D., LL.B., LL.M., D.D., LL.D.*
1869	Clark College	*President James P. Brawley, Ph.D., Ed.Sc.D.*
1870	Syracuse University	*Francis C. Bragg, M.S.*
1871	Alcorn College	*President J. R. Otis, M.S., Ph.D.*
1871	LeMoyne College	*Professor Peter Cooper, Ph.D.*
1872	Bethune-Cookman College	*Albert M. Bethune, Jr., A.B.*
1873	Bennett College	*President David D. Jones, M.A., LL.D.*
1873	Wiley College	*President J. S. Scott, Sr., B.D., D.D.*
1874	Alabama State College for Negroes	*Dean V. E. Daniel, A.M., Ph.D.*
1876	Meharry Medical College	*Mark A. Thomas, M.D.*
1876	Prairie View A. & M. College	*L. M. Tobin, A.M., B.D.*
1881	Spelman College	*President Florence M. Read, A.B., Litt.D., LL.D.*
1881	Tuskegee Institute	*President F. D. Patterson, D.V.M., M.S., Ph.D.*
1882	Paine College	*President E. C. Peters, A.B., B.S.A., M.A.*
1885	Hood Theological Seminary	*Dean J. H. Satterwhite, B.D., S.T.M.*
1889	Agnes Scott College	*President James Ross McCain, Ph.D., LL.D.*
1892	The Iliff School of Theology	*Daniel G. Hill, B.D., Th.D.*
1895	Fort Valley State College	*President Cornelius V. Troup, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.*
1899	National College for Christian Workers	*Gladice Bower, M.S.*
1900	Samuel Huston College	*President Robert F. Harrington, B.D., S.T.M.*
1902	Palmer Memorial Institute	*President Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Ed.D., LL.D.*
1907	Phillips University College of the Bible	*Rev. Luther M. Cole, B.D.*
1910	North Carolina College of Durham	*Professor J. Neal Hughley, A.M., B.D., Ph.D.*
1924	American Baptist Theological Seminary	*President Ralph W. Riley, B.D., D.D.*
1926	Duke University Divinity School	*Dean Harold A. Bosley, B.D., Ph.D., D.D.*
1930	Dillard University	*President Albert W. Dent, LL.D.*
1944	Phillips School of Theology	*Professor Priscilla M. Hawkins, A.B., M.R.E.*

ORGANIZATIONS

Board of Education of the Methodist Church	*Rev. C. W. Loughlin*
Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church	*Edgar A. Love, B.D., D.D.*
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ	*John M. Alexander, B.D., D.D.*
Gammon Theological Seminary Alumni	*Rev. Charles H. Dubra, B.D., A.M., President* *Rev. A. S. Dickerson, A.B., B.D., Secretary*
Phelps-Stokes Fund	*Channing H. Tobias, B.D., D.D., LL.D.*
Southern Regional Council	*George S. Mitchell, A.B., Ph.D.*
United Negro College Fund	*W. J. Trent, Jr.*
United States Department of Agriculture	*James P. Davis*
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church	*Muriel Day, M.A.*
Young Men's Christian Association Butler Street Branch	*Warren R. Cochrane, B.A.*
Young Women's Christian Association Phyllis Wheatley Branch	*Mrs. A. Louise Taylor, B.S., A.B.*

Harry V. Richardson
Inauguration - 10-3-49

DR. J. NEAL HUGHLEY

"One of the most unfortunate and pathetic aspects of contemporary American education, both on the public school level and on the college and university level, is the rise of a whole generation of school teachers and scholars devoid of significant training in the descriptives of religion."

Thus commented Dr. J. Neal Hughley, professor of social sciences and director of religious activities at North Carolina College at Durham, when he addressed the seminar on "Present Needs of Theological Education" which featured the morning session of the inaugural ceremonies at Gammon Theological Seminary.

Dr. Hughley sees in our time "vagueness and confusion of Christianity itself" and a "deep-seated weakening of religious convictions such that the outlines of Christian thought no longer can be seen with clarity or certainty."

Church life, he continued, follows the conventional paths of "routine worship and preaching services, traditional uninspired youth activities, concentration upon erecting, financing and beautifying church buildings "while maintaining "sublime indifference" to such "areas of tension in the community" as racial conflict, segregation, secularization of school systems, depressing denominational rivalry, struggle between capital and labor.

Such problems, said the speaker, "are dismissed with a celebration of brotherhood week, observance of temperance or youth Sunday or the annual sermon on world peace. Tasks facing theological education, concluded Dr. Hughley, are "preserving and transmitting the heritage of knowledge and tradition in the historic Christian movement; building a theological critique of modern culture; trained and competent religious leadership for colleges and universities and a competent ministerial leadership for the churches."

A native of Chattanooga, Tennessee, Dr. Hughley is a graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta; Union Theological Seminary, New York and Columbia University. He has taught at Bishop College, Marshall, Texas, and pastored churches in Oklahoma and Kansas. Since 1941 he has served at North Carolina College. He is author of two books, "Rethinking Our Christianity" and "Trends In Protestant Social Idealism."

PRESIDENT HARRY V. RICHARDSON Inauguration 10-3-49

Following the "Charge" presented by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of New York, Dr. Harry V. Richardson, in accepting the responsibility as tenth president of Gammon Theological Seminary said:

From one point of view these are terrible times in which we are living. The confusion and explosiveness of international relations, the increase of crime, particularly crimes involving the violation of personality, the increase in and awareness of mental disease, the disregard of moral standards--all these tend to breed a depressive climate of insecurity and despair.

Then to further darken the day have come the frightful possibilities of atomic warfare. Up until 1945 we took the continued existence of humanity for granted. We knew that wars and disasters could destroy large numbers, but we felt that man as man would always remain on the earth.

Today man's physical existence is no longer a certainty. Humanity has in its hands the means of destroying itself. And with man's demonstrated moral and mental instability, there is always the danger that humanity will destroy itself. Here is rich new ground for hopelessness, cynicism and despair.

What, then, is our hope? It is in two facts: First in a revitalized religion that can speak deeply to the hearts of troubled men, a religion that can point out the way of salvation in terms that modern men can comprehend. There are many

evidences that this deepened religion is appearing.

Our hope lies secondly in men consecrated and equipped to lead their brethren into the better life. The times are calling for spiritual engineers, men who comprehend the sources of human weakness, men prepared for the reconstruction of society along godly lines.

It is in this day of trouble and opportunity that we come to Gammon Theological Seminary. It is to the hard task of human reconstruction that we dedicate our hearts and our energies, working in the sure conviction that "God, even our own God, shall bless us."

31 - Ro - Misc
Rummel, Archbishop

ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS
ARCHBISHOP'S RESIDENCE
2809 SOUTH CARROLLTON AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

October 25, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

May I thank you most cordially for your kind message, transmitted on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, in reference to the problem of segregation with which we were confronted on October 2. We realize that this problem is not finally settled, for it has many complications which it will be necessary to meet and adjust. May all of us be guided by the principles of justice and charity in whatever tasks may lie ahead.

With sentiments of esteem and good will, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

+ J. H. Rummel
Archbishop of New Orleans.

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

31 - Ro - Inse
Rummel, Rev. J. 7

October 7, 1949

Most Rev. J. F. Rummel
Archbishop of New Orleans
The Chancery
2020 South Carrolton
New Orleans, Louisiana

My dear Archbishop Rummel:

Friends here in the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai-B'rith have called our attention to news accounts of the recent cancellation of the Annual Holy Hour of the Holy Name Society, scheduled for City Park, because of the requirement that the participants be segregated in the gathering.

This will be heartening news to the many all over the South who praise each step taken to establish the right of people to meet without artificial distinction.

I should like to add my warm admiration of the decision taken in this instance.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

The Reporter

220 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

R- Misce

November 17, 1949

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are sending to you by express today in accordance with your telegram to Douglas Cater, 5,000 postcards to be addressed to your mailing list. We will have our issue of December 6th on the newsstands on November 29th, and if the cards were mailed on Monday, November 28th, the timing would be perfect for us.

We are extremely grateful to you for your kindness and we hope that some way we can return it.

Sincerely,

Helen Boyd Duggan

Helen Boyd Duggan
Assistant to the
Publisher

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

R - misc

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WELFARE
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

17 November 1949

Mr. Georeg S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Several weeks ago I submitted to the University of North Carolina Press (After Guy Johnson had gone over it) a manuscript on the Communist Party and the Negro Question in the United States. Lambert Davis thought it was a good job and wants to publish it after some revisions have been made. I have got to bring it up to date as far as possible prior to publication. I haven't been in the South for a couple of years now and I don't know too much about recent developments. Perhaps you can help me if my requests are on the moderate side.

Can you tell me in about a half page what happened to the Southern Negro Youth Congress? Also, (another half page) what happened to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and its various "Committees?" Do you have an opinion on the extent of Communist Party participation in the Wallace movement in the South, (just general, not in terms of numbers or individuals involved)? Has the CP attempted to build any new organizations among Negroes (or other groups) in the South during the past two years? Is there any evidence that the Communists have succeeded in penetrating local branches of the NAACP in the South in line with the former's delcared policies? Is there any effort being made by anybody including the Communists, to do organization among Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers? What sort of role did the CP play in the CIO's southern organizing drive? Was it sabatoged by them on the grounds that it was a "white chauvinism" deal? What was the attitude toward Bittner?

I am afraid this is a big order, but it would certainly help if you could supply some answers - with emphasis on your opinion. I won't quote you unless you give permission. I will acknowledge all the stuff I use, and won't use it, unless you say OK.

Sincerely yours,

Guy W. Record
Research Associate

November 22, '49

Dear Mr. Record,

I don't know a darn thing about the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Louis Burnham, so I hear, has moved to New York and has some link with the Progressive Party. At any rate, our mail to him at his old Birmingham address comes back marked "Moved, left no address".

On the SCHW, I am hazily informed, because I was a member of its Board until some time in 1947, I guess, when I resigned. Away back about 1945, if I remember, the SCHW sprouted an educational, and therefore tax-exempt, wing of itself, called the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The two Boards overlapped as to a good many members, but were satisfactorily separate. When in 1948 the SCHW got into financial and other difficulties, it went out of existence. That left the SCEF alive, and with Jim Dombrowski as its head it has continued to function, usefully, at 808 Perdido Street, New Orleans. As to why the SCHW died, that's along story. I would attribute it more to poor judgment than to truth in the various charges of CP influence. It got a good many thousands of dollars into debt, and that made matters worse. Anyway, it is now dead.

As to its State Committees, I only know the history of the Georgia one in detail. It closed out in some dignity, with all debts paid, and with due notice to all concerned. It could only live with the advantage of subsidy from the SCHW, and when that stopped it (and all the other State Committees) began to gasp.

On the Wallace Movement, I would suppose that the CP boys were active straight through (in the South), but that they were exceedingly few, and that most of the Wallace supported were not communists at all, but people righteously angry about this and that, and mostly a bit too gullible about ways of doing something about it. But still, I think it probably only appeared where the CP pushed it to appear.

I have no knowledge of whether the CP has tried to build up any new organizations in the South in the last couple of years.

I don't know the locals of the NAACP intimately enough to have any answer on your question as to CP penetration of them. My guess would be practically no such penetration.

The only people working with sharecroppers are HL Mitchell's union, at occasional spots. I hear nothing of the FTA "in the rurals" any more. The National Farmers Union has several thousand members, in Alabama, Tennessee, and Virginia, some in Louisiana, and some in Arkansas. But they have gone after the family-farm owner or tenant, not the sharecropper.

I have no info. on your questions about the CP and the Southern organizing drive. I don't know any communists, and therefore hear nothing of what they might have had to say.

It doesn't suit me to be quoted on these subjects.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

R.

January 23, 1950

Mr. R. H. Reese
Y.M.C.A.
115 Second Avenue
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Mr. Reese:

I am still enjoying in memory that visit to Daytona Beach and the afternoon visit with you. The rub down man is a good egg, and the unexposed portions of my body got their only sunshine while I was in Florida while I was there. I warmly commended all those arrangements to Mr. Davidson.

I found a note that I was to write you but I forgot what I was to tell you about Mr. Gibbs. His name is William H. Gibbs and his office is in the Ingraham Building in Miami. He is a lawyer, age, perhaps, 38 or 42, son to a man who was judge in Jacksonville and later Florida attorney-general (or the other way around as to the offices) I am satisfied he will do an effective job in Florida. Do help him in any way you can.

Very many thanks for letting me talk to all your members. I was gratified by the several new members that we took in and delighted as you know with the Good Neighbor gift of $15.00 which we are using as you suggested to cover memberships that you wrote me about.

Let's keep on growing closer together. My warm regards to your nice wife whom this time I did not get to see.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Rg, misc

March 13, 1950

Mr. Arthur Raper
Social Science Analyst
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Arthur:

Mrs. Meyer very kindly sent Paul Williams March 10 a check for one hundred dollars to help the Council.

I understand from Paul that you were most helpful in this matter. Thanks a lot and my best wishes to you and your nice wife.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

March 29, 1950

Mr. Arthur Raper
Route #2 Box 72
Vienna, Virginia

Dear Arthur:

Here is some useful dope on the county unit suit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

31 R-Misc
RPI Bookstore

March 30, 1950

R P I Book Store
901 West Franklin Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Gentlemen:

In reference to your letter of March 24, you may return the pamphlets mentioned. Please mark them for my personal attention.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:er

C. E. MILLER

RPI BOOK STORE

901 WEST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

March 24,1950

RECEIVED
MAR 27 1950
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regiional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please let me have your permission at the earliest possible moment to return the following text books. Our second semester started February 6th.

Please be sure to note your correct return address or send addressed label.

4 - Southern Regions Pamphlets

Cordially Yours,

C E Miller

cem/mm

R P I Book Store

N C F
BBR

Misc R.

RECEIVED
APR 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 13, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am glad to have your letter of March 29 with enclosures about the court action relative to the county unit vote.

Immediately after your telephone call some days ago I got in touch with the United Press and with Thomas Stokes. The latter said he had been keeping up with the situation rather closely and was very much interested in it. He said he appreciated our getting in touch with him on the matter. He is the kind of person that I think can help us very much. The UP representative said he would keep an eye out for the item and suggest that it be passed along for general coverage.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur

Arthur Raper

R-Miscl
Regenstein

SMITH, KILPATRICK, CODY, ROGERS & McCLATCHEY
HURT BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MARTIN E. KILPATRICK
WELBORN B. CODY
ERNEST P. ROGERS
DEVEREAUX F. McCLATCHEY
E. D. SMITH, JR.
LOUIS REGENSTEIN, JR.

A. G. CLEVELAND, JR.
HARRY S. BAXTER
SIDNEY HASKINS
HOKE SMITH
DeSALES HARRISON, JR.

HAROLD HIRSCH
(1881-1939)
MARION SMITH
(1884-1947)
A. STEVE CLAY
(1905-1945)

June 9, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the pamphlet on the Greenville Self Survey. I will certainly read it with great interest.

Cordial regards,

Louis Regenstein, Jr.

Louis Regenstein, Jr.

LR:jj

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

PALO ALTO TIMES, SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1950

Editor at bat by EVC

I've just been visiting two of Palo Alto's newest homes, atractive redwood 3-bedroom houses that cost somewhere around $9000. Their claim on my interest — and yours — lies in the fact that they are the first in the Lawrence Tract at Colorado Ave. and Greer Road.

The Lawrence Tract is Palo Alto's experiment in meeting two needs — adequate housing for Negro families and improved race relations. It is a voluntary interracial community. When the 23 houses are completed, seven will be occupied by Caucasians, nine by colored people, six by Japanese, and one by a Chinese couple. At least that is the way it is shaping up. During the travail of finding the property, financing the purchase, and bringing the dream into reality, the Palo Alto Fair Play Committee took a major hand under the leadership of Mrs. R. A. Isenberg and C. Stanton Selby.

— First to move in were Mr. and Mrs. Reo Miles. Reo is a graduate student in law at the University of Santa Clara and his wife has just received her teaching credentials at San Jose State College. They are well-bred and intelligent people who just happen to have been born with skins we call "colored." . . .

When Mrs. Isenberg took me out for a call, I found Mr. Miles getting the ground ready for a lawn and garden. Mrs. Miles had the house in apple-pie order, although she was not expecting us. It's decorated and furnished in good taste, and one of the bedrooms does duty as a study.

The Melvin Harrisons and their three youngsters occupy a similar house near by. Mel Harrison, now a postal employe, was one of the best yell leaders Palo Alto High School ever had.

Mr. and Mrs. Dan Dana expect to be the first Caucasian family in the tract. Mrs. Isenberg has bought next door to the Mileses and intends to build for white tenants.

— The two tract pioneers already have white neighbors, however. And I mean neighbors. The families across Greer Ave. eyed the project with alarm at first, but are now on friendly terms with the newcomers, proud of the new places. . . .

Mrs. J. F. Jacobsen told me they had put their property up for sale when they first heard of the interracial project, but that they had taken the sign down. "We like our colored neighbors," she said warmly.

She echoed protests of the Fair Play Committee against those real estate dealers who urge white residents to sell out at any price before Negroes come into an area. It is this panic that depreciates property, they believe.

I don't know why realtors can't tell the alarmed Caucasian owners of property what one of them told me: "If people would just hang on, they would find out that in most cases the new neighbors were all right and property values hadn't suffered." They could do a lot to reduce friction if they would work out this enlightened kind of a sales talk. . . .

— Lawrence Tract will gain a distinguished resident when Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, builds on the lot he already owns. He plans to live here summers while taking graduate work at Stanford and perhaps make it his home ultimately. . . .

The tract is named for another Negro educator. Paul Lawrence, a former Stanford student, is now on the faculty of Howard University.

His name is also to be given to the playground, one and a half acres deeded to the City of Palo Alto, which will incorporate it in the municipal recreation program.

At every turn, city officials and city employes have been helpful. Reo Miles told me gratefully. At 5 p.m. the afternoon before he was to move in, he found that no gas line had been laid from the street to the house, and no utilities had been turned on. An SOS to the city engineering department brought men and equipment. When they moved in next day, the house was all hooked up to everything and bore the building inspector's stamp of approval.

— Last Saturday night the Fair Play Committee gave them a housewarming and presented a picture to go over the mantelpiece. A log was lit in the fireplace and the new home dedicated to better racial relations.

PASTT, Stanford U.
Stanford, Calif. Misc

Gentlemen:

The enclosed surprised me - I had thought such things could exist here without particular comment. In fact, it shows that the problem of mass prejudice does exist everywhere.

It shows, too, that the problem is being faced here. Not even you folks have faced it, as far as I can see. You "Honest answer to the Civil Rights Question", nor your Greenville "Big Idea" did not do so. For the question is not better "advantages" for the under-privileged - it is quite simply, non-segregation. It is sad that not even you in our south realize that - Ex Prisoner

CC: J. M. Dabbs

R-Misc

June 29, 1950

Mrs. Maude Massey Rogers
1400 Gervais Street
Columbia 1, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Rogers:

I am deeply grateful for your kindness in sending the various items. The fact that I have only after two weeks or so found opportunity to read them fully is no measure of my appreciation.

I went through the new Act pretty carefully, though I did not read its every last sentence. There are portions of it which anyone would regret, but they seem to me quite minor in comparison with the tremendous gain in throwing away the old antiquated devices -- or lack of them.

Is not the passage of the Act of such importance that some early gathering of those concerned with progress in the State should publicly praise the Governor and the legislature for putting it on the books? I suppose there must have been personalities and regrets, but (though I am this far away) it seems to me that a great achievement should be recognized. So often we who push the good things fail to give meet credit when good things are done.

So nice to see that with the swimming pool, credit was duly given.

It is immensely encouraging to see these new proofs that the South knows how to be fair and is using its knowledge more and more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

R - Miscel

July 17, 1950

Rev. Harry V. Richardson
Gammon Theological Seminary
9 McDonough Boulevard, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Richardson:

If you can spare moments to read this, I am pretty sure you will like it. The next problem is how to get it seen and acted upon.

I have sent it to all my people -- 5,000 of them. I have asked the Methodists and the Baptists and the Presbyterians to do all they can about it. And I have taken it to Mr. Dobbs of the Masons and to Bishop Wright and to Mr. Borders. I have sent some also to Mr. Jemison.

I send you twenty-five and would love to send you as many more as you might see a use for.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

R-Miscel-Roberts

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Department of Sociology

August 22, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Sometime ago you sent me a pamphlet on veterans--the name I do not now recall. I want to thank you very much for it, as I am interested in anything pertaining to them. You perhaps remember my telling you that I had been getting some data on Veteran's experiences in World War II.

I want to congratulate you on the good and effective work that the Council is doing under your leadership. Keep up the good work.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry W. Roberts

Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology

HWR/srv

RECEIVED
AUG 23 1950
Southern Regional Council

EMIL RIEVE
General President

GEORGE BALDANZI
Executive Vice-President

WILLIAM POLLOCK
General Sec'y-Treas.

R - Miscl

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

Affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations

99 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

ORegon 3-1400

Education & Publicity Department

Official Publication
TEXTILE LABOR

RECEIVED
OCT 7 1950
Southern Regional Council

October 5, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Your letter of the 3rd crossed your check on the way down to Atlanta. My many apologies. The delay was my responsibility.

Sincerely yours,

Larry

Lawrence Rogin,
Director
Education & Publicity

lr/rs

R-Miscel

October 6, 1950

Mr. John Ramsay
CIO Organizing Committee
79½ Poplar Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John;

Maybe this can help some with the problem you are interested in about a pamphlet.

I am at your service for conversation at any time as to policy or materials.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

November 1, 1950

Miss Rebecca Reid
29 East Calhoun Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Rebecca:

That was exceedingly kind of you to do so many things to make Dr. Mommsen's visit so agreeable. He wrote me in warm praise of you and of Sumter and of Mr. Dabbs and of the various friends you went to see.

He is the only one of the many Germans I have dealt with in the last eight or ten months who was making his own path around the United States. And did he tell you he had chosen an odd but most effective chain for getting him moved about? 'Twas the League of Women Voters. They gave him the real facts and sent him to the nicest of people in town after town.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

November 2, 1950

Mr. M. A. P. Ritchie
Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Mr. Ritchie:

Many thanks for your letter of October 26. I send you separately a stack of giveaways about SRC.

Student memberships are on a trial-and-error basis with us. Formally, we don't offer a special kind of membership for students. But in a couple of cases we have done so, and we are willing to do it more widely. Part of the difficulty is the money end, and part of it is what you spoke of -- the high possibility that a student organization using our name would commit us to positions which large parts of our membership are not prepared for. The answer on the second would be a close relationship with responsible faculty people such as yourself and Don Sprague.

The answer on the money end is simple, though it looks complicated. The right charge is $1.00. But it costs us nearly $2.00 to produce and mail out New South. As we are chronically broke, we have no way of providing this subsidy. So we simply do it and add the cost to our general brokeness. Then there is the problem of a dues relationship with the treasury of the State Division. You will recall that of each $3.00 of ordinary dues sent in by a Council member, this office sends back $1.50 to the treasury of the State Division. If on student memberships we follow that reasonable precedent, the subsidy element hereabouts gets insupportable.

Fortunately, you have, right there in Miami, the means of deciding what to do. The Chairman of the Florida Division is Mr. W. W. Gibbs, Ingraham Building, Miami. Talk over with him what you would like to do. Tell him for us that we will be agreeable to virtually anything the Florida Division wishes to do about it. The matter

can come to an early decision because the Florida Division is to have its annual membership meeting at Winter Park on November 17. So you will need to consult Gibbs before and maybe after that meeting.

I wrote a longish letter about the Council to two of your students, Mr. Irwin Block and Mr. Thomas R. Norwalk, in answer to a circular from them querying all sorts of organizations. I had had an earlier communication from Mr. Norwalk.

What would you think of picking up the threads of a Miami area chapter of the Council's general membership and arranging for that chapter to recruit to its membership a good number of students? Then they could meet ordinarily together. I don't know why students need to be isolated from the citizen body about them. I know there are problems of distance, but they ought not to be insurmountable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

RECEIVED
NOV 2 1950
Southern Regional Council

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

October 26, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your kind recent letter and for the back issues of the New South.

We certainly want to have you down as our guest at the earliest time possible. The only thing that stops us now is budgetary limitations.

Would you do me another favor? I would like to have several copies of your pamphlet, The Southern Regional Council, which is descriptive of the work of the Council. Among other agencies, we are laying stress on the work of the Council in one of our courses and this little book would be especially good.

Another question: Do you have such a thing as a student division of the Southern Regional Council? Our students in Human Relations have been talking up a Human Relations Club, and Don Sprague and I thought a student affiliate group of your organization might answer the need. If we start a group, we must make sure it doesn't become a youthful "bull in a China shop" and at the same time we want to encourage a democratically responsible student leadership. Let me hear from you on this at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Milton Ritchie

M. A. F. Ritchie, Chairman
Department of Human Relations

MAFR/dw

R-Misc
Robert

RECEIVED
NOV 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

3380 North Dickerson Street
Arlington, Virginia
November 16, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for writing the letter for me. We will now wait and see what happens.

I am sorry, but I will be in California the whole time you are in Washington the first of December. Miriam, however, is wooking forward to seeing you and your room will be ready if you have need for it.

Sincerely yours,

Shelby

S. A. Robert, Jr.

Morning
ORLANDO MORNING SENTINEL

Evening
ORLANDO EVENING STAR

R-Miscel

Sunday
SUNDAY SENTINEL-STAR

THE SENTINEL-STAR

Published by Orlando Daily Newspapers, Inc.

ORLANDO, FLORIDA

June 25, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge your letter of June 20th to Mr. Ray.

Mr. Ray is out of town on his vacation and will return about July 9th, so you can expect to hear from him shortly after that date.

Sincerely,

Dolores Thompson

Secretary

RECEIVED
JUN 27 1951
Southern Regional Council

Ck PA for ~~original Report~~ for our 7. request

September 28, 1965

Mr. Robert Ryan
1 West 72nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ryan:

Thank you for your encouraging response to our request. I shall be in New York in late October, and would be happy to discuss this with you if you feel it desirable.

If not, we shall appreciate your further consideration at such time as you can.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Bc. Mrs. Paul Derian
2349 Twin Lake Circle
Jackson, Miss.

ROBERT RYAN

Dear Mr.Anthony -

Thank you for your letter of Aug. 31.It happens that I am fairly familiar with the Council's work and have probably contributed in the past.I say "probably" because since about 1950 I have tried to make some contribution(however minor) to the various Negro -oriented organizations that I have felt were doing effective work.

With my friend Harry Belafonte I have in some cases been rather closely involved. I would like to make a contribution to the Council but must wait a little until my affairs are straightened out. I have just changed business management from California to New York and am in the process of setting up new books etc. When this is done you will hear from me.

sincerely

Robert Ryan

30-R-miscel

Thank you for the rare privilege of knowing Mr. Mommsen. He is a choice person and an artist in demolishing walls. Any more like him up your sleeve?

Gratefully, R. R.

Columbus Council for Democracy

BULLETIN

VOLUME I QUARTERLY NUMBER 1

PREJUDICE

We all like to feel safe and comfortable. Some of us may have a particular easy chair in which we like to relax and read the evening paper. The children know better than to sit there. If a visitor should use it, we become uneasy and a little resentful. Why doesn't he take one of the other chairs, we wonder. They are just about as good.

We all like to feel safe and comfortable in our personal relations, too. We like to chat with farmers if we farm, with other doctors if we are a physician, with fellow workers, no matter what we may do. Many of us find it hard to break the ice and talk to strangers.

It is harder still to break the ice when the strangers look different, or have religions that we don't understand very well, or have customs that seem queer to us. We wonder why they aren't smart enough to be exactly like us. We hope that if they can't become just like us they will stay by themselves. If we have tried to "keep them in their place" we feel a little guilty about it and try to prove that this is really what they prefer.

Of course we don't like to admit that we are selfish and prejudiced about the easy and comfortable chair. We don't admit that we have prejudices against people who aren't like us or that we have had special advantages in our favored position. However, the first step in being intelligent about matters of race and religion is to admit prejudices frankly and not pretend that we are entirely free from them. Few people are. Self-examination is good for all of us.

To hold a prejudice is to pre-judge. We all judge before all the facts are in. But the sensible fellow also keeps his mind open to new ideas. He knows that one swallow doesn't make a summer and he knows that you can't make judgments about people, races, or creeds without respectable evidence. He knows that members of *our* team look safe at first base even when the umpire calls them out.

But let's suppose that after an honest examination of the evidence you come to some unfavorable conclusions about a group or class of people. You can't stop there. You must now ask the important question: How did they get that way?

If they are ignorant, did they have a chance to go to school? If they are clannish, is it because they want to be or because they have been forced to be? If they are too thrifty or not thrifty enough, what caused it? And often when one understands the reason for certain traits of individuals (if they do exist) he learns perhaps not to excuse the weakness but certainly to understand it.

Thus far, we've discussed prejudices that we shouldn't hold, attitudes that we shouldn't take. But what can we believe? Some of us like to take our cues from the Declaration of Independence and believe that all men should share equally in the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We believe that to insure this we must have freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion—that government must be by the consent of the governed.

This is formal and highfalutin language. We usually say that we want every kid in America to have a chance to develop his talents no matter whether he is light or dark, rich or poor, no matter what side of the tracks he lives on or what country his parents or grandparents came from. We also say that in a world where there are slaves there will have to be masters and that if you believe in a world where people should be divided into slaves and masters you believe in some kind of Fascism. If rights are not rights for everybody, then you don't have democracy.

Rauschning reports that Goebbels said to him:

"The America of today will never again be a danger to us. Nothing will be easier than to produce a bloody revolution in the United States. No other country has so many social and racial tensions. We shall be able to play on many strings there."

The Columbus Council for Democracy along with every other good American group believe that Goebbels is wrong. But there *are* tensions and conflicts in America. We know that in periods of unemployment or dislocation differences between people are sharpened and false differences magnified. We know that you can meet difficult situations either with intelligence and foresight or you can meet them stupidly and without planning.

What we believe

Bigotry thrives on ignorance, but intelligent people can be bigoted if they are sufficiently ignorant in fields of knowledge that have not come under their observation. The apostle of bigotry employs a technique that is often effective with intelligent men. He lays a foundation of falsehood having the appearance of truth—and in our day, he employs for this foundation, every means of communication known to modern man. If a lie is told often enough, it is said, even the liar himself will believe it, and it is certainly true that lies have survived many generations of periodic exposure.

Malice toward none, justice to all is the general American formula and practice. No true American will nurture, promote, or incite anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, anti-any group of fellow law-abiding American citizens. After Abraham Lincoln's inspired pleadings for understanding and charity proved unavailing to many, he wrote:

"Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal.' We now practically read it, 'All men are created equal except Negroes'. When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read, 'All men are created equal, except Negroes, foreigners and Catholics.' When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty."

Today we are saddened to realize that these words which flowed from the soul of a great American are more true now than they were fourscore years ago! Still, our consoling hope is that the great majority of the American people have an instinctive and fundamental sense of civic and political justice and respect for their every fellow citizen.

RAY S. REINERT, President
Columbus Council for Democracy.

BULLETIN

Published Quarterly by COLUMBUS COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY, Room 7, 9 East Long Street, Columbus 9, Ohio. Telephone MAin 5283.

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We want to insure that in difficult times like these when people do have lots of real worries and anxieties, we shall continue to be good neighbors.

We don't want people to have false, foolish fears—ones based on silly un-American rumors and gossip. We want to accomplish *ahead* of possible trouble and conflict what will have to be done *after* the trouble and conflict if it does occur. We believe that most Columbus citizens would agree that this is just ordinary common sense. That is all the Columbus Council for Democracy is advocating.

THE CHURCH AND RACE PREJUDICE

The church that shies away from this great area does not deserve to be called a church and is guilty of the greatest sin in the world — the sin of not doing what should be done. It is ever true that our country is ever endangered not by the evil that unprincipled groups do but by the good which respectable and fine groups fail to do.

If Jesus stood for anything, it was that God is father of all and all men are equally His children and only as they live as brothers with each other, growing into the fellowship that means the truest Christian kinship, calling the best out of each and sustaining each in his search for the fullest life, are they His children.

What can the church do?

1. The pulpit can ever seek to motivate the person to person relations based on the Golden Rule and that result in the spread of the spirit of Jesus. The pulpit should free person from blocks of prejudice and help increase understanding of all peoples and make clear the imperatives of making a neighborhood world a brotherhood. Ministers should trade pulpits occasionally with Negro and Jewish preachers.

2. The morning bulletin can carry specific facts to counteract rumors as for example, "The Jews are not monopolizing jobs at Washington — they have only 4 per cent of the federal jobs" and social relations between black and white will not necessarily lead to intermarriage. The greatest blood mixing comes out of places where exploitation of the black is greatest. The bulletin can also laud outstanding Negroes for achievement.

3. A detailed and graded program on inter-racial education should be carried on up through the grades till the age of a hundred. This should include not only the church school and youth groups but regular forums and lecture series should be provided in which people could talk out their fears and get rid of bottled up emotions.

4. Inter-racial meetings should be planned and inter-creedal ones not only to discuss the questions of race and creed but also to share in our common interests.

5. Pamphlets and books should be made available to the congregation and occasionally important ones should be sent out to the members.

LABOR POLICY (CIO)

American Labor knows the monstrous shape of racial and religious hate. It has seen a fine and vigorous European Labor movement decimated or driven underground by the Nazi and Fascist peddlers of the vile poison of intolerance. It has noted and deplored the unscrupulous few in industry and elsewhere who would divide the common people in rival and snarling groups by setting worker against worker, by incitement to religious and racial hate.

Labor recognizes that this war and its heartache and sacrifice will be a terrible hoax on humanity — a bitter mockery — unless it means in the end a fuller practical realization of the brotherhood of man. Indeed, if we succeed in smashing Hitler's armies to bits, sweep his air armadas from the skies, and blast his fleet from the oceans of the world — if, here in America, white hates Negro, if Gentile hates Jew, if Protestant hates Catholic, if each of us wallows in the mire of racial and religious rancor — then we shall know that Hitler has won the war.

It is not therefore a mere coincidence that at its Philadelphia convention of November, 1943, C. I. O. again emphasized its resolve to wage war against intolerance. The convention gave plain and vigorous expression to this determination:

"The C. I. O. reiterates its firm objection to any form of racial or religious discrimination and renews its pledge to carry on the fight for the protection, in law and in fact, of the rights of any racial or religious or minority group to participate fully in the social and political life."

One of the truly heroic and herculean tasks being performed on the home front, though publicly unnoticed, is the daily chiseling away of racial and religious prejudices in the factories and shops of America. Common workers are doing it. . . . Doing it with inspiration and zeal. . . . Doing it often without assistance or sympathy from other sources.

White workers, through C. I. O. Union education, are learning to work side by side with the Negro workers. Divergent nationality and religious groups are at their war jobs, elbow to elbow. Each finds by daily association that the same hopes, the same dreams, and the same fears bind them in mutual understanding. This aspect of the home front achievement may well be one of the brightest objectives of this war.

Tolerance must be more than a pleasant platitude to which we occasionally pay our respect. It is the rock upon which the future of decent, civilized, humanized man is built. It is attainable, it can be ours if we have the common faith in mankind to work and fight for it. To that work and to that fight C. I. O. pledges itself.

FULL RIGHTS FOR ALL LABOR (A. F. of L.)

We are witnessing now in Nazi Germany an arrogant, irresponsible, and reckless use of power — military power — spreading battle and blood, death and destruction, terrorism and tyranny, over the face of the globe.

Why is this? The answer is that Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito possess no code or concept of moral righteousness; no answer to the questions: What is wrong or right except material and military power? Their philosophy is that the structure of relationships of society will always and inevitably be the dominator and dominated, master and slave, oppressor and oppressed, to top dog and bottom dog. This is a dog eat dog, tooth and claw, beak and fang doctrine. It is the doctrine of destruction. It is the doctrine of destruction even for the oppressor, the top dog. In the language of the discriminating unions, it is "A" or first class membership and "B" or secondary membership. The right to rule is not based upon justice, truth and righteousness, but upon blood and sword, gun and force and color or race. Under this creed, the bottom dog will always remain the bottom dog unless he can mobilize more and greater brute-force than the top dog. The unavoidable implication of this philosophy is eternal war, conflict, chaos, and confusion. Why? Because the oppressed, the bottom dog, will not calmly remain the bottom dog without a struggle to the death for freedom, justice and equality.

In the nature of things, no human being will forever accept the status of a slave and acknowledge another man as

his master. By the same token, no people will be content to exist as second-class citizens or second-class union men.

Men, regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin, will ever protest and fight against this condition. It is this ceaseless struggle of the oppressed for justice, freedom, and equality which is the great insurance of the preservation of the democratic, liberal tradition. Without this agitation of the forgotten man, the conscience of the tyrants will be undisturbed, their ruthless rule unquestioned, and the creative and liberal spirit would die.

For the American Federation of Labor cannot continue to exist with a part of its members who are white as first-class union men and another part who are colored as second-class union men. This division of the house of labor is fatal to its existence and future.

The traditional stand of the American Federation of Labor on the question of tolerance is well known, and we feel that now more than ever it is necessary to emphasize that stand, and to strengthen it. For ideas are as much a part of this war as are guns and tanks, and we cannot underestimate the importance of democracy, without regard to race, color or creed, as one of the fighting ideas in our battle against Nazism.

WHAT THE SERVICE MEN HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT FROM US

Two thoughts are uppermost in the minds and hearts of Americans during these difficult days. First and foremost, our hopes and prayers are directed towards a speedy victory and a quick ending of the war. But of equal significance is our serious thinking about the post-war world and the kind of a society we will rebuild from the wreckage of the conflict.

To many Americans, post-war planning is associated primarily with technological and industrial problems and with the many challenges involved in re-conversion, reemployment, jobs and economic opportunities. Unquestionably this is a field of basic interest which will require the initiative, the planning and the courage of all loyal Americans.

But the war for democracy and a decent post-war world is not merely a material struggle, or a contest for standards of living. This is above all, a great crusade in human relations—the 20th Century episode of the eternal striving of man's spirit for individual dignity, and the sanctity of human life.

Let us never forget that the sacrifices of war and the tasks of victory are being met and faced by Americans of all races, classes, colors and creeds. These men and women represent every social and economic stratum and every type of religious and social background.

They are expecting to return to an America which will not only preserve the privileges they knew in the pre-war world, but which will also extend the decencies which are part of the promise of democracy.

The returning American soldier will expect to be treated as a dignified human being regardless of his race, color or creed. In the days of heroic battle, the American uniform meant for him equality of opportunity and equality of sacrifice. He will expect those same privileges and responsibilities in the post-war world of peace. We have gone far in our 168 years of American democracy and democratic living. But we still have far to go in our just treatment of minorities and in our actual translation of the Hebraic-Christian ideals of individual dignity and human brotherhood. What a disillusionment will be suffered by our American youth if they return to an America of racial discrimination and minority prejudices! What a tragedy if in the process of saving democracy abroad, we allow our domestic democracy to become weak and infected! Negro boys are today fighting and dying with bravery and gallantry in all parts of the world. Will we remember this when they return to our American towns and hamlets? Jews and Christians are today comrades in arms in humanity's greatest crusade against evil and tyranny. Will we remember that in the balmier days of peace and reconstruction! Men and women of a hundred racial and foreign strains are today proud wearers of Uncle Sam's uniform. Will we remember this, and protect their place, when Johnny comes marching home?

The Columbus Council for Democracy has an integral role to play in preserving Democracy through the difficult days of war and in extending human rights during the trying post-war period of reconstruction. Democracy begins right at home in our own neighborhood and community. The time, money and energy which we invest in this project will bring rich dividends to all citizens of Columbus and will help to ensure a safe and sound America for the servicemen of all races, classes and creeds.

THE VIEWPOINT OF THE TEACHER

We believe with Burke that "Toleration is good for all or it is good for none." All groups should be tolerant of others, realizing that militant intolerance only tends to promote prejudice and hatred. Tolerance must be developed quietly, gradually, and with dignity. Every group, racial or religious must earn respect for itself.

The teacher can:

1. Teach that every individual is responsible for the impression he makes on others; that his actions react upon his group; that antagonism is developed in response to the worst element in each group.

2. Emphasize the dignity and worth of honest labor. Recognize ability wherever it is shown. The individual is important, not the minority group — or any group.

3. Encourage the cooperative efforts of all groups. Present need in the promotion of the war effort has shown that this is not only possible but feasible.

4. Encourage and give the opportunity to all worthy students, regardless of race, religion, or nationality, to take part in school activities. Representation should be on the basis of ability only.

5. Stress the contribution of various groups to American culture, reminding the pupils that most of us had ancestors who belonged to a minority group somewhere.

6. Give credit to outstanding accomplishments of individuals from all groups: Marian Anderson, George Arliss, Paul Robeson, Dr. Carver, Steinmetz and Einstein.

7. Encourage the pupil to bring in stories, costumes, customs, and souvenirs, to develop and illustrate pride in his native culture. Stimulate the appreciation of the entire group for such contributions.

8. Explode the myth of the superiority of any one race. Classes in science, history, literature, give opportunities for this.

9. Avoid over-emphasis of race or religious problems. The less said about differenecs in characteristics, accomplishments, opportunities, the better. Rather, stress those common to all.

10. Teach that no one in a democracy has a right to ask for special privileges because of his race or religion. Anyone has a right to act or be heard if he has a contribution worth making.

11. Deal with problems of race and religion only when they arise naturally as corollaries of regular work in classes or social situations.

12. When these problems do come up, deal with them objectively, not emotionally.

The teacher cannot:

1. Expect to overcome the prejudices of centuries in a brief period of months. History teaches us that such developments are slow.

2. Demand that individuals or groups be given respect unless they earn it.

3. Expect to counteract completely the prejudices fostered in the home and other social units.

4. Expect to accomplish much without the co-operation of the community.

5. Expect the school to accomplish alone in a few hours a day, what the nation has failed to accomplish in generations.

RACES OF MANKIND

That all the peoples of the earth are a single family and have a common origin is the conclusion reached by historians, sociologists, biologists, anthropologists, and psychologists who have studied men thoroughly from their different points of view and with their various techniques. All racial differences are in non-essentials such as texture of head hair, amount of body hair, shape of the nose or head, or color of the eyes and the skin. The similar body structure of all races is evidence of their brotherhood .

Over centuries of time, groups of people living in somewhat isolated regions, through in-breeding, developed certain similarities in appearance. Many Europeans, after Columbus, became wanderers and as they met various peoples they began to classify them according to their ideas of "races," different from themselves. Since that time, height and shape of head have been proven not peculiar to any one race, for there are tall and short persons, long and round-headed ones in all races. There are only four types of blood, and all four types are found in all races of mankind. Human blood is human blood.

In the matter of skin color, we have been taught that there are black, white, and yellow races of men. Most people in the world, however, are not of these extremes but are in-betweens. These in-betweens probably have the skin shades that were once most common; the white, yellow, dark brown, or black being extreme varieties.

Skin color is determined by two special chemicals, *carotene,* which gives a yellow tinge and *melanin,* which contributes the brown. These colors, along with the pinkish tinge that comes when the blood vessels show through, give various shades to the human skin. Every person, except albinos, however light or dark his skin may appear, has some of each of these materials in his skin. It is not an all-or-nothing difference; it is a difference in degree but not in kind.

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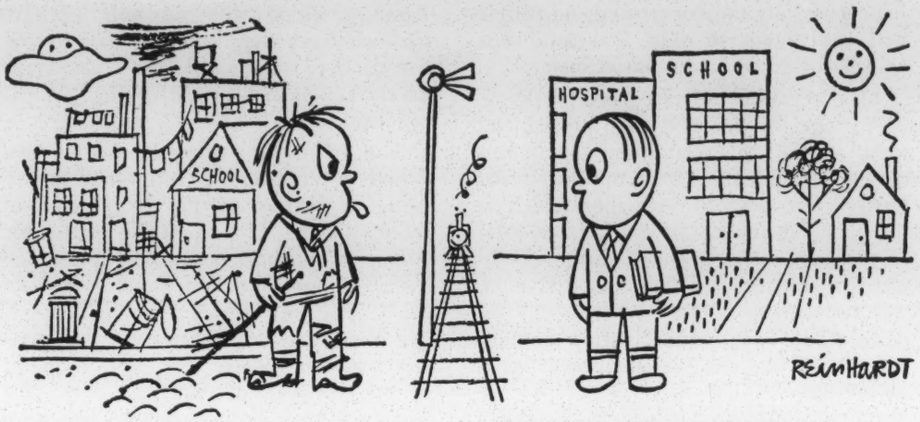
Before and After a Militaristic Education



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With Better Community, Home, School, and Medical Care, Johnny Could Have Been Jimmy

Every child should understand our basic likenesses in order that the differences may be studied with interest and without fear. These basic differences do not themselves show better or worse qualities in peoples any more than white horses are better than black ones.

Intelligence is not a God-given gift to any one group, any more than it is denied to any group. The median intelligence in one race is about the same as the median intelligence in any other race, but there are great individual differences in intelligence among the members within every race. Development of individuals depend not only on their innate intelligence but also on their opportunities for growth. The intelligence of a single individual in any race may greatly limit his possibilities, but taking a race as a whole, environment rather than native intelligence is the big limiting factor in development. Even genius does not flower if the opportunity is absent.

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark, unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

For the average child sufficient security, proper home situation, adequate school facilities, adequate play space and time, and other favorable environmental factors are necessary to allow him to develop to his full capacity.

Character is not inborn, or the sole property of any one group of persons. It is acquired. Germany and Japan taught their youths to meet the demands of the State. As we view the Japan of today, it is hard to believe that fifty years ago Europeans living in Japan used to describe them as butterflies flitting from flower to flower, incapable of the stern drives of Western civilization. Since 1900 these "butterflies" have fought six times overseas, and we know what desperate and ruthless fighters they have become. But their race has not changed —the same blood flows in their veins.

Differences in race have not caused the development of differences in civilization. These have developed chiefly as the result of environmental influences. The power and influence of the great civilizations have had a rather definite life cycle, but the best of the arts pass into the common heritage of mankind and are preserved. As a rule the contributions are not lost, though the civilizations change.

'Tis education forms the common mind;
Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined.
—*Alexander Pope.*

OUR DOMESTIC ATTITUDES AND HOW THEY AFFECT OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND WORLD PEACE

Bernard DeVoto has recently called attention to "something new under the American sun,"[1] "fear of the future and fear of the peace." These fears, he points out, "are new elements in the consciousness of a nation which has usually thought of the future as its own domain and of peace as its particular mission."

Here, in deed, is a tragic accompaniment of the courage and intelligence our men daily demonstrate on the far-flung battle fronts of this war, of the amazing achievements in productions we have realized at home, and of the hope all cherish that days of peace are soon to come to our world. Victory, we now know, is to be ours. But what is it to bring us? Can we face up to the problems that will then confront us and about which there will be no such agreements as we have been able to bring to the common efforts of war?

[1] "The Easy Chair," Harper's Magazine, March, 1944, pp. 344-347.

DeVoto asks us to locate these problems now, to achieve insight into their causes, to build the ground on which choices for good can be made as we attempt their solution, and — under the full light of fact — to "break the phantasy of suicide at a moment when we are conquering the world."

The causes of fear are many. We are all vaguely familiar with them, though as yet we may not have admitted them to full status in our thought. Can we work out a scheme of economic security? Will labor dominate our post-war world? Is industry to gain unfairly in the period of reconversion? Is the North trying to force the hand of the South? Are minority groups taking advantage of the fact that in a period of war we have had a degree of tolerance forced upon us? Is the Negro, in particular, going to insist that the time has come to permit him to participate freely as a citizen in the country for which he willingly fights? What ideas are veterans going to have upon these and other problems? And suppose they have ideas, or that some clever manipulator of ideas gains their support?

All of these fears cast shadows onto the international stage. They are not merely matters of local concern. Nor will the way in which we deal with the problems from which they spring be simply of local interest. This is especially true in the matter of facilitating the adjustments that must inevitably be made among the races of the world. We view as arrant nonsense the *master race* foolishness Hitler has spread abroad, but we cannot escape the fact that his fulminations have made *race* an issue in this war. Aligned against him as we are in arms, we are, in the eyes of the peoples of the world, aligned against the notion that any self-styled *superior* people may claim the right to dominate the lives of others.

There can be no retreat on this front. Men the world over are on the march toward a better life. Unless we learn to march together, we shall inevitably march against each other. This is a brute fact of our time, a consequence of the use Hitler and his kind have made of racial hatred in promoting their purpose of enslaving others. The "so-called colored races are beginning to take the offensive and apparently will not be satisfied until they have destroyed utterly the myth of their inferiority and achieved an equal status among the nations." [1] Or, as another writer has pointed out, ". . . Whatever else may be the results of Japan's conquest, the demand of Asia for equality with the West may be expected to increase." [2]

[1] Melby and others: Organizing Educational Resources, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1943.

[2] William C. Johnstone: The Changing Far East, *Headline Series*, Foreign Policy Association, No. 41, August, 1943.

It ought not to be difficult for men who have been nurtured in the democratic tradition to comprehend the desire that leads other men to reach toward equality, toward the right to develop their own culture, free from the domination of others. They should equally comprehend that here is a directing purpose on behalf of which men will finally fight, if others persist in keeping them from realizing it. But unfortunately the matter is not as simple as this. Men, even in a democracy, grow up with mixed allegiances, with mixed motivations. We believe in equality but there are always good reasons at hand, so our other allegiances tell us, that show why it is inappropriate at this time to share equality with other races.

> The Columbus Council for Democracy is your community organization. It will not be effective unless you use it. We have given you a program of action. You may study one of our teaching packets and talk on the subject. You may request films, a speaker, or pick up material in the office for general distribution. Get your organization to discuss this problem. The success or failure of this venture is in your hands. We can do no more. Local individuals furnished all the material in this bulletin. (Names on request).

We may not blatantly declare our superiority *in racial terms,* though frequently the South has shown no hesitancy to do so, yet we manage in our behavior to suggest that this is an assumption which we in fact accept. As Johnstone has said, "To a large degree the political, economic, and particularly social relations of representative of the Western nations with the peoples of the East have assumed that any white man was superior to even the most cultivated Asiatic."[1]

This sort of thing simply will not do in the future. It will not do, first of all, in terms of common humanity. It will not do, secondly, because it breeds the conditions that make men fear one another, conditions that lead eventually to warfare. We in the United States have the peculiar obligation to dedicate ourselves to the elimination of the fester of racial discrimination. As the arsenal of democracy we represent more than a producer of the instruments of death. *We also represent the values with which the fullness of life is associated.* In these terms, we are on trial before mankind today. The sincerity of our commitments will be tested the world over by the character of the effort we make to integrate the Negro more fully into our national life. Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish are suggestive on this point:

> "With America's great tradition of democracy, the United States should clear its own house and get ready for a better twenty-first century. Then it could stand unashamed before the Nazis and condemn, without confusion, their doctrines of a Master Race. Then it could put its hands to the building of a United Nations, sure of support from all the yellow and black races where the war is being fought, sure that victory in this war will be in the name, not of one race or of another, but of the universal Human Race." [1]

[1] Ibid., p. 69.

It would be foolish to pretend that it will be an easy matter to solve this problem. No single solution is at hand. But this does not mean that a solution may not be achieved. Any fair analysis of our development would show, despite growing tensions that cannot now be ignored, that we have made appreciable gains in racial tolerance here at home over the late years. Moreover, it is important that Russia has shown, on the world stage, that a generous approach to differences within a culture has significant meaning for the development of that culture. Differences there are, and will be. This is not to say, however, as so many too readily assume, that difference is a measure of inferiority. The healthy recognition of differences within a framework of equality is the first essential step to take toward a peaceful world.

Each of us, in terms of this commitment, will have to work within the limits of the situation of which he is a part. This is true of individuals, of communities, of states, and of nations. This is not a serious limitation, however, for the reason that each situation is one within which the quality of human association may be enhanced. The important thing will be our determination to meet the problem frankly in its full dress of reality and to seek a solution that gives a priority to no one merely because of race. Given this condition of trust, we may have faith in our ability to find steadily better solutions to the problem; and, in the process, we may be sure that each is contributing significantly to the conditions within which peace among men may flourish. As MacIver has so well said, "The new peace must be built on the equality of all peoples before the new law, the law of nations. The pride and prejudice we have displayed towards people of other color must be controlled, if we haven't the courage and the wisdom to abandon it altogether."[2]

[1] The Races of Mankind. *Public Affairs Pamphlet*, No. 85, 1943, p. 31.

[2] R. A. MacIver, Towards An Abiding Peace, Macmillan, New York, 1943, p. 20.

ARTIFICIAL HATE BARRIERS

Many of the ills impeding the total program of mankind today are attributable to one's inability to adjust one's self to his fellow man. Resulting from this endless maladjustment process has developed indiscriminate hatred—hatred projected against persons who differ from one's self in color, religion, culture, nationality, race, and environment. The division of these differences does not necessarily set individuals off into natural classifications. It is rationally convenient for one to set up artificial barriers and justifications for maintaining the hatred that one has for another.

Hating persons because of physical, environmental, and cultural differences is also subjective, defensive mechanism used conveniently to protect one from realism. To protect many of our unfounded prejudices, the hate pattern has been adopted by the process of rationalization. Fear and frustration have helped to block progressive elimination or reduction of hate patterns grown out of a desire to prolong or to perpetuate our prejudices directed against people who differ from ourselves in one or more of many ways. While prejudices and hate are not inherited, the societal pattern in which the individual comes, soon conditions him and makes him susceptible to the ills of prejudice and hate. Hate is a derivative of fear, and fear exists because of ignorance, or shall I say, the lack of knowledge.

Seek to know the facts about persons who incite this hate complex. Prejudice and hate take to flight when subjected to the application of knowledge and factual information about one whom we hate. The approach, therefore, to the solution of these ills which have sent persons off in combat areas against each other seems to be evident.

People should be given the opportunity of knowing fully of the background, present status, and of the ambitions of others, and this, regardless of any of the physical or psychological differences possessed by the other fellow. Parents should realize that in the home, they are either the sources of hate mongers, or the missionaries of good will by conditioning their innocent children with many of the artificial fears directed toward persons who differ from themselves.

If the positive steps are not taken by parents in the home, one can see no encouragement or hope of ultimately solving or even decreasing the ever increasing prejudices and hatreds that are present in society today.

It is unreasonable to expect that in the transition periods from childhood to adolescence, and to youth, or even into adulthood, there shall be the automatic urge to fight parental attitudes and community patterns which have been instilled through the home, school, and one's community. Individuals do not willingly subject themselves to martyrdom, and martyrdom usually results from single-handed efforts to combat the well-established status quo.

Prejudices and hatreds can not be reduced without the force of education. Education, if properly applied and adopted by all, will provide one with the intelligent approach and understanding of his fellow man that will enable all people to live in a democratic society without fear of each other.

Man does not need to hate another to protect himself. Hate puts to flight many of the finer qualities needed to bring into realization the fullness of life — the goal of living. The absence of artificial fears will give all people, regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin, a freedom to pursue economic security; and when one reaches the stage of economic security, problems are minimized. Barriers of color, religion, race, environmental differences are artificial, but serve to retard the progress of man.

OUR PROGRAM

The Columbus Council for Democracy is entirely a Columbus community organization. We do not have outside affiliations. The organization is unique in that the dominant or majority groups recognize that if the rights of any race or individual are in danger, the rights of all, their rights included, are jeopardized. No other like organization existing to which we might turn for guidance we had to carefully plot our course, not knowing what our program should be. We have organized committees to study the various phases of racial and religious intolerance in Columbus, causes and sources of rumor mongering, and have appointed along with Mayor Rhodes a Citizens Committee to which people of all races may turn when race relations are not working out smoothly.

The schools, both public and parochial, have started a program for better racial and religious understanding. We have mailed booklets and pamphlets of resource material to various organizations for study guides. There have been many other activities too numerous to mention.

Out of all this work we have developed a program that we are carrying out for the year. There will be:

Newspaper advertisements, radio, films, recordings, projectors made available with operator for churches, schools, organization and group meetings, also resource material for libraries. Pamphlets for teaching guides and general education to individuals and groups. Bulletins, four times per year for general distribution, to carry lists about new resource material, what films and material are available, and where; stories about work done in the schools, churches, and by individuals, etc. In fact a progress report with suggestions for further work.

This is not a Negro, Jewish, Catholic, or any other minority problem. It is your problem. It must be solved, for as the world shrinks the peoples of the world of all colors must learn to live together. In this smaller world we are all minorities.

RUMORS, WHAT TO DO ABOUT THEM

We have people that are intolerant of other people; who hate them because they are of a different race or religion. These un-American Americans have flooded the nation with wild rumors which do much to create and foster pessimism, intolerance, suspicion of neighbor and of government. We have been warned again and again against repeating or believing rumors told to us. This creates national disunity.

Axis agents and sympathizers are aware of the power of the rumor. They saw France collapse through exactly the same sort of national disunity. The divide and conquer tactics of Hitler apply not only to the fighting front; they are equally effective on the psychological front.

By using the power of the lie and half truth these Axis agents with the help of the un-American Americans have taken the offensive.

For nine years and more they have been Hitler's secret and most powerful weapon; and the person who spreads the rumor—in innocence or with purpose—is obviously doing Hitler's job.

So far they have succeeded in causing some unthinking people to lose confidence in our war effort. Don't repeat rumors. They play into the enemy's hand, create disunity and dissatisfaction, and get us fighting among ourselves. The enemy wants us to blame our troubles on our fellow-Americans.

Send all rumors to the Columbus Council for Democracy. If you do not have the answers to these rumors we will send you the facts. Don't let a rumor go unanswered or unchallenged. We will help you answer them.

Books of Interest to High School Teachers and Pupils

Adamic, Louis. *From Many Lands.* New York; Harper, c1940.
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Bogardus, Emory S. & Davis, Jerome. *Immigration and Race Attitudes.* New York: D. C. Heath, c1928.
Bontemps, Arna W. *Golden Slippers,* New York: Harper, 1941.
Fairchild, Henry Pratt. *Immigrant Backgrounds.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1927.
Gamio, Manuel. *Mexican Immigration to the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1930.
Johnson, Charles S. *The Negro in American Civilization.* New York: Henry Holt, c1930.
Jordan, Emil L. *Americans.* New York: W. W. Norton, c1939.
Masani, Minocheher R. *Our India.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1942.
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Spencer, Cornelia. *Made in China.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943.
Spencer, Cornelia. *Modern China: the story of China's expression.* New York: Doubleday, Doran, c1943. (Junior Literary Guild)
Thompson, Warren S. *Population Problems.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1935.
Waln, Nora. *House of Exile.* Boston: Little, 1933.
Waln, Nora. *Reaching for the Stars.* Boston: Little, 1939.
Weatherford, Willia D. & Johnson, Charles S. *Race Relations; adjustment of whites and negroes in the U. S.* New York: Heath, c1934.

BIOGRAPHIES

Beard, Annie E. S. *Our Foreign-born Citizens; what they have done for America.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, c1939.
Embree, Edwin R. *13 Against the Odds.* The Viking Press, 1944 (N.Y.)
Fast, Howard M. Haym Salomon, *Son of Liberty,* New York: Messner, 1941.
Graham, Shirley & Lipscomb, George D. *Dr. George Washington Carver,* New York: Messner, 1944. (Junior Literary Guild selection for March)
Hammond, John Winthrop. *A Magician of Science; the boy's life of Steinmetz.* New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1940.
Helm, MacKinley. *Angel Mo' and her Son,* Roland Hayes. Boston: Little, 1942.
Holt, Rackham. *George Washington Carver.* New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1943.
Sikorsky, Igor I. *The Story of the Winged-S.* New York: Dodd, Mead, 1942.
Skariatina, Irina. *Little Era in Old Russia.* Indianapolis: Bobbs, Merrill, c1934.
Sugimoto, Mrs. Etsu (Inagaki). *A Daughter of the Samurai.* New York: Doubleday, 1940.

FICTION

Allee, Mrs. M. H. *The Great Tradition.* Boston: Houghton, 1937.
Buck, Mrs. Pearl (Sydenstricker). *The Patriot.* New York: Day, 1939.
Lewis, Mrs. Elizabeth (Foreman). *When the Typhoon Blows.* Philadelphia: Winston, 1942.
Means, Mrs. Florence (Crannell). *Shuttered Windows.* Boston: Houghton, c1938.
Sugimoto, Mrs. Etsu (Inagaki). *A Daughter of the Nohfu.* New York: Doubleday, 1935.
Tarshis, Elizabeth K. *The Village That Learned to Read.* Boston: 1941.
Yezierska, Anzia. *Hungry Hearts.* Houghton, 1920. (Boston)

Books for Elementary School Pupils

Buck, Pearl S. *Buffalo Children,* New York: John Day, 1943.
Buck, Pearl S. *The Chinese Children Next Door,* New York: John Day, 1942.
Credle, Ellis, *The Flop-Eared Hound.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1942.
Frost, Frances, *Legends of the United Nations.* New York: Whittlesey House, 1943.
Henry, Marguerite. *Auno and Tauno* — Story of Finland. Albert Whitman Co. 1940.
Ives, Vernon, *Russia.* Holiday House, 1943.
Judson, Clara I. *They Came from France.* Boston; Houghton Mifflin, 1943.
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Levy, Harry. *The Bombero—Tales from Latin America.* New York: Alfred Knopf, 1943.
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Means, Florence C. *Children of the Promise.* New York: Friendship Press, .1941.
Ratzesberger, Anna. *Jasmine, a Story of Present Day Persia.* Chicago: Albert Whitman, 1937.
Rofanov, Sergei. *Adventures of Misha—a Russian Story.* Stokes, 1938.
Sondergaard, Arensa. *My First Geography of the Americas.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1942.
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Valuable Sources for General Reading

Benedict, Ruth & Gene Weltfish. *The Races of Mankind.* Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85.
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Buck, Pearl. *What America Means to Me.* Day, 1943.
Du Bois, W. E. B. *Black Folk Then and Now.* Holt, 1939.
Haynes, G. E. *Racial Roots of War.* Survey Graphic, March, 1939, p. 85-87.
Hoffman, Malvina. *Heads and Tales.* Scribner, 1936.
Locke, A. *Color, Unfinished Business of Democracy.* Survey Graphic, November, 1942, p. 454.
McWilliams, Carey. *Brothers Under the Skin.* Little, Brown, 1943.
Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma;* the negro problem and modern democracy. Harper, 1944.
Odum, Howard. *Race and Rumors of Race;* challenge to American crisis. University of North Carolina, 1943.
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Redding, Jay. *No Day of Triumph.* Harper, 1942.
Seligmann, Herbert J. *Race Against Man.* Putnam's, 1939.
Lin u Tang. *Laughter And Tears.*
Myers. *Informatino Service.* 297 4th Ave., New York City.
Haynes. *Interracial News Service.* 297 4th Ave., New York City.

For Additional Material

American Association for Adult Education, 60 East 42nd Street, New York.
American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square, West, New York.
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 710 Standard Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York.
Council Against Intolerance in America, 60 E. 42nd St., New York.
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Department of Race Relations, 105 E. 22nd St., New York.
Foreign Policy Association, Midston House, 22 E. 38th St., New York.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York.
National Commission on Ethnic Minorities, 600 Lexington Ave., New York.
National Conference of Christians and Jews, 300 Fourth Ave., New York.
National Education Association, Washington, D. C.
United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

Declaration and Pledge Against Hate Mongers . . .

Realizing that unity is indivisible — that the man who speaks against one American on the basis of race, religion, or color, speaks against all and helps destroy Democracy — I pledge these things:

¶ That I will not give ear to words of racial or religious hate;

¶ That I will not be misled by rumors or reports and will not spread either about my fellow Americans;

¶ That I will use my voice for whatever value it may have to challenge openly and publicly and on the spot any man who speaks, in seriousness or in jest, along the lines of racial or religious hate.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

Please Print

Sign and address it to the Columbus Council for Democracy, Room 7 — 9 East Long St., Columbus 15, Ohio.

I approve of the work being done by the Columbus Council for Democracy, and want to become a member.

Please find enclosed.....

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

Please Print

What YOU Can Do And How We May Help!

SPEAKERS

We will furnish speakers on the race problem, American tradition and culture, and the problems of race as they effect our relationships with other peoples of the world. You may specify whether you want a speaker on, what minority problem. Call the offices of the Columbus Council for Democracy, 9 East Long St.—Room 7—MA 5283.

RESOURCE MATERIALS FOR STUDY AND TEACHING

Packets containing resource material for teaching of students, study group meetings, speakers' guides and Sunday-school teachers are available at the offices of the Columbus Council for Democracy, 9 East Long St.—Room 7—MA 5283.

PAMPHLET MATERIAL WE CAN FURNISH

Races of Mankind — Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85.

A B C's of Scapegoating — Published by Central YMCA College, Chicago.

Bigotry is Un-American — Archbishop Francis J. Spellman.

Cartoon News, "They Got the Blame" — Reprint from True Comics magazine, based on pamphlet "They Got the Blame" by Kenneth Gould, published by International YMCA.

Short Jab Folders, "Know Any Complainers?" "Know Any Beefers?" "Know a 'Rumor-Spreader'?" Know a Griper?" "Know a Stay-at-home?"

Many other pamphlets are available at offices of the Columbus Council for Democracy, 9 East Long St.—Room 7.

RECORDINGS

We have several hundred recordings available for use and can furnish a playback machine for group listening.

These recordings are from the following series: **Americans All, Immigrants All, Human Adventure, Here's to Youth, American Scriptures, America's Town Meeting of the Air, Wake Up America, Lest We Forget, Democracy in Action,** and others.

These recordings cannot be played on the ordinary phonograph. Call MA. 5283, The Columbus Council for Democracy, 9 East Long St., Room 7, and make arrangements to listen to these recordings and make selections for use by your group.

FILMS AND OPERATORS ARE AVAILABLE

The following films are excellent and should be used in schools, churches and organization meetings of all kinds:

1. **Divide and Conquer** — 14 minutes — The Nazis at work deliberately spreading hate and fear, distrust and confusion among the French people. A sober and dramatic reminder that this war is being fought on civilian as well as military front. (*Warner Brothers.*)

2. **Henry Browne, Farmer** — 11 minutes — A simple down-to-earth story of a Negro family in wartime — what they are doing individually and collectively to win the war. Narrated by Canada Lee. (*Department of Agriculture.*)

3. **Negro Colleges in Wartime** — 8 minutes — Wartime activities being carried on in America's Negro colleges, from army classes in automotive mechanics to scientific experimentation in laboratories.

4. **Western Front** — 21 minutes — China's heroic fight and desperate struggle against the war lords of Japan. A tribute to the courage and tenacity of the people of China — fighting with us in the battle for freedom.

5. **Americans All** — 20 minutes — Story of the young people who live and work and play between the Straits of Magellan and the Rio Grande River. Intended to give the people of the United States a better understanding of their little-known fellow Americans to the South.. *Produced and narrated by Julien Bryan.*

6. **Democracy in Action** — 11 minutes — Shows the vast agricultural resources of this country; the democratic procedures followed by farmers in carrying out the farm program; how farmers are helping to produce more of the foods needed in the war program.

7. **Home on the Range** — 11 minutes — The western range country and its importance in the war — mutton and wool, beef and leather necessary for Victory. *A U. S. Department of Agriculture tribute to the men of the workaday West.*

8. **The Life of Emile Zola** — 32 minutes — An excerpt from the Warner Brothers picture of that name. Effective both in showing the freedom of speech and racial persecution.

9. **The Story of Dr. Carver** — 10 minutes — The story of the noted Tuskegee scientist.

There will be additional films added to this list. Call the Columbus Council for Democracy, MA. 5283 — 9 E. Long St., Room 7, for operator and projector, stating when and where you want these films shown. For large gatherings we will furnish speaker along with the films. A nominal fee of $3.00 will be charged for operator and projector.

These films are 16mm. sound films, and cannot be run on silent projectors.

Schools have access to the excellent state film library in the State Department of Education. Their film catalog includes many titles useful in building good citizenship.

If you will state the length of time allotted for your program we will send additional films on the subjects of "Juvenile Delinquency," "Inter-American Relations" or "Parent Guidance."

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Additional names to be added

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H. Gordon Hullfish
J. W. Huntington
Rev. C. F. Jenkins
Lewis W. Johnson
C. A. Jones
Joseph R. Jones
R. E. Jones
Ralph W. Jordan
Rabbi Harry Kaplan
Mrs. Harold J. Kaufman
Edward A. Keller
George E. Kibler
Judge John R. King
Rev. A. E. Klick
Kenneth S. Kline
C. H. Klippel
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Arthur E. Truitt
Keith Tyler
Harry W. Vanneman
Vaughan Wadley
Harold R. Walley
J. R. Warren
Sig. L. Weisskerz
Luther White
Dr. Charlotte Winnemore
Rev. Alfred I. Wold
Robert E. Wynn
Mrs. John Younger
John Younger
Rev. Richard S. Zeisler
Rabbi Nathan Zelizer

Purposes — To disseminate educational material and sponsor community plans and programs for better racial and religious understanding and tolerance.

Non Political, Non Profit, Incorporated

June 10, 1955

Mr. Hiden Ramsey
Asheville Citizen
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ramsey:

We have all been impressed by the recent statement of the Ashville school board. That is courage and wisdom. I know enough about Asheville to be satisfied that these events are traceable in good part to the temperateness and evenhandedness of the Citizen-Times.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

helen bullard Rawson & Assoc Rawson **walnut 3594**

November 23, 1955

Dear Harold:

We had a request from the Tennessee Institute on Human Relations (I think that was the right title. Anyway, it's one of your affiliates) about our clipping service, and it occurred to me that you might not have full information about the clipping service yourself! So I am sending you some information and if you think it would be of help, please let me know.

Helen Bullard

Passed one on to Ga. Coltee.
HCF

CHARLES A. RAWSON & ASSOCIATES
302 WHITEHEAD BUILDING, ATLANTA, GA.

Charles A. Rawson & Associates

223 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

WAlnut 3594

Advertising
Public Relations

Month_____ Day_____ Year_____

CLIPPING SERVICE DEPARTMENT

Gentlemen:

Please start our clipping service immediately as indicated in your letter covering the subject or subjects indicated below. You are authorized to bill us $12.50 per month for up to 100 clippings, and for additional clippings, five cents each. It is understood that this contract is terminable by either party on thirty days' written notice.

Signed_____

Title and Firm_____

Address_____

City and State_____

Address clippings
Attention of_____

SUBJECT

Please check as completely as possible the various phases on which coverage is desired; this list can be enlarged or reduced at any time in the light of experience and your needs.

☐ Editorials ☐ Pictures

☐ News Stories ☐ Ads

Other (Please list)_____

_____

_____

Middle of August (1956)

Dear Arthur, Roger

Thank you for letter Aug. 6.

I write the man Ken Parsons, told him about LIH, and asked Parsons to hunt of Larry. Larry is such a good 'un on these things I don't want to make Larry hunt up a job.

Saw Earnest Neal the other day, and he brought me messages from you. I will pay mind to the messages.

Have read some of the dope with your leter, and shall read more. I admire you in your performances these days: at the peak of your powers.

Best,

G.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA OPERATIONS MISSION TO IRAN
هیئت عملیات اقتصادی امریکا در ایران
POINT FOUR
اصل چهار

CLARK S. GREGORY, DIRECTOR
کلارك. اس. گریگوری رئیس کل
SEPAH AVENUE
TEHRAN, IRAN

August 6, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED AUG 14 1956

Dear George:

I have your letter of April 6 in which you tell me about Larry Hughes. Yes, I knew him in Japan, respected very highly the work he did there. Also, I learned through Will Alexander, bless his memory, something of his experiences after he came back to the Reclamation Bureau.

I'll keep Larry in mind. Incidentally, the best thought I have now is that Ken Parsons, at the University of Wisconsin, who has been doing some rather significant UN Land Tenure work, discussions and otherwise, in the Middle East might have some interest in Larrys' ability. Why not tell Larry to get in touch with him. I say this in view of the fact that recently when I was in Baghdad, or Cairo, I forget which now, I hear that Ken Parsons was likely going to be out this way soon. If he gets very much more involved here he is going to need a really first-class lieutenant to help carry on a continuing program while he commutes back and forth from Wisconsin.

Here are three pieces. Why not read 'em and send me some of your reactions.

Incidentally, I'd appreciate it very much if you would drop me a note anytime you see anything of especial significance that I ought to be certain to have in connection with my regional work. Or better still, why not

put it in an envelope and send it along to me. My address is:

Regional Community Development Advisor
USOM to Iran
APO 205, New York, N. Y.

and, as you know, the air postage for this address is the same as air postage in the United States.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur

Arthur F. Raper
Regional Community Development
Advisor

LOUIS M. RABINOWITZ

That this country is a land of opportunity for all has been proved innumerable times in the lives of innumerable individuals, but never more vividly than in the case of Louis M. Rabinowitz, who died in New York on Saturday at the age of 69. Arriving here as a penniless immigrant from Lithuania at the age of 14, he sold remnants from a pushcart on Hester Street and then became a house painter's helper. Knowing no English when he ar-

File until Carre

4/30/57

ORK TIMES, TUESDAY, AP

rived, he studied the language by reading Darwin's "Descent of Man" at the Cooper Union Library. At his death, he was not only a very wealthy man but also one of the most truly cultured people in the United States.

But if he received much from this country, he also gave much. "People die, but culture doesn't die," he remarked once, and it was to help make sure that culture and freedom do not die that he devoted much of his fortune over many years. The Yale University Library, Hunter College, the New York Public Library, the Jewish Theological Seminary and Columbia University were but a few of the institutions that benefited from his generosity and his love and respect for human culture.

No one man can assure the survival of culture, and more particularly of the books, paintings and other physical objects which transmit culture from one generation to another. But the limits of what one man could do in this cause were brilliantly demonstrated by Louis M. Rabinowitz, and it is for this demonstration particularly that his passing will be mourned and that his name will go down in the history of the friends of the humanities.

NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM
APRIL 29, 1957

NEW

Louis M. Rabinowitz, Collector of Books, 69

Private services for Louis M. Rabinowitz, 69, book collector, philanthropist and industrialist, were held yesterday. Mr. Rabinowitz, who lived at 1052 E. Eighth St., Brooklyn, died Saturday of a cerebral hemorrhage in St. Vincent's Hospital.

A native of Lithuania, Mr. Rabinowitz came to this country at the age of 14. Lacking any formal education, he founded was president of L. M. Rabinowitz & Co., 120 E. 16th St., a hook-and-eye fastener manufacturing company.

He became an avid book collector and donated thousands of dollars worth of books and manuscripts to museums, libraries and universities. He was a director of the Yale University Assn. of Fine Arts.

His donations included $60,000 to Columbia University in 1951 for a two-year study of academic freedom, $106,000 to Hunter College for a co-educational Graduate School of Social Work and a Rabinowitz Fund for Judaica Research at Yale.

His posts also included director of the Jewish Theological Seminary, advisor to the reference department of the Public Library, and the vice presidencies of the New York Chapter of the America-Israel Society, the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn and the American Jewish Historical Society.

Surviving are his wife, Rose; a daughter, a son and four grandchildren.

L. M. RABINOWITZ.

RECEIVED MAY 1957

Harold Fleming

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Ga.

RECEIVED MAY 2 1957

Bad news!

Mayhap! When
the Estate is probated
he will have set up
a Trust Fund for Charitable
Gifts in which case SRC
can make application.
But it doesn't help solve
our immediate Problem.

Regards

Alex Miller

bc: Mr. Alexander Miller

Encl. Financial statement
Copy of Washington Star Editorial on
the bus release
Ltr. of tax-exemption
South of Promise
History of SRC
South of the Future

March 6, 1957

Mr. Louis Rabinowitz
120 East Sixteenth Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rabinowitz:

It was very kind of you to give me an opportunity to see you and explain the work and the pressing financial needs of the Southern Regional Council.

I do hope that you will find it possible to contribute to the Council's work in the not-too-distant future. Demand for this kind of work in the South is, as you know, more critical than ever before, and the only way that it can be carried out is with the help of those persons throughout the nation who are concerned about full citizenship and full opportunity for all Americans. From what you told me about your own practices and efforts in the field of employment, and from what others have told me about you, I know that you are deeply dedicated to the aims for which we are working. I can assure you that a contribution of $5,000 at this time would be wisely and effectively used and would make a crucial difference in the South's difficult progress toward desegregation.

I am enclosing some materials which describe the background and work of the Council and its current financial situation. (Our fiscal year runs from September 30th to October 1st; therefore, the enclosed financial statement shows our needs in those terms.) Also enclosed is a copy of our letter of tax-exemption from the U. S. Treasury Department. If you would like further information on any points, please let me know.

With sincere thanks for your consideration and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RALEIGH

November 20, 1957

LUTHER H. HODGES
GOVERNOR

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you so much for your letter of November 12 and enclosures. You were most helpful in furnishing us the material so promptly.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

E. L. Rankin, Jr.
Private Secretary

ELR:rh

VIA AIR MAIL

November 12, 1957

Mr. Ed Rankin
Executive Secretary
The Governor's Office
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Rankin:

I am sending you the enclosed material at the request of Bob Anderson. This is a very hasty and incomplete pulling together of items having some bearing on the rising social and economic status of the Negro in the South. But since Bob indicated that time was of the essence, I thought it better to send you what was readily at hand rather than delay until something more comprehensive could be assembled.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures.
Indices to Progress of the Negro...
Business Week Brochure - Dec. 18, 1954
Desegregating White Institutions
~~Atlanta Journal~~
Wall Street Journal Article - "Desegregated Dollar" 4/16/56
Chatt. Times - 9/29/57 -"Emergence of Moderation..."

January 16, 1958

Rail Travel Credit Agency
Room 436, Union Station
516 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago 6, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed you will find our application for a rail travel credit card for two members of our staff.

If at all possible, we would like to have travel cards which will enable these two staff members to purchase tickets for any members of the staff who may need them. This is necessary since the two named individuals do little traveling. They are, however, responsible for securing tickets for those staff members who do travel.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 Rail Travel Credit Application

February 27, 1959

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor
3207 Groveland Lane
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Rayzor:

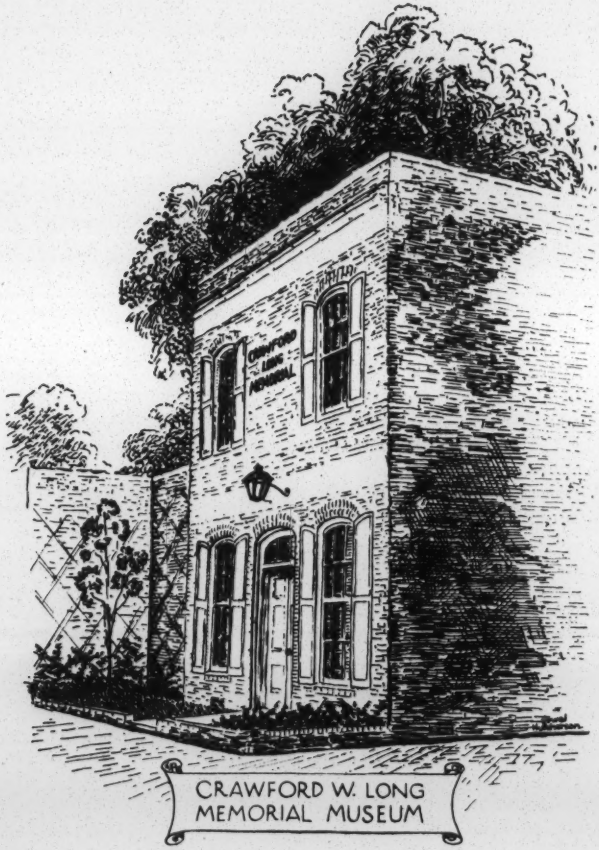
Thank you for your note concerning the doctors' statement. If you need additional copies, please let us know and we will mail them to you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec


CRAWFORD
W. LONG
MEMORIAL
CRAWFORD W. LONG
MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Dear Mr Constable.

Your participation in our "school lame" panel at the Academy of Medicine was very much appreciated.

Yours was a difficult assignment and not exactly the popular one of the moment.

Thank you so much for giving us some of your valuable time

and information

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ted F. Leigh
President, Woman's Aux
Fulton County Medical
Society.

May 17, 1961

Mr. Felix Rackow
Department of Political Science
Western Reserve University
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Felix:

Thank you for your letter. I noticed the other day in our reading file that you had also asked to be put on our mailing list. I was very glad to see that this had been taken care of.

The Southern Regional Council has been an interesting place for me and the South is an interesting place in which to work. I wish some time you might come down and visit us.

My best wishes to Jeanne and to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO

DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE

May 5, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

Last night I finally went through the Times of April 16 and read that you have been appointed Executive Director of the Council and I offer my belated congratulations.

I showed the article to Jeanne and her comment was ,"Les is really doing what he wanted: working for civil liberties in the South." I wonder how many of us can say the same?

We are both pleased for you and wish you the best of luck.

Cordially,

Felix

Felix Rackow

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

"RA" GENERAL

REGARDING:

Inquiry relative to employment see: Board file, John Wheeler for George Randall

DATE:

July 29, 1968

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

BOARD: JOHN WHEELER

January 14, 1969

Mr. Barney Sellers
Director
Project Enforcement
A. Philip Randolph Institute
2027 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Barney:

Thanks for the copy of your article. I had remembered to dig it our when I returned. It is quite well done.

Look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

A.
PHILIP
RANDOLPH
INSTITUTE

A. Philip Randolph
President

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

Project Enforcement
2027 Massachusetts Ave.
Washington, D. C. 20036
(202) 234-1200

Barney Sellers
Director

January 3, 1969

Dear Paul:

When we met a few weeks ago at Airlie House I said I would send a copy of a piece I did on enforcement. It is enclosed. I will be calling you shortly about the enforcement study I am doing.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Barney Sellers

Barney Sellers

Enclosure

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

EBB TIDE OF INTEGRATION

BARNEY SELLERS
Mr. Sellers, a director in Washington of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, was formerly special assistant to the director of the Office for Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were the high-water marks of a liberal effort to achieve social change through protective, remedial legislation. A notably unpopular war Administration has been responsible for seeing civil rights enforcement through its first years, but the era appears to be coming to an end. In a time when law and order is an increasingly loud cry from a white majority, law enforcement for minorities may go to the wall. The incoming Republicans seem of that opinion, and many liberals are abandoning the camp. Strangely enough, a last-minute about-face by the outgoing Administration may be contributing to the destruction.

The Presidential campaign gave clues of what we can expect. It inflamed racial sores and played upon popular misconceptions about federal interventions in school desegregation. Richard Nixon tried to appeal to segregationist voters in the South without sounding like a racist. In a panicky response to the late Humphrey upsurge, he made last-minute televised appeals for Wallace votes. During a discussion of desegregation enforcement under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, he announced his refusal "to use the withholding power to bring about enforced integration." In doing so, and by his promises to slow down federal school desegregation efforts, he won the White House with a Dixiecrat shadow.

The campaign will contribute to future troubles because it continued the distortion of major racial issues. For the most part, public misconceptions glaringly played upon by Wallace were quietly, though sometimes ignorantly, picked up by the Republicans. "Freedom of choice" school desegregation plans, in most cases subterfuges for the maintenance of segregation, were in the public eye. Nixon at first announced support of this student assignment procedure and objected to federal withholding of funds for plans which don't produce results. Afterward, outside the South, Nixon expressed his basic support of the 1954 *Brown* school desegregation decision, which "freedom of choice" is being used to evade, but insisted "the law does not require compulsory integration." But it does. In its May, 1968, *Green* case, the Supreme Court found that where free choice plans fail, school systems must "come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work *now*."

The campaign touched on several other issues, one of them being the false, but emotional, issue of busing. Even though 90 per cent of all districts in the nation now deploy 230,000 buses to transport 17 million children, the procedure was declared irrelevant to desegregation, supposedly because it is rarely used. Withholding of federal aid was also questioned and its extent exaggerated. Contrary to campaign-made impressions, Washington has cut off money to only 120 school systems in the South, about 2 per cent of the total, and far fewer than are violating the law. Nixon echoed Wallace's colorful but wildly misleading picture of federal intervention in local school affairs. While Wallace unhesitatingly spoke of "throwing the brief-case totin' bureaucrats into the Potomac," Nixon theorized about returning educational functions to the states. These promises were made even though nine of every ten federal employees work outside Washington, and spend most of their time handing out federal benefits. Of 800 HEW employees in the South, for example, about fifty work on school desegregation. That's one bureaucrat for every 100 school districts.

While the campaign thus raised serious doubts about Republican intentions to enforce the law, other political considerations may push the new administration toward the same end. Although Nixon failed to capture the Deep South, he picked up most of the border states and is mindful of the key Southern committee chairmen who must support his programs, especially in military and financial affairs. An administration which has already

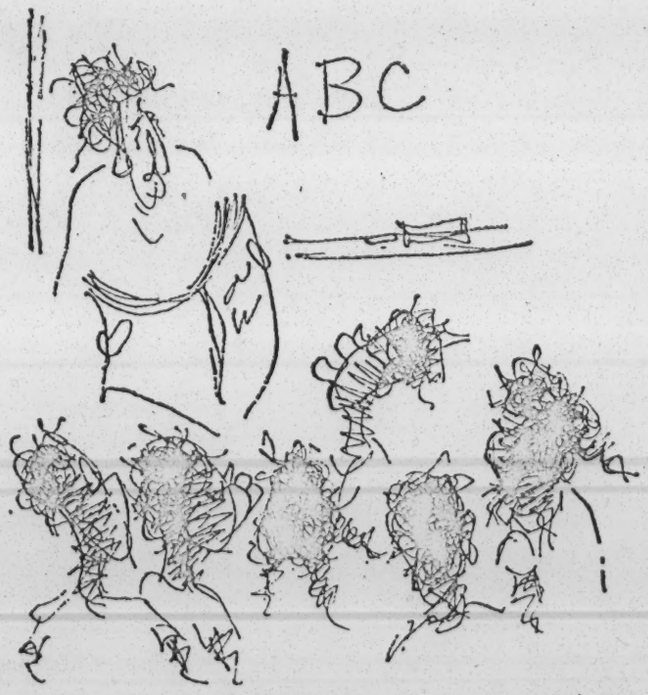
voiced its intention to increase military expenditures as a secure base for a foreign policy, and to attack urban problems by changing the tax laws for private capital, is unlikely to buck John Stennis, Richard Russell, Mendel Rivers (who campaigned for Wallace) and Wilbur Mills. Furthermore, Republican gains and near misses in the South promise an administration that must also grant favors to its Southern colleagues in Congress. Edward Gurney from Florida won a Republican seat in the Senate as a segregationist conservative. John Tower of Texas comes from a divided state which failed to go to Nixon by only 1 per cent of the vote, and where the Republican candidate for governor lost by less than 2 per cent. Strom Thurmond, hailed at the Miami convention as the voice of Dixie, came through by delivering South Carolina, the only Nixon victory in the Deep South. The new House will seat thirty-five Republican Congressmen from Southern and border states. Since the GOP is seeking desperately to be reborn in that region, it will be difficult for the administration to ignore the pleas of its legislative colleagues for a relaxation of federal desegregation pressure.

And the particular interests of the Republican Party may not be far from the temper of Congress at large. In the closing weeks of the 90th Congress, the House came within eight votes of accepting the distorted arguments of segregationist Jamie Whitten of Mississippi and supporting an amendment which would have legalized free-choice school desegregation plans, thus thwarting the Supreme Court's *Green* pronouncement and setting enforcement efforts back to the "separate but equal" days. The closeness of the vote on that significant civil rights issue indicates a possible falling away of liberal Northern support. This is likely to increase, and is partial proof of Southern predictions that Northern support for civil rights would die as the issue came closer to home. The Southern desegregation program is starting to hit larger cities, like Charleston and Greensboro, and is finally beginning to scout Northern districts that are appropriate for enforcement action. Northern Congressmen are therefore not as conspicuous as they once were when key enforcement votes come to the floor. Southerners, knowing this, are encouraged to keep up their steady attack on federal programs until they can win with quiet Northern defection.

These tendencies may be abetted by a move the present Administration made during the last days of the campaign. HEW recommended consideration of a shift of its compliance activities to the Department of Justice. Ordinarily, such an administrative change should pass unnoticed, but this action, if carried out, could prove fatal to civil rights enforcement. HEW has weathered one too many civil rights storms and is acting instinctively to safeguard the other social legislation it has long fought for. The recent Whitten battle placed the Department's $18 billion budget in danger and last year there were similar threats to the billion-dollar Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

A number of questions can be raised about the proposed move to Justice. First, it recalls painfully the demise of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, a short-lived agency headed by the Vice President, which was suddenly killed after eight months as a dynamic leader of federal civil rights activity. Its broad functions were pared and the remainder—compliance under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—was transferred to Justice, with a "coordination" mandate. The vigor of that past leadership has since dried up in the limitations of the amorphous coordination order issued to a conservative federal agency that is concerned entirely with litigation. With Nixon promising even greater conservatism through the naming of a new Attorney General, there is little likelihood of improvement.

If the transfer goes through, there is even some thought that the shift might be broadened to include the remaining twenty federal agencies with Title VI duties. To date, the leadership Justice has shown other agencies has been limited largely to situations that fit into its own interests. The shift of school desegregation powers would conflict with present Justice priorities, since fair employment is now the top Justice preoccupation. In addition, past Justice experience has been confined entirely to litigation. It has no practice with Title VI administrative hearings, the technique that HEW has used to obtain compliance. The court route would be impeded by the small staff available to Justice, its innate concern with the attitudes of Southern district judges who still can't accept desegregation and the delays inherent in judicial appeal, which could affect the government's ability to enforce change before the opening of each school year. The transfer of staff from HEW would raise the hackles of Congressmen who have fought to decentralize the program into regional offices—a setup which Justice does not have. In addition, federal enforcement of civil rights would become one fat target for Congressional attack instead of the diffuse picture it now is—a happy opportunity for Richard Russell, new chairman



Pat Fink

"In This Neighborhood We Ain't Got No White Knights Ridin' up on White Chargers—We Got Black Panthers Ridin' off in Black Marias."

of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and James Eastland, chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

Most important, if the shift did mean return to the court route, it would yield less desegregation. The latest figures available from HEW show that school districts under court order have desegregated their Negro students only half as fast as the already slow-moving systems under administrative plans.

In the end, however, the coffin of enforcement may be nailed down by those who up to now have supported its life. First, liberals and Black Power advocates are ignoring the issue. In part, this indifference arises from a growing eagerness to disparage enforcement as a means of social change. "It isn't the answer any more," several have told me with reference to the growing complexities of urban issues. To a degree, they are right—because it never was the answer but only one tool. What they are complaining about is the failure of legislation they helped pass four years ago to solve all the nation's ills, as was then promised.

Second, enforcement is to liberal intellectuals an old, unsophisticated, and therefore distasteful approach to the solution of social problems. They can mentally enjoy the complexities of the urban crisis, and continually seek, support, and join the *avant garde* of liberal social debate. Enforcement doesn't fit their mood.

Third, there is a Northern blind spot in most discussions of national urban issues which ignores Southern problems. While attention is often paid to the effects of black Southern migration, little is done to counteract it. Finally, Southern liberals, most recently the Southern Regional Council, are properly concerned that enforcement simply hasn't achieved its goal—85 per cent of all black children in the South still attend segregated schools (we don't know the Northern figure). True, there is no answer to this. But true or not, it's more progress than we've had elsewhere.

White liberal feelings about enforcement also merge with new black feelings about separatism. The black militant refusal to support integration is being picked up by those whites who have lost the will to fight for it where it is still possible. In many Southern cities, for example, growing segregation can still be fought through legal means because the original forced separation provides a path for constitutional attack. While there is no certainty to this approach, there is hope. But if white officials can use Northern separatist arguments to stifle it, Southern chances for change will die completely.

Enforcement is not *the* answer to our racial and urban ills, but it would be foolish to ignore its use as a tool in a sophisticated strategy for change which considers, among other things, differences in region and community size. About 95 per cent of the black children in the Gary, Ind., elementary schools are in predominantly black schools: the same is true of Little Rock, Ark. In both cities the schools are substantially unequal. If enforcement can do *anything* to help any child in either of these cities, without impairing the effectiveness of other efforts at change, it should not be abandoned—by Republicans or anyone else. We owe it to the children. And that's where it all began.

December 19, 1969

Mr. Tom Radney
Box 443
Alexander,City, Alabama

Dear Tom:

It was indeed a pleasure to meet you, and I shall be more than pleaeed to do anything possible to assist you.

You will be hearing from me again, but in keeping with -- believe it or not -- our strictly non-partisan stance further correspondence will be on my private stationery from my home.

With regards abd best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SENATE CHAMBER

MONTGOMERY

ALABAMA

TOM RADNEY, STATE SENATOR
16TH DISTRICT
TALLAPOOSA, ELMORE AND MACON COUNTIES
BOX 443
ALEXANDER CITY
35010

COMMITTEES:
- VICE-CHAIRMAN PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS
- VICE-CHAIRMAN PUBLIC WELFARE AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS
- JUDICIARY
- CORPORATIONS
- EDUCATION
- MUNICIPALITIES AND MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATIONS
- COUNTIES AND COUNTY BOUNDARIES

December 2, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. ~~Anthony:~~ Paul

It was good to be with you for a week-end, and I hope we have made a small beginning on improving the political and economic conditions of our region. I need your help in my campaign for Lieutenant Governor of Alabama. Please contact your friends in our state and ask for their efforts both financial and physical.

Sincerely,

Tom

Tom Radney

TR/wb

Dear Mr. Crutcher,

Thanks so much for the leaflet concerning the doctors of Atlanta. It will be helpful in suggesting preparation for desegregation in the Atlanta schools. We still have much to do in preparing the way.

Would more of these leaflets be available?

Sincerely, Benjamin Mays

Mrs. Newton Rayzor

Race Relations post war

OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION

Stanford L. Warren Library
1201 Fayetteville Street
Durham, North Carolina

IN REPLY REFER TO:

August 15, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am enclosing a letter which I would like to have distributed in some of the important dailies of the South. The DURHAM MORNING HERALD and the CHARLOTTE OBSERVER have already carried a letter similar to this one. I was thinking that you might look this over and see whether or not you think its distribution would do any good, and if so, it could be sent on to some of the dailies from your office.

Sincerely yours,

James T. Taylor

James T. Taylor
Assistant Information Executive

JTT/laf

Enclosure

Taylor

To the Editor:

These are critical times in which we live. The impact of the war has dislocated industry, family life, our transportation system, and many other phases of our peacetime living. As a result of these dislocations, many strains and stresses are placed upon the individual. All of us are enduring much: long hours of work, overcrowded homes, congestion in travel, anxiety for our loved ones in the service. At such a time and under such circumstances, our innate good natures are likely to become irritable, impatient and subject to uncharitable thinking and action toward other human beings, who like ourselves are passing through the same upsetting circumstances. When two such individuals meet, there is always the possibility of a flare up between them.

I feel that those of us who sense this situation and its implications for our communities, need to give serious thought to some program of action that would lessen the chance for friction and misunderstanding between the diverse elements in our population. I feel that the newspapers can do much to help the public understand the situation and awaken the individual to the need of being more tolerant toward other individuals whom he meets from day to day. As we have propagandized the buying of war bonds, production for victory; we can likewise propagandize for racial tolerance and understanding, which is just as essential to the winning of the war and the peace.

All of us are trying to win a war. A war against intolerance, against repression and oppression, against injustice, and all forms of human cruelty; and when the war is won, we shall strive for a peace that will enable individuals of all races, colors and creeds to live out their lives in social dignity and self-respect. To attain these objectives, we must be a united people at home. We must live and work together harmoniously. The times demand that each of us be just a little more tolerant, considerate and self-restrained in our dealings and contacts with one another on the streets, on buses and trains, at work or wherever we meet.

It is rather unfortunate that there are some among us who are expecting trouble between the racial elements in our population. The answer to this expectation is not more machine guns and lethal weapons to quell disorder when, and if, it comes, that is the Nazi technique. The civilized and American way is to prevent disorder through education and by informing the public in respect to its source and its consequences.

Here in North Carolina, for more than thirty years we have set before us a pattern of inter-racial good will and cooperation. We have not reached perfection, nor do we consider ourselves to have arrived at a completely satisfactory solution to all of our problems and difficulties; however, the results achieved in education, public welfare, health and inter-racial understanding testify to the wisdom and soundness of this approach. Our experience teaches us that two different races can live together in mutual respect and mutual helpfulness. Other sections of our nation, in fact, many sections of the world, now and in the post war era, might well use a similar approach in dealing with human relation problems involving diverse racial elements. While we proclaim the four freedoms for the world and reiterate our devotion to the democratic ideal, it would be most tragic at this moment in world history, if we in

America lose faith in democracy and substitute techniques of fear, intimidation and violence for the democratic method of settling controversies and disputes.

Responsible citizens in all our communities need to get together and have a heart to heart talk with our directors of public safety, chiefs of police, and transportation officials. We need to impress upon them the importance of requiring those who work under their direction to exhibit poise, courtesy, justice, and consideration towards the public. Such employees should be made aware of the fact that they are in strategic positions and that their actions can help or impede harmonious race relations in their communities. Ministers, educators and newspapers must inform the citizens of the need for tolerance, good manners and self-restraint in their dealings with one another, and also in their dealings with those persons whose jobs require them to serve the public.

Responsible union officials, employers of labor and the personnel departments of our large industrial concerns need to sit down together and devise and put into execution, a program of information and education designed to create among all workers, insight and understanding in respect to various races employed in the plants. In addition, all workers should be made to understand that the unions and managers of industry, working together, will take drastic measures against any individual employee who foments trouble between the racial groups.

While our gallant soldiers of every race fight and die on all the battle fronts with the "expectation of a better world", we at home would be recreant to our trust and obligation if we confronted them with disunity and internecine strife at home.

August 5, 1944

James T. Taylor
1201 Fayetteville Street
Durham, North Carolina

Race Relations
Interracial
Winter Park Fla

February 19, 1945

Mr. Fred S. Hall
637 New York Avenue
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Mr. Hall:

I appreciated your letters, and I am sorry that because of an epidemic of meetings and trips I am not doing so well with my end of the correspondence.

I hope that you received the additional literature which was sent. I am glad that you are finding it useful.

I shall look forward to receiving a note about the film, "The Negro Soldier", for publication in Southern Frontier. We mentioned the film briefly in the Frontier last summer, but we would like to have your report. Atlanta University had a copy of the film which they showed to various groups last summer. Quite a few white people attended these showings.

We have a copy of the film strip, "We Are All Brothers," but like you we have no special projector. However, I have projected it at home after a fashion by pulling the film through my Kodachrome projector — a method which is no good, of course, for real showing. My reaction, which was also the reaction of my guests who saw the film, was that the drawings are too much like caricatures and that one is likely to get the idea that the whole subject is being treated somewhat flippantly. I think that film strips are going to be an excellent means of visual education, and I hope that you will be able to get a satisfactory projector sometime soon. I have found only one on the market in Atlanta, and the price was outrageous. However, I have been told that as soon as projectors can be made again, there will be machines available for $30 to $40.

I do not know when I will be able to get to Florida. I have promised to attend the State Interracial Council meeting, but I believe the date has not been set. I need to get some rest, and I would like to get it while soaking up some Florida sunshine, but every day seems to bring additional problems which can not wait.

I don't know what can be done about your chief of police and his attitude toward having a Negro on his force, except to maintain a gentle pressure on him. I do not know of any Southern precedent for having

Negro police in a town as small as yours. The nearest thing I can think of is the use of a Negro truant officer in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. We tried to get a Negro in uniform on the regular force, but it was absolutely impossible. We do not have any up-to-date quotations from police officials with regard to the use of Negro police. Why not write or visit the police officials at Daytona Beach, Fort Myers, and Sarasota? Evidence obtained from Florida cities would be more effective with your local chief than anything that comes from the outside.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

$2.00 given Miss Clay

Fred S. Hall
637 New York Avenue
Winter Park, Florida

Feb 12. 1945

Dear Dr Johnson:

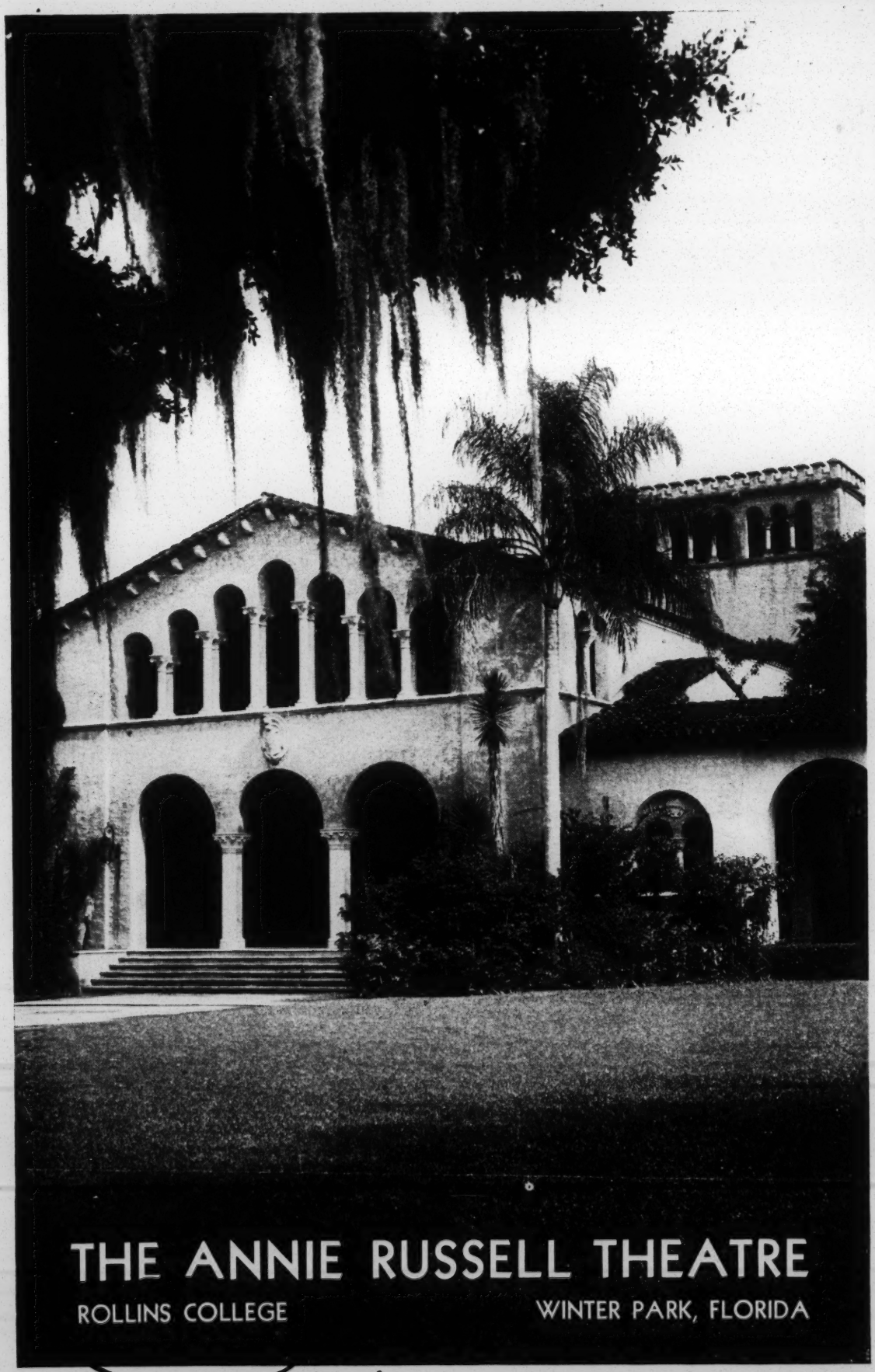
Will you please send me at once 24 more copies of America's Truth Man. The said the 100 you sent and the Negroes want more. Enclosed is $2.00 for next Sunday the 18th

MFS 2/14/45

I will shortly write you a letter - for possible use in - The Southern Frontier - regarding our two very successful showings of The Negro Soldier.

Sincerely

Fred S. Hall



THE ANNIE RUSSELL THEATRE

ROLLINS COLLEGE WINTER PARK, FLORIDA

XX

17TH SEASON ANNOUNCEMENT 1944 - 45

In view of the serious casting problems anticipated this year, it is impossible to announce in advance the specific plays that are to be produced by the Rollins Players. Therefore, the following list is submitted from which six plays will be selected for production::

* "Tomorrow the World," by James Gow and Arnaud D'Usseau
"Out of the Frying Pan," by Frances Swann
"Victoria the Queen," by Laurence Housman
"Berkeley Square," by John L. Balderston
"The Male Animal," by Elliott Nugent and James Thurber
"The Damask Cheek," by John Van Druten and Lloyd Morris
"Listen Professor," by Alexander Afinogenov
"The Silver Cord," by Sidney Howard
"In a House Like This," by Lewis Beach
"The Far Off Hills," by Lennox Robinson
"Murder Without Crime," by J. Lee Thompson
"The Old Maid and the Thief," by Gian-Carlo Menotti

These plays will be under the direction of Professors Donald S. Allen, and Howard Bailey, and will be presented in the Annie Russell Theatre on the following dates:

November 16, 17, 18, 1944

December 7, 8, 9, 1944

February 21, 22, 23, 24, 1945

March 21, 22, 23, 24, 1945

April 26, 27, 28, 1945

May 30, 31, June 1, 1945

* The first play to be produced in the 1944-45 season.

RACE RELATIONS MEETING
2:30 p.m., Sunday, February 11, 1945
Annie Russell Theater
Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida
Auspices of Rollins College Race Relations Committee

Dean Henry M. Edmonds, presiding

PROGRAM

Song - "America"
Invocation - Rev. W. Keith Chidester
Music - Hungerford School Choir
"Interracial Cooperation" - Dean Edmonds
Introduction of the film, "The Negro Soldier", Hon. Herbert Halverstadt
The showing of the film
Song - "A Litany for Race Brotherhood"
Benediction - Rev. R. G. Ingersoll

A Litany for Race Brotherhood

Tune: "Finlandia", by Sebelius

Very fine, I think

Almighty God and Father of Creation
Who hast made all men equal in Thy sight,
Of common blood, whate'er our race or nation,
To share the common earth and air and light,-
Lest we betray our Brotherhood, wilt Thou
Have mercy, Father, on Thy children now!

From bars of creed and color that divide us,
From jealousy and selfishness and pride,
From shedding blood to win the rights denied us,
From sins of hate for which our Savior died,
From greed and fear, from vengeance by the sword -
Deliver us, deliver us, good Lord!

Here at Thy feet we humbly make confession:
To these, our brothers' wrongs we have been blind.
For all our share in bondage and oppression,
For all the cruelties of all mankind
Forgive us, Father, hear thy children call.
Have mercy, Lord, have mercy on us all!

- Caroline F. Uric

- -

Let us impart all the blessings we possess or ask for ourselves, to the whole family of mankind. - George Washington

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. - Booker T. Washington

Not until we love all races, all so-called nationalities, as Christ loved them, are we on the road to peace on earth. - Wilfred Grenfell

I have been told, on a mountain steep,
A shepherd smiled as he heard the sheep
Debate if the black ones or the white
He would admit to the fold that night. - Anon.

largest Negro church

Coming

THE NEGRO SOLDIER

A War Department Motion Picture

This picture, pronounced to be "by far the best film about Negroes and their part in America, and in the American army, that has ever been made", will be shown next Sunday night, February 11, at 7.45 P.M, in Ward Chapel. The showing has been arranged by the West Side Civic League. There will be no admission charge. The Trustees of Ward Chapel have consented to this use of their building, giving up their regular Sunday night service to the meeting, because no other place, it is believed, will accomodate the many people who will wish to see this historic film.

The Negro Soldier is a high-grade, professional picture, with sound effects, which runs for 45 minutes. It was produced by the War Department of the United States government. The magazine Crisis says of it:

> This film will thrill every Negro American, and educate every white American who sees it. The picture will do more for inter-racial education than ten million pamphlets on the race problem".

Mr. Hall agrees with that judgement, for he saw the film last summer in New Jersey. He reports that it is "very fine indeed".

The Ward Chapel meeting has been arranged primarily for adults, but children will be admitted with the understanding that they may have to stand up if their seats are needed for grown people.

A distinguished aviation official, Colonel Robert L. Scott, has been invited to attend the meeting. He is the author of the well-known book, "God Is My Co-pilot". Unless his military responsibilities should prevent, it is expected that he will be present and that he will speak briefly after the picture has been shown.

Notice to (Negro) Civic League Members - The League's regular monthly meeting will be held on the following night - Monday, February 12 - at 8 o'clock

January 19, 1945

Mr. Fred S. Hall
637 New York Avenue
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Mr. Hall:

Your good letter of January 17 has arrived while Dr. Johnson is out of the city. He will be back in the office next week, and I shall bring your letter to his attention then.

Thank you for your check covering 100 copies of America's Tenth Man. We shall get them out to you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

Fred S. Hall
637 New York Avenue
Winter Park, Florida

Jan 17 1945

Dear Dr Johnson,

Thanks for getting my letter to the Twentieth Century Fox Corporation. It no longer had The Negro Soldier but I have it now, engaged from the Univ. of Fla. (Visual Educa. Dept.) at Gainesville. I also learned that it is obtainable from two offices in your city—

Distributors Group Inc. 756 W. Peachtree NW
Reagan Visual Educa. Co., Rhodes Bldg.

If you mailing forms that the film is all I hope it will be (I saw it last summer) I think you might with advantage tell about it in The Southern Frontier. For the benefit groups similar to ours. The only cost is expressage both ways. You could probably have the film sent off for you to see, at one of the above offices.

For sale at our meeting (Feb 11) we would like to have America's Truth Man for sale if we can

Ga. Univ. Extension
423

have a rebate on copies shipped (for 100 copies)
Enclosed, is my check for $7.50. We
shall also sell The Races of Mankind
by Benedict and Weltfish

When are you going to get down
into Florida so that I can ask
you advice on a dozen or more
matters, too complicated to write
about. I would like to slope off
on a train in Atlanta early next
May on our way to N.J., but I
fear that raises too many compli-
cations - Pullman reservations
on two trains that must jibe as to
dates

What do you know about the
still-film-strip and text "We are All
Brothers" for use by discussion groups
It is based on The Races of Mankind
I have it, but so far have not been
able to get the use of a projector
for it. Do you know of any suc-
cessful use of the strip?

Our most serious situation
here now is the bitter hatred
of all our Negroes - good and
bad alike - for the city police (two men)
a hatred which I think is transferred
to the city government generally
even including the school officials

It is due to the very unjust attitude of the policemen. Recently our Mayor actually restored $15 to the leading Negro minister who had been fined for an offence which the policeman merely inferred the minister had committed - running past a stop sign. The white man who got bumped, slightly (in a dense fog of rain) wrote a letter completely exonerating the minister. That turned the trick

The Chief of Police declares he will quit his job if a Negro is put on the force under him. I have you printed and typed lists of Southern cities with Negro policemen, but they are seem much larger than our tiny city, of 4500. Our Negroes are convinced that no local Negro should be given such a task. Is there precedent (successful) for importing a man. Do you know anything about finding a Negro man honorably discharged from the military police for a minor defect who might be O.K. for a job like this.

Anything you can send us in the way of good press labour from officials in small

southern cities would be helpful.
What small city would you
suggest for us to coverfound
with or possibly to visit for
the sake of interviews

Enclosed are some recent
notices, agenda, and reports

Yours sincerely
Fred S. Hall

W E S T S I D E C I V I C L E A G U E

Why Must I Come -

To the Next Meeting?

This coming Monday night, January 15, 1945, at the Ideal Woman's Club. (The room will be heated if it is a cold night)

First Reason - To hear about The Negro Soldier, the 42-minute motion picture (produced by the United States War Department) which is to be shown on Sunday afternoon, February 11, before an audience of white and Negro people in the Rollins College Theatre.

- The Negro magazine, The Crisis, says: "This is the best film about Negroes and their part in America, and in the American Army, that has ever been made."
- The display of the film and the program of the meeting are being arranged by our Civic League in cooperation with the Committee on Race relations of Rollins College.
- Admission to the theatre will be free, but tickets will be required, and our League will distribute the tickets which are assigned for the use of Negroes.
- Come to the meeting Monday night when the method of distribution will be decided upon and other matters discussed relating to the February 11th meeting in the college theatre.

Second Reason - To hear about the offer the United States Government is making to service men, for trade education when they come home. It is provided for under the GI Bill of Rights law.

- The service men can select the school or college they prefer, and select also the trade or occupation for which they wish to be trained. Then the government will pay the cost of instruction for one year, and will give the men in addition an allowance for living expenses
- Come to the League meeting on Monday night, when we will consider how our Winter Park service men (some of whom have been honorably discharged already) can share in this great program. Over 1,000 applications in the United States have already been filed.

Third Reason - To learn about the proposal for zoning the West Side. On the East Side every man who owns a home is protected by the city's zoning law.

- But that law does not apply to the West Side. Therefore, a man here has no zoning protection. His neighbor, if he wants to, can build a factory or a store next door.
- Come to Monday night's meeting and hear Mr. Hall explain just what a zoning law does.

Other matters to be decided at the meeting include the question of appealing to the city for better water supply for fire protection.

Remember the hour - eight o'clock sharp, at the Ideal Woman's Club.

Give the enclosed sheets to two of your friends who are not members of the League, and ask them to come to the meeting with you.

WILLIS WILLIAMS, President.

January 6, 1943

D 16

The Inter-racial Committee of Winter Park

To Our 6 New Members: (just-obtained) (All white members except had gone - sickness & death

The following outline of the Committee's record so far, has been prepared for your information. It will not be read at the meeting, but if any of you have questions about the matters mentioned, please feel free to ask them.

Fred S. Hall, Secretary.

OUTLINE

1. Material improvements accomplished
   - A foul-smelling fat rendering plant removed, on complaint to the city.
   - Needed additional street lights supplied by the city
   - Zoning of the West Side proposed to the city and its cooperation obtained. Only East Side is now zoned. Matter is now pending.

2. Needed new organizations set up on the West Side.
   - A boy scout troupe. Successful now, under its own direction. Until last year the West Side had no street signs. It has them now, built, painted and erected by the Scouts, the city supplying the posts.
   - A West Side Civic League. with 57 members at present and 58 on hand. The secretary of the Interracial Committee, by invitation sits in at all meetings of the League. Its accomplishments include:
     Obtaining two garbage collections a week (West Side had weekly collections before)
     Inducing a juice factory to cease dumping citrus shells, causing swarms of small flies, in a West Side residential section.
     Purchase and gift of a large United States flag to the West Side school; also purchase and gift of service-star banners to 61 families of men in service. Appropriate public ceremonies in both cases. were.
     Two Negro trustees supplied to administer the Bath Room Fund, set up by a white organization , to make "incentive grants" for bathrooms.
     By friendly agreement with the city, on the initiative of the League, a Negro residential area was established. At the time there were demands from certain sources for a compulsory segregated area.

3. Educational and promotional services.
   - Addresses on the local situation before the University Club, the Women's society of the Congregational Church, and (on January 10 next) before the Woman's Club of Winter Park.
   - A letter to President Roosevelt approving of the FEPC, which he had established, and urging him to stand firm in face of the refusal of the Southern Railroads to cease discriminations in employment.
   - Notices read each year in all West Side churches, about the right of home owners to claim specified exemption of taxes.
   - Attention called in the local newspaper to the requiring domestic servants to have health certificates.
   - Three whitespeakers supplied (two bishops and former war correspondant) for union West Side church services.

In addition are efforts in several other directions - efforts which are not abandoned, but which so far have not been successful.

racial Committee,
Winter Park, Fla.

January 5, 1945

Order of Business

1. Minutes of meeting of April 12, 1944
2. New Members - Parent Committee's report by Professor France
   Mr. Robert L. Raiman — Mrs. Wilbur Johnson
   Mr. William N. Taylor — Mrs. A. B. Morgan
   Dr. Alexander Waite — Mrs. Nathan Starr
3. Greetings from the Rollins Committee on Race Relations - Dr. Clark
4. Secretary's first report (already sent to new members) Any questions?
5. Secretary's second report - action by him during the disorganization period

OLD BUSINESS

6. The Hungerford appropriation - Principal Hall
7. ~~Miss Dennison's resignation~~ Plans

NEW BUSINESS

7. Miss Dennison's resignation
8. What regular night for future meetings?
*9. The planned college theatre meeting, Feb. 11.(The Negro Soldier) - Mr.Hall
*10. ~~Proposed arbitration of a Negro-white labor dispute - Mr. Hall~~
*11. ~~Admission of Negroes to gallery of our Colonial theatre - Mrs. DePugh~~
*12. ~~A $50 prize offered to stimulate improvement by West-Side home owners,Mr.Hal~~
*13. The final adjustment of the Negro residential area agreement.
14. Matters which Negro members wish to present.
15. Matters which white members wish to present
16. "Strange Fruit" - Requests at the Negro library for a copy - Mrs. DePugh
17. Training for trades, etc., under the GI bill of rights act. - Mr. Hall
~~18. Negro policemen or a policeman for Winter Park? - Mr. Hall~~
~~19. Post-war street paving on the West Side~~
~~Selections to be made from the following, for consideration, if desired~~
18. Negro policemen for Winter Park?
19. Post-war paving of streets on the West Side.
20. The "still film" on The Races of Mankind. How can it be used?
21. The proposed post-war Negro high school building for Winter Park.
22. Could the West Side have a West Side Notes column in the Winter Pk.Herald?
23. Could it have a brass band?
24. Possible motor trip by committee members to the new "defense housing unit on the West Side. Should moves be made now for a low-cost public housing unit there, like the Orlando Negro unit, after the war?
25. Southern Regional Council - Additional members desired.
26. Periodicals about Negro Conditions received by the Secretary (Will loan)
    The Crisis (Nat. Ass Adv. Col. People) — Events and Trends (Ros.Founda.)
    Opportunity (Nat'l Urban League) — South Today (Lilian Smith)
    Southern Frontier (So. Reg'l Council) — The Patriot (So.Conf.f.Hum.Welf)
27. Pamphlets (Free from the Sec'y or for 10 cents each)
    The American Negro (Myrdal briefed) — There are Things to Do (Lilian S)
    The Races of Mankind (Benedict and W.) "I knew Carver" Imes.

17a blank
17b Selections to be made from the following, for consideration, if desired.
18. A Negro policeman for Winter Park, for duty on the West Side?
19. ~~[illegible]~~ already or

Not reached

June 22, 1945

Mr. Robert Sutherland
The Hogg Foundation
University of Texas
Austin 12, Texas

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your note of June 18 and the enclosure of Dr. Werlin's outline. It is an excellent plan. I wonder whether his plan was adopted by the Houston YWCA. Do you want me to return it to you? If not, we would like to have it for our file.

Again let me tell you how sorry I am that I could not get to Austin quite as soon as I had hoped and that I did not get to see you. Better luck next time!

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Race Relations
YWCA

THE HOGG FOUNDATION
FOR MENTAL HYGIENE
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR AUSTIN 12

June 18, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Probably you met Dr. Werlin when you were in Texas but in case you did not, I thought you might like to see the enclosed outline which he prepared. He has been interested in race relations for some time.

Cordially yours

Bob

Robert L. Sutherland

RLS:k
enc.

7

file

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE HOUSTON YWCA ON THE SUBJECT OF RACE

Joseph S. Werlin, Prof. of Sociology
University of Houston,
May 26, 1943

A. Organization of a Racial Amity Center, to be composed of

1. Advisory Council, made up of influential civic leaders; e.g.,

   a. Heads of key Service Clubs
   b. President of Central Federation of Women
   c. Outstanding business leaders
   d. Outstanding religious leaders
   e. Superintendent of schools
   f. Presidents of local colleges and universities
   g. Newspaper editors.

2. Executive Council, composed of selected individuals of YWCA affiliation.

3. Secretariat, to keep records, handle correspondence, distribute information, etc.

B. General Character and Objectives of the Center

1. To translate ideals of Americanism into living realities
2. To combat prejudice
3. To work for removal of inter-racial friction
4. To serve as a clearing house for exchange of views between the racial groups
5. To devote special attention to the Negroes and Mexicans, the groups constituting the chief source of friction in the community and in greatest need of help.

C. Activities of the Center with respect to the racial needs and problems of the community

1. Resisting defamation of whole social groups, where the defamation has racial implications; for instance,

   a. Negatively, by protesting insulting, humilitating, slanderous or untruthful references appearing in the press, radio, movies, political speeches, circulars or other media of public information
   b. Positively, by enlightenment of or reasoning with the defamers.

2. Protesting discriminatory treatment where it passes beyond limits determined by time-hardened convention or especially where it tends to enlarge the existing area of recognized discrimination; to wit:

   a. By voicing protest against blanket restrictions on residence to non-negroes on the part of neighborhoods or subdivisions, where such restrictions are new and non-customary

b. By voicing protest against discrimination in restaurants, hotels, barber-shops, tourist camps, etc., of such non-negro groups.
c. By objecting to discriminatory employment practices.

3. Fostering of racial understanding, appreciation and cooperation through cultural and "get together" meetings at the Center; for example:

a. By furnishing a meeting-place for all racial groups seeking to express their cultural heritage, either among themselves or on an inter-group basis
b. By holding, periodically, meetings and forums where leaders of the several racial groups are invited for the purpose of expressing themselves freely regarding all problems and for removing all ungrounded prejudices, doubts and fears.
c. By arranging lectures on Americanism to audiences of mixed racial character.

D. Activities Relating to Extra-Community Affairs

1. Support of all movements and developments outside of the local community having as their object the promoting of greater racial understanding and cooperation, and combatting all others having the opposite tendencies; for example:

a. By urging passage of state and national legislation designed to promote the ideals and objectives of the Center
b. By endorsement of all governmental policies and programs designed to foster closer relationships with other races and nations
c. By protesting against all utterances, actions, movements and policies likely to hamper the goals sought by the Center.

E. Organization of a special Negro-Affairs Section of the Center, having as its objectives:

1. The setting forth of principles upon which should rest the policies of the Center with reference to Negro-White relations; for example:

a. The principle of realism: recognition that white attitudes toward the Negro are so strongly fixed that only painstaking, tactful handling of all situations is likely to bear fruit.
b. The principle of gradualism: recognition that improvement should be first sought in the areas most easy of attainment and only later in areas more difficult of solution; for instance, the treatment of Negroes on street cars or in theatres as distinguished from more intimate mingling in private homes and informal social gatherings.

2. Recommendation by the Section of Psychological Principles to guide the Negro in smoothing the path of racial friendship; for example:

a. Avoidance of unnecessarily provocative behavior by word, manner or deed likely to give offense and render the task of improving racial relationships more difficult.
b. Continuation of forbearance in the knowledge that narrowing the breach between the races requires time and patience.
c. Zeal to gain a reputation for responsibility, truth, honesty, faithfulness, dependability.

3. Recommendation to the Negro Section designed to improve the general life

   a. That the Negro will gain in consideration and equality of treatment largely to the extent that he rises in the scale of living and develops standards in housing, clothing, hygiene, family life, education and general culture approximately equal to those of the majority.

   b. That self-help is the fastest medium for the social progress of any minority, as witness the experience of every successful minority in the United States, whom history shows to have risen to a place of importance and esteem largely by virtue of efforts exerted by the leaders and masses of the group rather than by waiting passively until the Majority comes to the rescue and does whatever is necessary. In other words, Society, like the Lord, helps those who help themselves. Under these circumstances, the Negro should place chief dependence upon himself, and look forward to programs of social welfare, recreational and cultural activities carried on by Negroes rather than by Whites for Negroes. (for Negroes

   c. That the development of greater business and professional interests and talents will contribute to this same end of Negro social and cultural advancement.

4. Conducting of a program of activities by the Section designed to enhance the well-being of the Negro; for example:

   a. Fostering of contests for better homes, better gardens, better clothing, better babies, greater cleanliness, etc.

   b. Fostering of artistic and cultural talents and interests through holding of exhibitions and awards of prizes.

5/29/43
sn

Internacional Activity
Winter Park Fla

November 27, 1945

Mr. Fred S. Hall
637 New York Avenue
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Mr. Hall:

Thank you very much for sending us the sheet from The New Republic containing the letter from Lt. Col. John H. Sherman on Negro soldiers. We have made copies and I am returning the sheet to you. It may be that we can quote from Colonel Sherman's letter in the Southern Frontier.

Incidentally, I was put on the track of Colonel Sherman by Dr. Walter Willcox of Cornell University, who sent me clippings of letters Sherman had written to some newspapers. We are trying to get in touch with Colonel Sherman with a view to asking him to write a special article on his experiences with Negro troops.

It was good to meet you and your friends at the meeting in Jacksonville last month. I believe that the Florida Council has possibilities of being a very wideawake organization. Of course, we are delighted that it has become a state division of SRC, and we are going to give it all the stimulation we can.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

Possible I sent you a copy last July

173 SUMMIT AVENUE
UPPER MONTCLAIR, N. J.

July 17, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 24 1945
Southern Regional Council

To Friends of the Negro Boys' Club
in Winter Park,

The new club is going well, as far as I can judge at this distance. It is using the Negro Woman's Club building - because of difficulties with the owner of the building at the center which it was to have used. But in these summer months the Woman's Club building is available every night in the week.

Concerning Donald Pelham, whom we engaged as leader of the club, I can tell you more. I am pinning my faith on him, in the hope that he may become the greatly needed community leader. He is a born organizer. He came to Winter Park about a year ago, and before we had learned about him he had organized two groups of young men:

(1) The "Pelham Singers", of which he is leader and accompanist, and
(2) "The United Ones", a more comprehensive organization of young men, for community betterment and mutual welfare.

In July, entirely on his own initiative, he started a tiny newspaper (copy enclosed). He has carried this through two issues with no help from me or (I think) from any white person. I greatly doubt if he can sell enough copies to make the venture succeed, even though the Negro section greatly needs an organ for the stimulation of community spirit. But I am delighted with the energy and enterprise the editor has shown in making the effort. His picture appears at the head of the first column of page 1.

For the summer Mr. Pelham is also in charge of the Negro playground. At the end of May the Boys' Club had 40 members, with between 20 and 30 present each night. Officers have been elected and dues established. The games are: ping-pong, cards, checkers, and boxing - the latter probably the most popular.

Here is a fact which indicates, I think, the place Mr. Pelham is making for himself in the community. In April - as a bow to the community, on behalf of his new organization, "The United Ones" - he arranged a Sunday afternoon meeting in one of the churches. It was preceded by a parade of several cars, the first - on invitation - being the city police-patrol car.

For flash pictures in the church an excellent Negro photographer had been provided. He took pictures of the audience and of the "Pelham Singers", who sang several selections, certain of them Mr. Pelham's own compositions. At the close a collection was taken for "The United Ones", and $55 was received!!

Yours sincerely,

Fred S Hall

Chairman, Recreation Committee of the
Hannibal Square Associates.

OVER

Agenda, October 24,1945

Inter-racial Committee.

Meeting in the Pastor's Study of the Congregational Church, on Wednesday night at eight o'clock sharp.
(Members please bring their copies of this sheet)

(1)
Minutes of the Meeting of April 30

(2) Reports from organizations.

The West Side Civic League - Mr. Williams (The meeting of October 25)

The serious flooded area . Petition to the Commissioners to be read.
The School Election on November 6. Committee appointed to get a full vote from the registered Negroes favoring the 3 extra mills tax proposed by the Winter Park School Trustees for the School Fund and the School Building Fund.
The proposed formation of a Negro Cemetery Association to take over the Negro Cemetery if the city is willing to give it over.

The Hannibal Square Associates -,Mr. Hall

The Summer Playground and the newly-formed Negro Boys' Club

Hungerford School - Principal Hall

Summer progress and present prospects

The Ideal Woman's Club - Mrs DePugh

Summer events if any
Continuation of the Motion Pictures ?
In the new building fund, how much?
Plans for the Winter ?

(3) Reports from our own Committees

The Cemetery - Mr. Richardson and Mr. Taylor

On the sentiment of the Negroes as to forming a Cemetery Association.
On what his father reports as to past action taken by Negroes in relation to the cemetery.

The Cemetery - Mr. Taylor

His presentation to the Commissioners

What they have done

(4) Old Business

The Cemetery

The School Election and the proposed ex a tax of three mills

(5) Next meeting - November 28 (?)

Primarily to meet and hear you, I shall be at the Fax meeting on the 30th, which I hope - one or two aikers.

F. S. Hall

THE FRAT

Under the auspices of Los Unos Unidos: An organization for the advancement of the colored people, through better intelligence, and wholesome recreation.

Vol. 1 No. 1 June 13, 1945 4¢ Copy

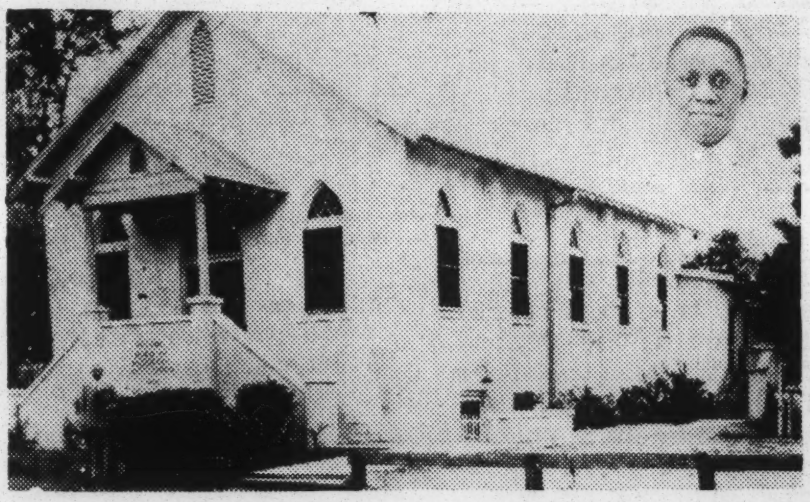
Issues we must face; by W. Don Pelham

As it stands today, we have long talked about the fact of our standing together as a race, and doing a few things for our selves; well! the time is here that we cut so much of the talk and begin doing something.

People like those who try to do things. And one of the most helpful boosts to a community is the control of a newspaper.

Many say that the Negroes of this part of the country cannot think well enough to support a paper, but let us show them up.

Quit spending your time trying to down your neighbor, and let's MOVE UP.



MT. MORIAH INSTITUTIONAL TO ENTERTAIN THE DISTRICT CONVENTION. Of which its Pastor Rev. L. A. Pelham is President.

Beginning with the local program Wed. nite June 13th, the convention will last through the night of the 17th.

The Churches of the City will be represented by a representative of the Inter-denom. alliance on the local program, also speakers from the Mayor's office, Rollins College, The PELHAM SINGERS; the business people of the City, and an array of other fine presentations.

The whole city is expected to treat our visitors with a high degree of kindness and service.

OUR PAPER

This is our paper, and we must make it grow. This copy is free to all homes and business places: Others--4¢

It will be a great service to all.

A FRAT IN EVERY HOME

THE SQUARE DEAL GRO.
L.J. Thomas Prop.
Phone 456 Free Del.
Complete line of Gro.
Veget. 7 Fresh Meats.
458 W. New Engl. Ave.

PEOPLES GRO. & MARKET
R.C.Murdock, Mgr.
533 W. New Eng. Ave.
Complete line of Prod.
Gro. & Fresh meats.
Phone 9192W

GO TO SOME CHURCH EVERY SUNDAY, WON'T YOU?

WARNER CHAPEL P.B. CHURCH
Rev. B.S.Stephen Min.
Sunday services;1st-3
10:00 am Sunday School
11:30 .. Worship
6:00 pm B.P.T.U.
7:30 .. Worship
8:00 .. Wed.Prayer

ALL ARE WELCOME!

We met the Ministers Alliance Inter-denom. and outlined the form of the Frat, and the other Churches that have not reported, I hope will be in the next issue of the Frat.

We are stressing the idea of cooperation, and I believe its the high note of all the Churches.

MISS RUBY WOODARD
Student of Tuskegee returned home, now is gone points north for the summer.

MT. MORIAH INST. BAPT. CHURCH
Rev. L.A. Pelham Min.

SUNDAY SERVICES:

9:30 am Sunday School
11:00 .. Worship
6:00 pm B.T.U.
8:00 .. Worship
7:30 pm Tues. Bible study.
8:30 pm Choir #2 in Rehearsal.
8:30 pm Wed.Choir #1 Rehearsal
8:30 pm Thurs.Prayer

NEW HOPE M.B. CHURCH

Reports two very fine services Sun. 10:00 The S.S. with Deacon C. Wilson and staff, and 11:00 morning services were visited with the holy spirit.

At 5:00 pm another well attended, and highly spiritual service was had.

We are always glad to have you come to New Hope, and will gladly greet you.
Rev. C.L. Jones, Min.
Sis Anne Lue Baker, Sec. Money raised--$57.28.

DOC'S PLACE!
V.E.Harris Prop.
444N. Penn. Ave.
BEEF AND BAR*B*Q.
Coldest and the best in town.

MADAM HAZEL SCOTT

The subject of much discussion in the social, theatrical and religious circles

---

EATINVILLE, FLA.
Macedonia M.B. Church reports high day Sun. June 10th, in S.S., B.T.U., and in Worship.

Receipts for the day $187.33.

Supt. of the S.S., Brother J. Hanes.

Rev. C.L. Jones, Min.
Sis.A.D. Colman, Sec.

NEW ENG. ICECREAM PARLOR
Authur H. Straughter
543 W. New Eng. Ave.
General fresh-ups and sandwiches.

SOCIAL AND PERSONAL NEWS

PROGRESSIVE TAILOR SHOP
Irving Horton Prop.
407 W. New Eng. Ave.,
Suits made & Repaired

Mrs. Helen G. Pelham, wife of Rev.L.A. Pelham, was called to Albany, Ga. to the bed side of her father. Her children, Betty and Joseph took the trip with her.

We are hoping that all will soon be well and she will be with us again.

45 SCHOOL TERM ENDS
- - - -

Many students have returned for the summer, yet many will be leaving and have left for points north.

We are hoping a fine summer for all.

STANDARD BARBER SHOP
James Dixon Prop.
516 W. New Eng. Ave.
Top service for all.

SALUTE TO SERVICEMEN!

This week: Cpl. M. C. Jennings, stationed in Burma, Husband of Mrs. Z. E. Pelham Jennings.

BILTMORE TAVERN AND RESTAURANT
Rena Moore Johnson Mgr
Chicken dinner specialty, Common dinners at all times. Come all serve with smile.
515 W. New Eng. Ave.

THE LAUGHLIN HOTEL
Paul and Channie Laughlin, Prop.
444 W. New Eng. Ave.
A Place of rest and Comfort. Welcome!!

MRS. MARY MOORE
Who is enjoying the public work with her son in our city.

NEW ENGLAND CLEANERS
Glenn and Smith Prop.
425 W. New Eng. Ave.
If it can be cleaned we'll clean it.

THREE FRATS

Members of Los Unos Unidos. Each week we will present three members of the fraternity, until we have presented every Frat.

The United Ones are working now to build a Tennis Court for the pleasure of all, and soon have a fraternity building near the sight.

Soon we will be in position to ask the aid of the general public in our efforts but at present we are trying to do some things ourselves.

The Pelham Singers, of Winter Park went to St. Petersburg in May

MOORE'S BEER GARDEN & SHOESHINE PARLOR
Johnie & Mrs. Mary Moore Prop.
447 W. New Eng. Ave.
When in town, do drop around, fresh-up and shine-up.

SPORTS OF THE WEEK

SANDWICH SHOP
Earl McKinney Prop.
424 W. New Eng. Ave.
Clean, Wholesome and the best in town.

DAILY RECREATION STARTS

The playgrounds at the public school here are in operation now, Mon. through Fri. of each week.

It opened Fri. June 8 at 4:00, with about 100 persons in the many games.

Many other games will be added as the people demand, and we are now asking the people of all ages to avail themselves of the opportunity to get this very wholesome recreation.

There will be softball; Croquet; Marbles; Sprinting; Cooling Showers, Tennis; and many other regular games including "Boxing".

All these games are and will be under the sponsorship of the Hannibal Square Association.

LAKE'S SHOE REPAIR SHOP
G.W. Lake, Manager,
754 W. Comstock Ave.
We save soles build the shoe; make the old look like new.

NEGRO BASEBALL!!

Our paper will tell you results in all the five top leagues in the United States. The National, American, The U.S. League, the Southern, and the Fla. State League.

At present in the Nat. The Grays are at the top; in the Southern, Knoxville.

In our next edition--- we will give you an account of all.

LAKE'S GROCERY
Silas Lake Prop.
231 N. Penn.
Complete line of Gro. and meats; all good things that one eats.

MAJOR LEAGUES

Up to press-time, the American League stood Detroit, New York, Boston, St. Louis, Cleveland, Chicago, Washington, and Philadelphia.

In the National: New York, St. Louis, Brooklyn, Pittsburg, Chicago, Cincinnati, Boston, Philadelphia.

Lombardi leads the Nat. League in home runs, Stephens leads the A.

EDWARD'S GROCERY
Jerry Hall Prop.
501 Penn. Ave.
Specializing in Gro. Fresh vegetables, & Cold drinks.

We cannot give too much thanks to the organization that is sponsoring the many recreative features for the Colored people in Winter Park: Hannibal Square Association

Mr. Grover President, and Mr. Fred. Hall special representative.

A few games official were played at the opening of the playgrounds Fri. 8th and in the Diamond ball game a few Home runs were made.

These individuals will be pointed out in our next edition of the Frat.

Mr. Fred. Hall is at his summer home in New Jersey and will return again this fall.

GULF LIFE INS. CO.
See our Rep. C. J. Gray. Get a full benefit sick and accident policy, 5-day contract, draw week's pay, for 5 days disability. All other kinds of policies.
2334 W. Fairbanks.

Eleazer, R. B.
Race Relations
Church

April 8, 1948

Mr. R. B. Eleazer
Department of General Church School Work
General Board of Education of the Methodist Church
P. O. Box 871
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Eleazer:

Many thanks for your letter of April 6, with its good leaflet by Dr. McDowell. That is what is called real inter-group relations.

We should like to order two hundred of them and I enclose a check for three dollars.

We sent a letter to flocks of Southern Rotarians, praising the Rotary magazine for its excellent article which you wrote and offering to them the services of the Council in furthering interracial understanding in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure
GSM:eb

GENERAL BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
A WORLD SERVICE AGENCY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATHANIEL F. FORSYTH, ASSOCIATE SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CHURCH SCHOOL WORK
WALTER TOWNER, DIRECTOR
R. B. ELEAZER
J. A. GREENE
MARGIE McCARTY
ALLEEN MOON
CHARLES C. TURNER, JR.

BETTY ANN TAYLOR
SPECIAL ASSISTANT IN
CRUSADE INFORMATION

THE CRUSADE FOR CHRIST
IN
METHODIST CHURCH SCHOOLS
1944 1948
WANT THEM GET THEM
KEEP THEM TEACH THEM
WIN THEM

METHODIST BUILDING, 810 BROADWAY,
P. O. BOX 871, NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

April 6, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 7 1948

Dr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta, Georgia.

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

We have just brought out the inclosed pamphlet and mean to put it, if possible, into the hands of every Methodist preacher. It occurs to me that you might be able to make use of it in some of your correspondence. If so, we shall be glad to supply you with as many as you may need at cost of publication, $1.50 per hundred.

Yours very truly,

R B Eleazer

R. B. Eleazer

RBE:s

The Minister--- Key Man in Race Relations

Rev. Edward A. McDowell

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."—Matthew 5:9.

Department of General Church School Work
810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee
Division of the Local Church
General Board of Education, The Methodist Church

8124-B

April, '48—10M

The Minister---Key Man in Race Relations

Rev. Edward A. McDowell*

1. Soul Sickness

The minister of Jesus Christ is called to be a physician of souls. For this reason, if for no other, he can be the key man in race relations. Race prejudice is a sickness of the soul, as racial conflict is a sickness of society. We need physicians who can diagnose the illness and prescribe the cure. Who better than the Christian minister is equipped for this service?

This sickness damages the souls of white and black alike. Perhaps the prejudiced white person is as unaware of the damage prejudice does to his own soul as he is ignorant of the damage it does to the soul of the Negro. Two incidents of the baneful workings of prejudice have come to the personal attention of the writer.

The first involves one of the most distinguished Negro leaders of America. This man would be honored in any white gathering in the world. He is a Ph.D. graduate of one of the great universities of the United States and is a wearer of the Phi Beta Kappa key. He is listed in Who's Who in America and is the president of one of the leading Negro educational institutions of the South. On one occasion he found it necessary to send a telegram from the railway station of the city in which he lives. Because there was no telegraph office in the Negro waiting room he went to the telegraph office in the white waiting room to write his message. While he was standing at the desk writing his message, a white man came up and without warning struck his hat from his head, shouting at the same time: "Take your hat off, nigger; don't you know you have to take your hat off in the presence of a white lady?" Restraining himself, and without a word, but all the while fearful of physical violence, the college president picked up his hat, put it on, and resumed the writing of his message. This he did, he says, to maintain his self respect. He managed to escape the encounter unscathed in body, but not without being shaken in soul. The white man had given vent to the sickness in his soul and in so doing had hurt the soul of a great and good Christian Negro.

The second incident also involves a Negro educator, a teacher in one of our best Negro colleges. During the war he decided to go into war work for the government. A physical examination was necessary, and he visited a doctor's office to secure it. He arrived early at the office, but was forced to sit for several hours and wait while all the white patients were served. Finally when all these had had their turn he was called. When his blood pressure was taken the doctor shook his head and said, "Your blood pressure is too high; I can't pass you." The teacher's reply was revealing. "Doctor," he said, "it's natural that my blood pressure should be high. I got to your office early, and yet I had to sit in your waiting room hour after hour and see all the white people go in ahead of me. You know how that made me feel; all the time my blood pressure was going up." The teacher pressed his point with a significant question. "Don't you know," he asked the doctor, "that all us colored people have higher blood pressure than the white people because of this sort of thing?" The doctor saw the point, accepted the explanation, and gave his client an acceptable blood pressure reading. But does not this incident poignantly illus-

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*Dr. McDowell is Professor of New Testament Interpretation in Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

trate the baneful effects of prejudice upon the bodies as well as the souls of Negro people?

2. Community Sickness

Wherever there is racial conflict in a community, North or South, that community is in an unhealthy condition spiritually. Often the causes of tension are allowed to fester when they should be dealt with and eliminated. They are always dangerous. They can become the causes of violence and bloodshed. They hang like a pall over the homes and lives of people who are entitled to freedom and happiness. The mental and spiritual health of the community is endangered by the suspicions, fears, and hatreds of one group in regard to the other. White prejudice against the Negro and Negro resentment against the white man are passed from generation to generation. The imposition by the white group of customs designed to remind the Negro continually of his inferiority reacts in an unhealthy way upon the personalities of both Negroes and white people. Custom demands that the Negro think of himself as inferior, but in many cases the psychological reaction, particularly among Negro youth, is that the Negro wishes to demonstrate his superiority. This reaction may produce some good results, such as driving the Negro to secure the best education possible, but sometimes it produces pugnaciousness, assertiveness, bad manners. This in turn produces irritation in the white man, and so the vicious circle continues unbroken.

Another evil result of customs designed to make the Negro feel inferior is that they encourage white people to dote upon their "superiority" and to take advantage of people unable to defend themselves. In the effort to assert their superiority they may develop a dangerous egotism, and may also come near to sadism, a psychopathic condition in which a person takes pleasure in inflicting pain upon another.

Another evil of these customs is the split personality type that they foster. In many communities the Negro lives in two worlds and is forced to adapt his thoughts, his speech, and his conduct to both. One of the two is his own world in which he is a self-respecting man; the other is the white man's world in which he must act the hypocrite. The community pattern also fosters dualistic personality traits in the white man, for he must act in one way towards the white man, in another way towards the Negro. The manner in which he acts towards the latter is often in conflict with the higher standard of human relationships he knows to be right. Nevertheless he is forced to it by the community pattern. Often, too, because it is easier to conform than to protest, the white man will assent to some expression of community resentment, such as mob violence, when his conscience rebels against assent. No white man can come through such an experience with his self-respect intact.

3. The Minister's Responsibility to the Community

The minister, when he considers these things, realizes that he must go beyond dealing with individuals in his effort to find a better way in race relations. He can no more ignore the evils of race prejudice than he can ignore barrooms and brothels. It is his duty, therefore, to search out cases of racial ill will in his community and seek remedies for them. Many of these are not beyond improvement and removal, such as mistreatment of Negroes by police officers, discrimination against Negroes in the distribution of public funds and in the creation of parks and playgrounds, poor health facilities and hospitals for Negroes, disfranchisement, bad treatment on street cars and busses, and poor housing conditions.

The Negro has his failings, too, and it is well for the Negro minister to re-

member this and to realize that his group also must shoulder a portion of the responsibility for creating a healthy community spirit. Resentment on the Negro's part must be dealt with if progress is to be made. Negroes must be taught by their ministers that cooperation between the races is essential to improvement of the Negro's status and that good-will on the part of the Negro, as well as the white man, is the foundation of cooperation.

4. The Minister at Work on the Problem

Recent developments in many communities show that an increasing number of ministers are accepting responsibility for dealing with these problems. On the other hand thousands have failed so far to develop a sense of stewardship in this matter. Scores of others have a sincere desire "to do something" but do not know what to do. Every community presents its own peculiar problems and no set of rules can be rigidly applied, but certain general principles can be applied almost anywhere. These are offered as suggestions to ministers who want to have a share in bringing about a better day:

1. Let the minister prepare himself. By self-examination and prayer let him discover and conquer race prejudice in his own heart. Then, let him educate himself about the problem. Let him read not only the best books on race, but books on the Negro and Negro culture. Let him read the poems, novels, and dramas written by Negro men of letters.

2. Let him cooperate personally with leaders of the other race. One of the first steps in improving the racial situation in a community is the development of friendly relations between leaders in the white and Negro groups. *The white minister should seek out the Negro minister and establish fraternal and co-operative relationship with him.* Such a relationship will provide for the white minister a source of information concerning the mind of the Negro, what he thinks and what he wants; it will afford a helpful beginning of co-operation.

3. Let them study the local situation. The minister who wishes to do something about the race problem in his own community must know from observation and experience what the situation is. He should find out how the Negro population lives and what Negroes' grievances are. He should find answers to these questions: How are Negroes treated by the police and law enforcement officials? How are they treated on street cars and busses? What proportion of school funds do they receive for their schools? Are their schools adequate and are their teachers justly paid? Are the Negroes provided with public parks and playgrounds? What are the health conditions among them? What are the needs of their churches? Other questions will suggest themselves, and every answer may uncover a cause of racial tension.

4. Let the minister enlist the people of his own church in these efforts. This step, of course, will test his wisdom, courage, and patience. Let him lead his people to know the facts before he preaches about them. Let him present the needs of a local Negro church and enlist the co-operation of several of his organizations in aiding this church in a building program, in a training course, or the like. In the course of such a program the colored minister may be invited to speak before groups in the white church, and thus the way may be paved for interracial co-operation. Groups from the white church should visit Negro churches and centers to learn by personal observation the needs of the Negro community. When by such personal experience the needs of the Negro community have come to be generally recognized, the white minister may then speak effectively from the pulpit on the subject and may present the Christian answer to the problem.

5. Let the minister accept the responsibility of serving his community as a prophet and priest of Christian love and justice. If the people of his church and

community are guilty of the sin of prejudice he must, for their sakes and in fidelity to the gospel, point out the sin and reveal the way of love. With courage, and yet always in love, he must denounce injustice.

5. A Charter on Race Relations

A special committee of the Southern Baptist Convention formulated for submission to the Convention a charter on race relations to serve as a guide for Southern white Baptists. The charter contains a series of "principles of conduct" which well may be used by ministers in presenting to their people a practical course of action. They follow:

1. We shall think of the Negro as a person and treat him accordingly.
2. We shall continually strive as individuals to conquer all prejudice and eliminate from our speech all terms of contempt and from our conduct actions of ill-will.
3. We shall teach our children that prejudice is un-christian and that good-will and helpful deeds are the duty of every Christian toward all men of all races.
4. We shall protest against injustice and indignities against Negroes, as we do in the case of people of our own race, whenever and wherever we meet them.
5. We shall be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States, including the right to vote, to serve on juries, to receive justice in the courts, to be free from mob violence, to secure a just share of the benefits of educational and other funds, and to receive equal service for equal payment on public carriers and conveniences.
6. We shall be just in our dealing with the Negro as an individual. Whenever he is in our employ we shall pay him an adequate wage and provide for him healthful working conditions.
7. We shall strive to promote community good-will between the races in every way possible.
8. We shall co-operate actively with Negro Baptists in the building up of their churches, the education of their ministers, and the promotion of their missions and evangelistic programs.

The Christian minister dare not excuse himself from following these principles. Indifference is gross sin. Should he fail in some of his objectives, he may have the satisfaction of a good conscience as he seeks to apply the gospel to the race problem.

Breakdown of Barriers

May 8, 1951

Mr. Robert L. Joyce
516 North Delaware Avenue
DeLand, Florida

Dear Mr. Joyce:

Our humblest apologies for taking from March 19 until May 8 to answer your kind letter. The truth is it got lost somewhere within the office and has only just come back up to the surface.

I read some years ago a small book made up of a series of vignettes in race relations. They were merely truthful tales of things that had been seen to happen -- as I recall it, seen by the person who wrote the little book. Most of them had a teaching twist to the ending. I am sorry I can't remember now from years back what any of the little items were, but it made quite interesting reading.

We are currently enjoying a story that goes about here concerning Mr. Harry Richardson, the Negro president of Gammon Theological Seminary (Methodist) in Atlanta. He had a train to catch in a smallish Alabama town at night, and at the station found the Negro side of it locked. Two or three white people stood about in the white end of the station, and one young man half invited Mr. Richardson to come in. Richardson didn't feel urged, and stood outside Pretty soon, it began to rain. He backed under the eaves, but the eaves were narrow. He got his coat collar up, but he began to get wet. Whereupon the young white man stuck his head out the window and said, "For Christ's sake, come on in out of the rain."

Mr. Richardson: "Well, if you want to make a religious

issue out of it, I will."

I should think if you would take some of the incidents you mention and put them into two or three paragraphs each, they would sell. Various magazines use little fillers at the end of a long article.

I send you a copy separately of a manual we have just got out about home town self-surveys. I am sure you will like it. See if you can get somebody thereabouts to get interested in doing one.

There is also a membership blank in the back of the little leaflet. Love to have you if you are interested.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

HF - will you answer?

RECEIVED
MAR 20 1951
Southern Regional Council

516 North Delaware Avenue
DeLand Florida

March 19, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

My very close friend, Harold A. Lett of the Division against Discrimination, Newark, N.J., has written me that you would be able to lead me to some information regarding the betterment of human relations between the Negro and white workers in the South. During a recent trip back to New York I had run into some very cordial white-Negro relations. Quite a number of workers, many of them truck drivers, were drinking beer and bantering each other at a bar on Ninth Avenue. While downing a glass of porter (it wasan Irish bar) I had quite a talk with one very outstanding Negro, driver of a truck trailer. Then as I was leaving, I suddenly recalled what had been said by a Negro CIO leader some years ago at an interracial conference in Newark.

"We are getting the white and Negro workers to drink beer together", he said, "and that is raising hell with segregation in the South".

This thought made me wonder to myself just how successful the leaders have been and what part such conviviality might have played in breaking down the barriers between man and man. I began also to think that perhaps a short article might be written and submitted to a non-too-scholarly educational bulletin. This is the reason why I wrote to Harold Lett and now at his suggestion, I am writing to you. I hope you can help.

Sincerely yours

Robert L. Joyce

RLJ:J

Robert L. Joyce

To show that this is not a new interest with me, I should like to state that for over twenty years while I was a social studies teacher in Newark, New Jersey, I gave considerable of my time to slum clearance and housing and later to interracial betterment. On retirement from high school teaching I was asked by my alma mater, St.Lawrence University, Canton, N.Y. to come there as an assistant professor of sociology, with special emphasis on the subject of interracial relationship.

Human Relations
a General

Sent: — Manual
— Jacksonville Survey
— Greenville survey
[redacted]
— Old Negro police
— Race in the News
— Professional associations
— 1951 New Souths
— 3 copies What kind of South...

June 11, 1951

Mr. Richard Anliot
Executive Director
Commission on Human Relations
Paterson, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Anliot:

Many thanks for your letter of June 1.

Welcome to the Paterson Commission on Human Relations!

I send you separately for free a small bundle.

The thing I most commend to your own attention is our new manual for self-surveys and the accompanying reports of such surveys done in Greenville, South Carolina, and Jacksonville, Florida.

It has just happened that in both these two cities the surveys have been made of the Negro communities alone. The manual is designed to help in general surveys.

You will see that the packet has several copies of our small publication New South. I think you ought to enter a subscription to it at $1.50 a year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

P.S. I commend also Race in the News. Your Paterson papers may not yet have been cleaned up.

6/7/51 - Acknowledged - Said GSM out of town
— BK

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

CITY OF PATERSON

NEW JERSEY

HYMEN D. GOLDBERG, Chairman
LEONA F. BECKER, Vice-Chairman
FLOYD V. AMORESANO
FANNIE CURTIS
STEPHEN HELLER
JOHN G. LACZ
ISADORE WAKS

LAmbert 3-7500

MICHAEL U. DE VITA
Mayor

June 1, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Commission on Human Relations of the City of Paterson has just engaged their first executive director in an effort to expand their activities. In so expanding they want to profit from the experience of agencies like yours that have made such substantial contributions to the betterment of human relations.

The duties of the Paterson Commission on Human Relations, as defined by the city ordinance by which it was established, are:

1. To investigate cases of discrimination, prejudice, and intergroup tension based on race, religion, or national origin.

2. To develop a program of community education to eliminate discrimination and reduce prejudice.

3. To recommend needed legislation.

With these functions in mind, would you please send me on approval, at your earliest convenience, any material that you think might be of use to us.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Anliot

Richard Anliot
Executive Director

JUN 7 1951
Southern Regional Council

Info req.
Race Relations
general

February 12, 1952

Mr. H. A. Bullock
Department of Sociology
Texas Southern University
Houston 4, Texas

Dear Mr. Bullock:

It so happens that our Council prepared during several weeks late in 1951 and early this year a manuscript of 25 or 30 pages pretty much on the subjects mentioned in your letter of February 1. We had been asked for it by Mrs. Jessie Parker Guzman, of the staff of the Negro Year Book at Tuskegee. Mrs. Guzman paid us for it, so it is hers to share rather than ours, if she should be willing.

Of course, I don't know how long it will be before the Negro Year Book is out—with printers as they are, probably some months as yet.

Generally speaking, we have not seen in the lower South as yet any really significant upgrading of Negro employees. There is relatively full employment, and has been for a good long time, but we have not seen much that has lifted Negroes out of their old channels.

I have not had much direct connection with the labor movement for six or seven years, but I continue to be interested in it. About as much as can be said on that subject now is that Southern trade union people in leadership positions are readier for more integration into the unions. But I do not think that any significantly large integration has as yet occurred. I think it would be helpful toward removing the blocks if Negroes made more protests through national and international unions and through the major federations, and if Negro workers showed still more interest in joining the unions. But by and large, the blame has rightly rested on the white people and not on the Negroes.

We tried to cover housing matters in our Tuskegee manuscript. You will be interested in this table from a recent issue of New South. More figures of this kind are now available from the 1950 census.

On schools you will find our "Open Letter to Three Southern Governors" of interest.

On vpting, the late Mr. Luther Jackson's pamphlet is still valuable, though the tables are long out of date. We find the barriers to Negro voting breaking down pretty regularly in cities and good-sized towns, but not as yet much changed in the old plantation parts of the South. A few Negroes may vote in the courthouse box, but almost none from the back roads.

I understand that the State medical societies are now open to Negro doctors in Florida, Kentucky, and Virginia.

On the larger stores, I can speak only for Atlanta. The largest store in this city is glad to have Negro patronage and is in nearly every way courteous to it. Another large store has lately done several things calculated to increase its share of Negro patronage, including the removal of colored and white signs over its drinking fountains.

Another small sign of progress, perhaps worth noting. Seven years ago in Atlanta (1944) at least five or six of the large downtown office buildings had provision for segregated Negro elevator service. I don't mean freight elevators. There was an ordinary elevator shaft with a sign "for Negroes," and Negroes were required to use only that shaft. Now, so far as I know, the sign survives in only one building, and the service everywhere, including it, is in the same elevator. One of the buildings which used segregated elevator service until about four years ago was the Fulton County Courthouse.

As fast as we get any information, we are pretty apt to run it in New South, so I send you several issues of that.

We think most highly of President Lanier (would appreciate your reminding him of the Council's admiration for him).

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Pamphlets sent.

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
R. O'HARA LANIER, PRESIDENT
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 1, 1952

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are undertaking a little inquiry designed to determine trends in Race Relations in southern cities as observed by a select group of leaders. Because of the strategic position you occupy in the life of the South, we are respectfully requesting that you prepare for us a treatise, in the form of a letter, giving us evidences you have observed with regard to changes in race relations. We would like evidences you have that point away from as well as toward the intergration of Negroes into the community life of the South.

Below is a list of items in which we are intensely interested:

1. What is the trend in job opportunities? Are Negroes being used more on the skilled, clerical, and professional levels? Are they tending to go into jobs not usually occupied by Negroes? Are they becoming more an integral part of organized labor? Are salaries becoming more equal? What appear to be the blocks to these things? What are Negroes doing about these blocks?

2. Is adequate housing becoming more available? Are more or less Negroes moving into mixed areas? What are the reactions to invasions? Is capital for loans to build houses becoming more available to Negroes? What appear to be the blocks to these changes? What are Negroes doing about these blocks?

3. What improvements in Negro educational opportunities are being made? Does it appear that Negroes are sharing more or less equitably in funds spent for public education? Do you see any signs of a movement toward mixed schools? What appear to be blocks to these things? What are Negroes doing about these blocks?

4. What has been the trend of the Negro voting strength? Are Negroes holding

any public offices in the city? Have they been influential in the election of public officers? Do you see signs of more or less Negroes becoming qualified voters? What are the blocks to these things? What are Negroes doing about these blocks?

5. Are hospital facilities opening up to Negroes more? Is there any trend toward the use of Negro doctors by White patients? Are the hospitals opening up to Negro doctors more? What are the blocks to these? Are Negroes doing anything about these blocks?

6. What expansion in the recreational opportunities of Negroes do you observe? What about theatres, parks, playgrounds, etc? Are there blocks to these? What are Negroes doing about such blocks?

7. What are trends in the policies of stores with regard to Negro patronage? Are Negroes more or less secure in patronizing the large stores?

8. Are there other changes you have observed? Intra-city transportation etc.

We know this is asking a great deal, in light of your many duties and responsibilities, but we felt that the generalizations of our inquiry would be very incomplete without the benefits of your experiences and judgment. It would be very kind of you to let us have the result of your thinking at your next convenient opportunity.

Respectfully yours,

H. A. Bullock

H. A. Bullock, Head
Department of Sociology

MRS. ROGER BOYLE
BOX 1183 UNIV. STATION
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

Nonsegregation in South
1952

March 20, 1952

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Gee, thanks! You're wonderful.

I'll phone you next Tuesday morning as soon as I check in at the hotel.

But such efficiency ain't Southern. Are you a Yankee, maybe? No! Don't be a Yankee. Let's show them we can have their virtues and ours, too.

Cordially,

Patty Boyle

MRS. ROGER BOYLE
BOX 1183 UNIV. STATION
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

Breaking an illusion

(Sarah Patton Boyle, a lady who has "seen the light" in the matter of race relations, is doing a very important job in waking people up to certain illusions about opinions on race relations in the South. She lives on the campus of the University of Virginia, where her husband, Roger Boyle, is a member of the Faculty, in Drama. Mrs. Boyle writes as a guest columnist for Claud Nelson.)

Would you personally be pleased to see nonsegregation operating successfully in the South? Do you believe that the majority of Southerners feel differently from you and would disapprove of your attitude? If you answer "yes" to both questions, you are reacting like a *typical* Southerner!

Segregation in the South is now based on what sociologists call "the assumption of majority support." Our conviction that EVERYBODY ELSE is prejudiced holds us prisoner in a situation which we have outgrown.

This is not a theory concocted for its euphonious tinkle. It rises from concentrated observation and investigation. Why not test it yourself? Make fifty copies of the following:

"This poll has no purpose other than to discover how we all feel about this issue. Check (a), (b), or (c), but do not sign your name.

"If you found that other Southerners were ready to accept nonsegregation in schools, common carriers, and public assemblies, you personally would: (a) object, (b) not object, (c) welcome it."

Distribute this slip to your club, church, or school. My experience has been that only a small minority will check (a). The wording, however, is important. The result is entirely different if one appears to seek an opinion on whether or not the *community* is ready for nonsegregation.

Nine months ago I decided to assume that the South is secretly liberal. A roar of horrified protest arose from sincerely liberal friends: "If you make an open defense of nonsegregation, the opposition will be aroused and the progress of the last ten years lost."

A fearful warning! It made me feel doubt at the pit of my stomach. But I believe that democracy is doomed where individuals will not express their personal convictions—is doomed where citizens assume that others are less enlightened or less human than themselves. Since then I have published more than 40 statements urging nonsegregation, and maintaining usually that the majority agree with me.

The foretold opposition has materialized as SIX LONE PROTESTS, four of them privately made. On the other hand, one of my letters to the editor brought more than a dozen supporting replies.

The truth is that our leaders are lagging. They sincerely believe that they represent us when they disgrace the South by a stand against true democracy. We ordinary citizens must step out front. For how can they learn how wrong they are unless we tell them?

—BY SARAH PATTON BOYLE

in Nashville

A meeting of vital concern to the youth and students of The Methodist Church will be held in Nashville, Tennessee, March 3-6, when the annual meeting of the General Board of Education of The Methodist Church meets at Scarritt College.

Ewing

In this significant meeting, bishops, ministers, laymen, youth, and staff members of the Board of Education will meet to

Box 1183
University Station
Charlottesville
Virginia

March 13, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1952
SOUTHERN
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I appreciated your letter of January 25th, and have not answered until now because I am following your advice trying to arrange a trip to Atlanta.

It is my present plan to arrive in Atlanta on the 10:10 A.M. Streamliner on March 25th and will return 8 p.m. on the 27th. Would it be too much to ask you to make a hotel reservation (or tourist camp) for me for the nights of 25th and 26th? I care nothing about comforts and conviences but am interested in economy and in being located so that I wouldn't have to spend too much in taxi fare in getting to your offices and those of other organizations which might supply me with the information I want.

In case you have mislaid my earlier letter, the Reader's Digest has asked me to write an article showing that the South is more ready for nonsegregation than is generally believed. I am particularly interested three kinds of material:

1. Polls showing a majority favoring nonsegregation in schools, churches and other organazions.

2. "Dramatic reversals", or examples of cases where those in authority were afraid to make a change in the direction of greater liberality because they feared the reaction of the public, but when the change was made the public was pleased or took it in stride. I understand that such a dramatic reversal took place when your local paper started printing news about Negroes featured like any other news.

3. "Bootleg nonsegregation", or examples where nonsegregation is praticed to the satisfaction of all but is illegal.

Would it also be too much to ask of you to make a few appointments for me for the first day just to get me started?

There's certainly no reason why you should either do this or make hotel reservations for me, so if it's too much bother just ignore both requests.

I know Mrs. Tilly slightly, by the way, as she took lunch and dinner with me and Sue Craige on her resent lecture tour when she spoke in Charlottesville. I know she has met thousands of people but maybe she remembers, since it was only about three weeks ago. I would like to interview her, if she isn't too busy.

I enclose a return card. If you would not mind noting on it whether this date is convient and returning it to me, I should appreciate it.

I enclose a brief piece I did for CONCERN which reveals my gereral position in this matter. I am anxious to get this polling started as a regulary routine for any one who is interested in seeing conditions improved. There's too much guess work and not enough investigation. It seems to me that we can hardly hope to get very far until we base our actions on facts, not assumptions. Or am I just green like grass and all wet behind the ears?

Thank you for your cordial letter. It had that little extra something beyond the call of duty, and I appreciated it.

Cordially,

Sarah Patton Boyle

Sarah Patton Boyle
Box 1183, University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dallas

DALLAS CITIZENS' INTERRACIAL ASSOCIATION

A NON-PROFIT CORPORATION CHARTERED BY THE STATE OF TEXAS

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING

1101 COMMERCE STREET — PROSPECT 8451

DALLAS, TEXAS

OFFICERS
JEROME K. CROSSMAN PRESIDENT
JOHN E. MITCHELL, JR. VICE-PRESIDENT
R. L. THORNTON, SR. VICE-PRESIDENT
LOUIS TOBIAN SECRETARY
BEN H. WOOTEN TREASURER

M. J. NORRELL EXECUTIVE VICE-PRES.

DIRECTORS
NATHAN ADAMS
WALLER C. BOEDEKER
JEROME K. CROSSMAN
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S. J. HAY
JOHN T. HIGGINBOTHAM
SAM W. HUDSON, JR.
J. L. LATIMER
STANLEY MARCUS
JOHN E. MITCHELL, JR.
JOHN W. RICE
R. D. SUDDARTH
R. L. THORNTON, SR.
LOUIS TOBIAN
BEN H. WOOTEN

April 23, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of April 21, with the interesting enclosure "Greenville's Big Idea Grows."

In addition to our Interracial Committee of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce there has recently been incorporated the Dallas Citizens' Interracial Association. This is a non-profit corporation, and I am sending you enclosed our first brochure. After you have reviewed this if you care to have additional copies I will be glad to send you such quantity as you may call for.

The Association is financed, and you may note that I am in in a dual capacity now as Chairman of the Interracial Committee of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, and the Executive Vice President of the Dallas Citizens' Interracial Association.

Our officers and directors are representative men and women, both white and Negro, of Dallas. Two of the directors are Negro, and approximately thirty of the Advisory Council.

The interracial relations in Dallas are, I think, upon an even keel, and while nothing spectacular is being done, I do feel there is a growing understanding between the races.

Very shortly I am hoping to send you a membership from our Association.

With the assurance of all good wishes, and best personal regards, believe me

Sincerely yours,

M. J. Norrell

M. J. Norrell

MJN/mr
Encl.

TOWARD BETTER UNDERSTANDING

DALLAS CITIZENS' INTERRACIAL ASSOCIATION INC.

A NON-PROFIT CORPORATION CHARTERED
BY THE STATE OF TEXAS
TO PROMOTE

BETTER HOMES—

BETTER UNDERSTANDING—

BETTER LIVING CONDITIONS—

In Dallas and Dallas County

DALLAS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING
1101 COMMERCE STREET — PR-8451
DALLAS, TEXAS

OFFICERS

JEROME K. CROSSMAN	*President*
JOHN E. MITCHELL, JR.	*Vice President*
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LOUIS TOBIAN	*Secretary*
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R. L. THORNTON, SR.
LOUIS TOBIAN
BEN H. WOOTEN

THE ROAD AHEAD - - -

When a correct inventory of any city's Interracial Relations is made, adequate housing for Negro citizens will be found to be its major resource—its lack, its major liability. A failure to provide for standard building sites and for standard housing results in substandard homes—substandard living, and is the direct cause of much of the misunderstanding, friction and tension between the races.

Early in 1950, the Joint Committee on Negro housing appointed by the Dallas Chamber of Commerce and the Dallas Citizens Council, said this in its comprehensive report: "The condition of Negro housing in Dallas today is fraught with dangers which, unless promptly and wisely corrected, can bring about in the near future bad interracial relations, economic losses, much sickness with the possibility of epidemics and many other serious consequences. It is believed that about 4,000 additional dwellings are needed in the immediate future to relieve the distress and tension."

Seeking to help implement the Report and the Recommendations of the Joint Committee, the Dallas Chamber of Commerce appointed an Interracial Committee of thirty members, representing major groups of Dallas citizens. This Committee has been at work since August 1, 1950, and will remain active.

To give a needed impetus to better Interracial Relations in Dallas, particularly to the housing phase of the projected program, the Dallas Citizens' Interracial Association has now been organized—a non-profit corporation chartered by the State of Texas—its initial objective the finding of a suitable site or sites where Negro citizens may build homes, duplexes and apartments, with the full cooperation of all our citizens.

The Association will neither purchase sites nor engage in the building of homes. The Officers, Directors and Advisory Council believe the Associa-

tion can and will furnish an interested and impartial "CLEARING HOUSE" for any and all individuals and groups in Dallas interested in and willing to share in the proposed program. The Association will seek to coordinate its program of work with the present Interracial Committee of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, with the Dallas Citizens Council, Dallas Real Estate Board, Dallas Home Builders Association, Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce, Building and Construction Unions, Dallas Building and Construction Trade Council, Greater Dallas Planning Council, Dallas Association of Insurance Agents, Banks, Clearing House, Insurance Companies, Building and Loan Associations and other lending agencies engaged in making real estate loans—the City of Dallas—its Council and Park Board—the County of Dallas and its Commissioners Court—Developers and Builders, individuals and Firms—without in any way duplicating, overlapping or trespassing upon the prerogatives and activities any of them are presently engaged in—simply seeking to help coordinate the efforts of all individuals and agencies interested in better Interracial Relations—in building better understanding among all Dallas citizens.

As we assist in better housing that will in turn mean better living and better citizens, may we also seek out the road of Human Understanding—find it—and have the strength and the patience and the courage to follow it.

The Dallas Citizens' Interracial Association needs and solicits the understanding support and cooperation and the goodwill of every Dallas citizen in the work it is now entering upon.

Sincerely,

Jerome K. Crossman
President

CHARTER OF DALLAS CITIZENS' INTERRACIAL ASSOCIATION

THE STATE OF TEXAS }
COUNTY OF DALLAS }

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we, Jerome K. Crossman, Nathan Adams and John T. Higginbotham, all citizens of Dallas County, Texas, by virtue of the laws of this State, do hereby form and incorporate ourselves into a voluntary association under the terms and conditions as follows:

Article I

The name of this corporation shall be DALLAS CITIZENS' INTERRACIAL ASSOCIATION.

Article II

This corporation is formed for the following benevolent, charitable and educational purposes, to-wit: To consider and act upon any matter of whatsoever character which shall induce harmonious relationships among members of various racial groups residing in the County of Dallas, Texas, including but not limited to the following:

(a) To survey available housing facilities in Dallas County, Texas;

(b) To give aid, counsel and advice in connection with the location and construction of homes and rental units for Negroes or other racial groups where inadequacies in housing for such groups, or any of them, exist or will exist; or where existing facilities are outmoded or otherwise unsuitable; and to counsel and advise with builders and developers in connection with the foregoing;

(c) To prepare and present to the building industry and to the public suggested codes or standards of practice to assure that housing facilities when erected, or to be erected, contribute to the public health, safety and welfare;

(d) To study, plan and sponsor projects which will create improved race relations and better understanding among members of various racial groups;

(e) To survey social and economic forces existing from time to time in connection with their effect upon interracial relations;

(f) To plan, foster, sponsor and develop community centers available for the use of various

racial groups for the improvement of their civic and social life;

(g) To plan, foster and develop adult educational facilities for the benefit of various racial groups;

(h) To consult with the governing bodies of the City and County of Dallas in all matters affecting interracial relations and housing problems;

(i) To consider and act upon special projects designed to meet the housing problems of underprivileged and needy persons;

(j) To act in conjunction and cooperation with other charitable and non-profit corporations and organizations in furtherance of this corporation's charter powers.

This corporation shall be wholly non-political and non-profit in character, and no part of its net earnings shall inure to the benefit of any private individual, and no substantial part of its activities shall be for carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislature. It shall have power to borrow monies and to acquire, own, hold, mortgage, and dispose of, procure options upon, and invest its funds in, real and personal property within the State of Texas, in furtherance of the purposes of this corporation.

Upon its dissolution, its properties, if any there be, shall be delivered over to such non-profit charitable corporation or corporations or organizations as shall by judgment of a court of appropriate jurisdiction most nearly conform to the charter purposes herein stated; provided such corporation or organization shall qualify as an exempt corporation or organization under Section 101 (6) and Section 23 (o) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code as presently existing or as hereafter from time to time amended.

Article III

The principal place of business of this corporation shall be in the City of Dallas, Dallas County, Texas.

Article IV

This corporation shall exist for a term of fifty years.

Article V

The number of Directors shall be as determined by the By-Laws, and unless changed in accordance with the provisions of said By-Laws, shall be fifteen,

and in no event shall the number of Directors be less than three nor more than fifty. The Directors shall have power to elect such additional number of advisory Directors as they may deem proper and desirable.

The names and residences of those who are to be Directors for the first year are as follows:

Name	*Residence and Post Office Address*
John E. Mitchell, Jr.	c/o John E. Mitchell Co. 3800 Commerce Street Dallas, Texas
Jerome K. Crossman	1008 First Nat'l Bank Bldg. Dallas, Texas
J. L. Latimer	c/o Magnolia Petroleum Co. Magnolia Building Dallas, Texas
Nathan Adams	First National Bank Bldg. Dallas, Texas
John T. Higginbotham	c/o Higginbotham-Bailey Co. 900 Jackson Street Dallas, Texas
S. J. Hay	c/o Great National Life Ins. Co. Great Nat'l Life Bldg. Dallas, Texas
Sam Hudson, Jr.	c/o Negro Chamber of Commerce 814½ North Good Street Dallas, Texas
Robert L. Thornton, Sr.	Mercantile Nat'l Bank at Dallas Dallas, Texas
Louis Tobian	Cotton Exchange Bldg. Dallas, Texas
R. D. Suddarth	Oak Cliff Bank & Trust Co. Dallas, Texas
Fred F. Florence	Republic National Bank at Dallas Dallas, Texas
John Rice	Negro Chamber of Commerce 814½ North Good Street Dallas, Texas
Ben Wooten	First National Bank in Dallas Dallas, Texas
Waller C. Boedeker	1300 N. Canterbury Dallas, Texas
Stanley Marcus	Neiman-Marcus Dallas, Texas

Article VI

This corporation shall have no capital stock. The value of the goods, chattels, lands, rights and credits owned by the corporation are estimated to be $10.00.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, we hereunto sign our names this 29th day of October, 1951.

Jerome K. Crossman
Nathan Adams
John T. Higginbotham

THE STATE OF TEXAS }
COUNTY OF DALLAS }

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, on this day personally appeared JEROME K. CROSSMAN, NATHAN ADAMS and JOHN T. HIGGINBOTHAM, known to me to be the persons whose names are subscribed to the foregoing instrument, and also known to me to be citizens of said State, and each acknowledged to me that he executed the same for the purposes and consideration therein expressed.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I hereunto subscribe my name and affix the seal of my office, this the 29th day of October, 1951.

Francis Milstead,
Notary Public,
Dallas County, Texas

BY-LAWS OF DALLAS CITIZENS' INTERRACIAL ASSOCIATION

Article I

Members

Members shall be of two classes, members and associate members.

(a) *Members:* A member shall be a person, firm, corporation or association which donates to this corporation $50.00, or any amount in excess thereof, in any calendar year. Donations in the amount above set forth shall make such donor a member for a term of one year from the date of such donation; provided, however, that an initial donation of $100.00 or any amount in excess thereof shall make such donor a member for a term of two years from the date of such initial donation. A corporation, firm or association which is a member shall exercise rights of membership by a duly designated natural person. Each member as of the date of any meeting of the members shall be entitled to one vote at such meeting. A member may by instrument in writing appoint or designate a natural person of his or its selection to act as proxy at any meeting of the membership.

(b) *Associate Members:* Associate members shall be persons, firms, corporations or associations which shall donate to this corporation any amount less than $50.00 in any calendar year. Associate members shall be entitled to be present at any

meeting of the members, and shall have all rights exercisable by members except the right to vote.

Article II

Meeting of Members

Section 1—Annual Meetings: The annual meeting of the members shall be held during the month of October of each year, at such date within the month of October as may be designated by the President. At such meeting of the members Directors for the ensuing year shall be elected and such other business transacted as the members shall determine.

Section 2—Special Meetings: Special meetings of the members shall be held at such time or times as such meetings may be called by the President on his own motion, or at the direction of the Board of Directors, or by the President upon the written request of at least twenty-five members.

Section 3—Place of Meetings: Any and all meetings of the members shall be held within the County of Dallas, Texas, and at such place as shall be designated by the President.

Section 4—Notice of Meetings: Notice of the annual meeting of members shall be given to each member not less than ten days prior to the date of such meeting, and may be given by mail, telegraph or otherwise in writing. Notice of the special meetings of the members shall be given to each member not less than two days prior to the date of such meeting, and may be given by mail, telegraph, telephone or otherwise.

Section 5—Quorum of Members: At any annual or special meeting of the members, a quorum shall consist of twenty-five per cent of the total number of those who are members as of the date of such meeting. A majority vote of members present, in person or by proxy, at any meeting of members shall be necessary to act upon any resolution presented to the members. If at any annual or special meeting of the members there shall be present less than a quorum of the members, the President or other presiding officer shall have power to adjourn the meeting to another date designated by a majority of those present.

Section 6—Notice to Associate Members: Associate members shall be entitled to receive all notices herein provided to be sent to members.

Article III

Board of Directors

Section 1—Number and Term of Directors: The Board of Directors shall be composed of fifteen persons. A Director must be a member, or must be a person who has been designated by a corporation, partnership or association which is a member to act upon its behalf as a member.

Each Director shall hold office for the term for which he is elected, and until his successor is elected.

The Directors for the first year shall be the persons who are designated as such in the Charter of this corporation, which has been duly filed with the Secretary of State of Texas.

Section 2—Classification of Directors: At the first organizational meeting of the Directors, the members of the Board of Directors shall be by lot divided into three classifications of five members each. The members of the first class shall hold office for a term of one year; the members of the second classification shall hold office for a term of two years; the members of the third class shall hold office for a term of three years. At each annual meeting of the members beginning in October 1952 five Directors shall be elected for a term of three years to succeed the five Directors whose terms then expire.

Section 3—Annual Meetings of Directors: The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held immediately following the adjournment of the annual meeting of the members.

Section 4—Special Meetings of Directors: Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held at such times and at such places, upon call of and as may be designated by the President, or by any five Directors acting jointly.

Section 5—Notice of Directors' Meetings: The notice of the annual meeting of the Directors shall be given to the Directors in the same manner and for the same length of time as that prescribed for notice to members of the annual meeting of the members. Notice of special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be given to each Director not less than one day in advance of such meeting, such notice to be given by mail, telegraph, telephone or otherwise. Any Director may waive as to himself notice of time and place of any meeting.

Section 6—Quorum of Directors: At any annual or special meeting of the Board of Directors a quorum shall consist of a majority of the total number of those who are Directors as of the date of such meeting. A majority vote of Directors present at any meeting shall be necessary to act upon any resolution presented to the Directors. At any meeting of the Directors at which there shall be present less than a quorum, the President or other presiding officer may adjourn the meeting to another date designated by a majority of those present.

Section 7—Vacancies: Vacancies in the Board of Directors shall be filled by appointment made by the remaining Directors. Each person so elected to fill a vacancy shall remain a Director until his successor has been elected by the members at their next annual meeting or at any special meeting duly called for that purpose and held prior thereto.

Section 8—Power to Elect Officers: The Board of Directors shall elect a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and such Assistant Secretaries and Assistant Treasurers as may be deemed advisable by the Board. In addition thereto, the Directors may elect an Executive Vice-President.

No officer except the President and the two Vice-Presidents (but not the Executive Vice-President) need be members of this corporation nor members of the Board of Directors. The duties and compensation, if any, to be paid the officers shall be such as shall be determined by the Board of Directors; provided, however, that neither the President nor any Vice-President, except the Executive Vice-President, shall receive any compensation.

Officers shall have power and authority to perform such functions and duties as may be assigned to them by the Board of Directors.

Section 9—Executive Committee: The Board of Directors shall have the power to appoint by resolution an Executive Committee, composed of three or more Directors, who, to the extent provided in such resolution, shall have and exercise the authority of the Board of Directors in the management of the business of the corporation between the meetings of the Board.

Section 10—Advisory Directors: The Board of Directors shall have power to appoint such number of Advisory Directors as the Board of Directors

shall deem proper. The function of such Advisory Directors shall be to consult and advise with the Board of Directors in the performance of its functions. The terms and qualifications of such Advisory Directors shall be such as shall be determined by the Board of Directors. Advisory Directors shall be entitled to meet with the Board of Directors at any regular or special meeting, and shall receive notice thereof, but shall not be entitled to vote.

Article IV

Books, Records and Seal

The Board of Directors shall establish, and may change from time to time, the seal of the corporation, the minute book, and the records of the corporation.

Article V

Amendment of By-Laws

These By-Laws may, within the limits of this corporation's Charter, be amended by affirmative vote of a majority of the Board of Directors present at any annual or special meeting of the Board of Directors, or by a majority vote of the members present at any annual or special meeting of the members.

Article VI

Amendment of Charter

The Charter of this corporation may be amended by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members present, in person or by proxy, at a special meeting of the members held for the purpose of such amendment. The purpose of such meeting shall be incorporated in written notice of the meeting, but the giving of such notice shall be in the same manner and for the length of time prescribed for special meetings of the members.

Article VII

Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in these By-Laws herein contained, expressly or by implication, this corporation shall at all times perform only such benevolent, charitable and educational functions as are set forth in its Charter duly filed with the Secretary of State of Texas, and it shall be wholly non-political and non-profit in character, all as more fully set forth in said Charter.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

J. C. Anderson, Jr.
Rev. John F. Anderson, Jr.
M. B. Anderson
Mrs. Pearl C. Anderson
Joe Agee
A. F. Allen
James W. Aston
Roland W. Baird
Fenton J. Baker
Dr. W. Harrison Baker
Rev. J. Daniel Barron
Dr. Wallace Bassett
R. W. Baxter
Theo. P. Beasley
Tyree L. Bell
Mrs. Raymond B. Bennett
Roland S. Bond
T. E. Braniff
Dr. E. H. Brown
W. J. Brown
C. B. Bunkley, Jr.
W. R. Burns
William Burrow
Paul Carrington
Dr. E. H. Cary
Jas. F. Chambers, Jr.
Mrs. Jas. F. Chambers, Jr.
George W. Chapman
Max Clampitt
Eric Hammond Coffman
Henry C. Coke, Jr.
James M. Collins
W. D. Combs
William O. Cooper
L. F. Corrigan
Aubrey M. Costa
Dr. W. A. Criswell
Robert B. Cullum
Most Rev. A. Danglmayr, D. D.
Clifton Dennard
A. W. DeShong
James C. Dycus
Dr. William M. Elliott, Jr.
O. B. English
Rev. Ernest C. Estell
J. Feldman
Canon Edward B. Ferguson
Douglas W. Forbes
Earl A. Forsythe
Hal A. Gulledge
W. A. Green, Jr.
Frank W. Graham
Dr. Robert E. Goodrich, Jr.
Irving L. Goldberg
J. Lawson Goggans, Jr.
S. M. Gladney
R. R. Gilbert
E. B. Germany
John Genaro
Will C. Grant
Mrs. John M. Hanna
Frank Heller
William S. Henson
R. A. Hester
Louis J. Hexter
H. Leslie Hill
Mrs. Marzelle C. Hill
Karl Hoblitzelle
Dr. Luther Holcomb
Prof. H. I. Holland
Howard P. Holmes
Ray E. Hubbard
James S. Hudson
Dr. A. E. Hughes
Price Hughes
Mrs. Rose Nelson Hughes
Judge Sarah T. Hughes
Joe F. Ivy
B. C. Jefferson
A. Maceo Johnson
Albert Sidney Johnson
Mrs. C. E. Jones
M. Boyd Keith
Dr. Frank H. Kidd, Jr.
Arthur L. Kramer, Jr.

James N. Landrum
Lynn Landrum
Fred M. Lange
Dr. Umphrey Lee
Rev. L. R. Lockridge
Justin McCarty
R. G. McCord
Eugene McElvaney
George L. MacGregor
R. H. McKay
B. F. McLain
Edward R. Maher
Zach L. Majors
H. N. Mallon
Dr. Jasper Manton
G. T. Marchmont
Mrs. Herbert Marcus, Sr.
Bishop Wm. C. Martin
Robert Mayer
Avery Mays
A. H. Meadows
Laurence R. Melton
Dr. Elliott Mendenhall, M.D.
Dr. A. C. Miller
Henry S. Miller
S. D. Miller
Homer R. Mitchell
Chas. R. Moore
Very Rev. Gerald G. Moore, D.D.
Lt. Col. John A. Morrison
G. C. Morton
Clint W. Murchison
Fred F. Murray
Mrs. Carrie M. Neiman
T. H. Obenchain
J. B. O'Hara
Rabbi Levi A. Olan
Robert Olmsted
W. W. Overton, Jr.
J. L. Patton, Jr.
Lawrence S. Pollock
T. W. Pratt
Walter L. Prehn
Dick Price
Maurice E. Purnell
Alphonso Ragland, Jr.
DeWitt Ray
Ed Reynolds
C. B. Roberts
L. C. Roberts
Ralph B. Rogers
Joseph Ross
D. Gordon Rupe, Jr.
F. M. Ryburn
H. X. Salzberger
Eugene Kahn Sanger
W. H. Savage
Dr. George A. Schenewerk, M.D.
Julius Schepps
Mrs. S. A. Shelburne
E. E. Shelton
J. W. Simmons
A. Maceo Smith
Dr. Richard M. Smith, M.D.
Dr. Marshall T. Steel
C. L. Stewart
R. H. Stewart, Jr.
C. G. Stubbs
J. R. Temple
J. C. Thompson
Fred M. Truett
Mrs. J. C. Vanderwoude
Jack C. Vaughn
Harold F. Volk
W. G. Vollmer
John T. Wallace
Travis T. Wallace
Mrs. W. F. Waters
Gus K. Weatherred
Dr. W. A. Welsh
Floyd West
W. T. White
W. H. Wildes
Dr. Earle Williams
Jas. K. Wilson
H. H. Wineburgh
J. H. Wood, Jr.
James Ralph Wood
R. V. Works
Angus G. Wynne, Jr.

"The worst sin towards our fellow-creatures is to be indifferent to them; that's the essence of inhumanity."

I R

Human Relations Workshop

June 3, 1952

Human Relations Workshop
School of Education
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, N. J.

Attention: Dr. J. Donald Neill

Dear Sir:

We will be glad to send single copies of any of the materials included in the enclosed publications list for use in your Human Relations Workshop.

Since the Council is a non-profit organization with limited funds we are not able to supply materials free of charge in large quantities.

You will note that several of the pamphlets sell at two cents each in quantities of fifty or more. Should you want to order any of these, or other materials listed, we will be happy to take care of your request promptly.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
The State University of New Jersey

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY

May 21, 1952

RECEIVED
MAY 23 1952
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The enclosed brochure announces a Summer Workshop in Human Relations to be conducted by the School of Education.

We are hoping to assemble an adequate library of appropriate materials, and are therefore, asking you for the following:

75 copies of any items useful to teachers group workers, etc. which can be distributed free of charge.
Single copies of posters, display materials, books, pamphlets, etc. which are not available for free distribution in large quantities.
Catalogs, price lists, book announcements, annotated film and recording bibliographies, etc.

Please send all letters and parcels to Human Relations Workshop, School of Education, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, c/o J. Donald Neill.

Yours very truly,

J. Donald Neill
J. Donald Neill
Acting Dean

JDN:bjs

1952 SUMMER SESSION
THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY

Workshop in Human Relations

JUNE 30 TO AUGUST 8, 1952

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Jameson Campus—Workshop Headquarters

Workshop in Human Relations

The Workshop is a feature of the School of Education's program of Human Relations Education.

The Workshop is conducted by the School of Education of Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey. The Division Against Discrimination of the State Department of Education and the National Conference of Christians and Jews are the co-sponsors.

For Whom Offered

Teachers on both *elementary* and *secondary* levels, particularly of Social Studies, English, Science, Foreign Languages, Art, and Music, will be interested in this program.

Others interested in educational and community development, including guidance workers, school and public librarians, supervisors, social workers, principals, administrators, and community leaders will find the Workshop of value.

Scope of the Workshop

Philosophy

The Workshop in Human Relations is designed to offer training and experience in group dynamics to teachers, administrators, librarians, social workers, community leaders, etc. Attention is focused upon those aspects of human development, mental hygiene, social psychology, social anthropology, and curriculum experiences which together yield insight into the operations of individuals as part of groups in our society. The more recent approach to classroom teaching as a function of group management is emphasized.

The workshop philosophy is group-centered in both curriculum and process. Although sufficient individual attention is given to each participant, greater emphasis is placed upon group discussion and group decision.

The Workshop atmosphere in keeping with its basic philosophy is informal. The members of the staff, selected for special competencies in the field of Human Relations Education, function as part of the group both in formal and informal situations in the dormitories as well as in the classroom. Numerous part-time consultants supplement the staff resources in specialized areas.

Procedure

The Workshop functions as a unit for part of the time, as in seminars. At other times it is broken down into smaller groups when work in particular areas of specific interest is involved. General seminars, in the past, have been conducted on such subjects as the problem of race, culture and acculturation, mental hygiene in the classroom and techniques of community analysis. Special interest groups, on the other hand, have dealt with such subjects as the use of literature for the purpose of social sensitization, co-worker relationships, sociometry and sociodrama as techniques in group dynamics, and desegregation and integration as school and community problems. A third type of sub-group is designed to help workshop participants clarify and solve the specific problems with which they are concerned. These two latter types of groups meet regularly under the guidance of single staff members. Problems brought to the Workshop in past summers included human relations emphases in courses of study, program planning for groups such as P.T.A.s, ways of working with formal and informal groups in the school and the community, and ways of reducing group tensions due to such factors as race, religion, socio-economic status, and rural-urban differences. The specific emphases of the coming summer's Workshop will, of course, be built co-operatively around the interests of the participants.

In keeping with the design of a workshop, opportunities for relaxation are an integral aspect of the curriculum. Swimming, arts and crafts, tennis, picnics, square dancing, music are among the many experiences available. New York with its many theaters, only a short distance away, was frequently visited in previous summers by out-of-state participants and their New Jersey co-workers.

The Workshop, now in its sixth successive year, has been the site for work and enjoyment for numerous New Jersey teachers, social workers, and nurses. Out-of-staters have come from Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Missouri, Colorado, Kentucky, and Canada.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

The State University of New Jersey

Workshop in Human Relations

SUMMER 1952

APPLICATION BLANK

1. Name.....
2. Nature of Employment.....
3. Position of Applicant.....
4. Business Address.....
5. Permanent Mailing Address.....
6. Educational Training.....

	Institution	*Attended (Dates)*	*Degrees and Dates*
Undergraduate:			
Graduate:			

7. What is the project upon which you wish to work in the Workshop? Or in what particular aspect of Human Relations Education are you primarily interested?

.....

.....

.....

.....

8. Do you wish to live in the intergroup living center?

.....

9. Are you securing financial aid for the Workshop? *Yes*.....*No*.....

If answer is yes, please list the source of financial aid and the per cent of aid.....

.....

.....

This application should be mailed to Acting Dean, J. Donald Neill, School of Education, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

.....

(Signature of Applicant)

Administrative Officers

LEWIS WEBSTER JONES, Ph.D., LL.D. *President*

ROBERT CLARKSON CLOTHIER, Litt.D., LL.D. *President Emeritus*

MASON WELCH GROSS, Ph.D. *Provost*

ALBERT EUGENE MEDER, JR., A.M. *Dean of the University*

CHARLES HENRY STEVENS, Ph.D. *Director, Summer Session*

J. DONALD NEILL, A.M. *Acting Dean, School of Education*

Full-Time Resident Staff

MAX BIRNBAUM

Co-director (Co-director 1947-; Rutgers Human Relations Workshop; Chairman, Social Studies Department, Weequahic High School, Newark, New Jersey).

RUTH CORNELIUS

Staff Member (Staff Member 1947-; Rutgers Human Relations Workshop; Elementary Teacher, St. Louis School System).

F. WILSON HOBSON

Staff Member (Staff Member 1948-; Principal, Montgomery Street School, Newark, New Jersey).

WALTER E. WILSON

Staff Member (Staff Member 1951-; Supervising Principal, Jamesburg Public Schools).

LEON WOLCOTT

Co-director (Co-director 1948-; Rutgers Human Relations Workshop; Assistant Professor of Sociology, Trenton State Teachers College).

In addition there will be a number of part-time consultants in psychiatry, anthropology, and community relations.

General Information

Applications

Those who desire to participate in the Human Relations Workshop should make application to Acting Dean J. Donald Neill, School of Education, before May 15, 1952. The Workshop is limited to fifty participants; priorities will be given to those who intend to live in the quarters assigned the Workshop by the University. An application blank is attached.

Credit

Full participation in the Workshop carries eight credit hours for either graduate or undergraduate credit. Credit may be applied to a curriculum through permission of the student's advisor.

Fees

Tuition fee for residents of New Jersey	$11.00 per credit hour
Tuition fee for nonresidents of New Jersey, additional	3.00 per credit hour
Registration fee	5.00
Room (for six weeks)	48.00

Meals

Arrangements will be made for the Workshop group to eat together at the Cafeteria, University Commons.

Schedule

The Workshop is in session for five and one-half days each week.

Fellowships

A limited number of fellowships to help defray tuition, registration, room, and, in special cases, board, are available. If you are interested in applying for one of these fellowships, write to Mr. Daniel Anthony, Regional Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 790 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey.

Race relations
Dallas

June 4, 1952

Mrs. John M. Hanna
3307 Drexel Drive,
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hanna:

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of May 30th. I did not want to make any difficulty for the Texas Commission's treasurer but only to let you know that we had no agreement with her about collecting dues. However, we would certainly appreciate any help she might give us.

We are all interested in your news about happenings in Dallas with regard to race. We have been in touch with the A. F. S. C. office and the work they are doing. Mr. Buckridge attended a meeting in Birmingham in May which was sponsored by the Council and which was made up of representatives from agencies who work on the problems of race and race relations. I am especially glad to know that you are working with them for I know what valuable help you can give, not only because you know Dallas but because of your long association with the YWCA.

I have not completely left the "Y" - will be registrar at the Southeast Employed Women's Conference in August. We had a good group last year with delegates from some Associations who had never sent any before. We hope for better representation this year.

If at any time we can be of service to you or any Dallas groups by furnishing information or literature, please do call on us.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks
encl.

Mrs. John M. Hanna 3307 Drexel Drive, Dallas, Texas

May 30, 1952

Miss Katherine Stoney,
Sec'y-Treas. S.R.C.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Stoney:-

Your gracious letter is most welcome for the Texas Commission needs to clear their relationships on handling dues and they must be sent with names of members that you may know just who members paying thro' the Commission are, when mutual plans are made.

I am taking the liberty of sending your letter to Mrs. Crate with a strong request that this is done. I do not see how she has misunderstood but she has clearly stated at Board meetings in the last two years or more that our Treasurer would remit dues if we paid $5.00 per year for both groups. I have never quite accepted our present method of affiliation, for my traing in Y.W.C.A., and other organizations, is all toward the necessity for close cooperation with such a National office as yours.

My second note to you must have sounded much too abrupt but I had just returned from three weeks away, for the "Y" Triennial in Chicago and a following week in Green Lake Wis. as a member of the National Bd. of Mgrs. of the United Church Women and my desk was hopeless on my return, and still is! I only supposed there was a natural office mistake and hurried to correct it. I receive and enjoy all I have time for, the New South , and surely must see that you receive my dues for the past two years!
It is a pleasure to know that you have had experience with my Y.W.C.A. with which I have been associated both nationally and locally for more than 40 years. You see a volunteer need never resign! and I find it and enduring fellowship.

Much is happening just now in Dallas on race. A strong representative Committee of some 100 leaders newly organized and at work; a small office group of A.F.S.C. set up since Feb. on a Job Opportunities Program, a meeting last night of some 20 of us, with the two secretaries, one Negro, One white, to study where we are and to set up a temporary Committee, looking to more permanent organization;

Much local concern on minority matters and good progress in attitudes and mutual confidence.

The A.F.S.C. will again carry a strong Institute in Dallas this June. I will try to add the dates before sealing my letter. Just called the new employment office but no one there just now. June 12-16 - S.M.U.

I wonder if your office would like to look over my letters in regard to this job opportunities matter. I felt last evening that it had good possibilities. The Director explores the management side of it; The Negro working with him, a keen Negro woman is exploring the quality of both trained Negro people and training facilities to meet possible job openings.

Would it be too much to ask that you mail back to me after looking over - no hurry - It is all new to me and I might like to have this initial information. I type slowly and have three days work today- my only day at home - Does that sound natural?

With gratitude for your frank letter and help,

Faithfully yours,

Sallie P. Hanna

Mrs. John M. Hanna

Race Relations

Stevenson

September 30, 1952

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Ralph:

I was to send you some notes toward a screed on the answer a Southerner abroad gives to the queries about racial practices in the South.

Notes herewith, and some of the more notorious "cases."

Material to your thinking will be the forthright statement of Adlai Stevenson the other day in his Richmond speech:

> Taking note of some propagandists who call for more rights for minorities as a propaganda weapon against communism, Governor Stevenson declared forcefully, "I utterly reject this argument. This concept is itself tainted with Communist willingness. It insultingly implies that were it not for the Communists we would not do what is right. The answer to this argument is that we must do right for right's sake alone.
>
> "I for one do not propose to adjust my ethics to the values of a blood-stained despotism."

But don't be thrown off the track. Persist. And it will be seen that our cue is to do right, both for conscience sake and for the effect in our struggle for the friendship of the rest of the world.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

I R

Race Relations Statistics

October 7, 1952

Mr. O. W. Folger
2512 Berkley Place
Greensboro, NC

Dear Mr. Folger:

In reply to your recent request for statistics showing progress in various phases of race relations, we can give you the following information:

(1) Intermarriage--Very little statistical data concerning marriage of whites and Negroes, Negroes and mixed bloods, whites and mixed bloods, etc. is available. Only limited studies have been made, these limited both as to groups studied and period studied. Our organization has published no material in this area. Suggest that you look at chapters on "Miscegenation and Intermarriage" and "Negro-White Intermarriage in Recent Times" in CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, edited by Otto Klineberg (Harper, 1944) There is also some discussion of intermarriage and race-crossing in Gunnar Myrdal's AN AMERICAN DILEMMA (Harper, 1944).

For information on states' laws concerning Negro-white marriages see STATES' LAWS ON RACE AND COLOR by Pauli Murray (Women's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church, 1950)

(2) Interracial churches--We know of no overall statistics in this area. We are sending a marked copy of a bulletin published by the Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, which gives figures on the Protestant churches in 1946. For further information you might consult Frank Loescher's PROTESTANT CHURCH AND THE NEGRO or write the Federal Council of Churches' Deppartment of Race Relations. For information about the Catholic church and the Negro see Father John LaFarge's NO POSTPONEMENT (Longmans, Green and Co., 1951) or his earlier book THE RACE QUESTION AND THE NEGRO.

We are also sending one or two issues of our monthly bulletin which contain articles on the church and race relations.

(3) Passing--There is no way to measure the number ~~of Negroes who~~ one "pass" and estimates vary considerably. Walter Whipe

of his publications that approximately 12,00 Negroes "passed" each year; others have said as high as 40,00. What few studies have been made by sociologists indicate that a much lower number "pass" and that the number varies from year to year. E. W. Eckard estimated probably less than 2,000 Negroes "passed" per year in the decade from 1930-1940. J. H. Burma's study indicated that somewhere around 2,500 to 2,750 per year "pass."

(4) Employment opportunities--We are sending an article entitled "Negro Municipal Workers in the South" under separate cover; also another showing employment of Negro firemen. The enclosed table indicates the number of Negro police employed from 1945-1952.

(5) Lynchings--Two bulletins on lynching are included in the materials being sent separately. One, "Changing Character of Lynching" covers the period from 1931-1941; the other brings figures on lynchings per year through 1950. One lynching occurred in 1951; three were prevented.

(6) Restrictive covenants--Our organization has not published any data on restrictive covenants as such; we do not know of any study of restrictive covenants that will contain statistical information.

The Public Affairs Press (Washington, DC) issued a bulletin in 1948 which traced the history of racial covenants and discussed the restrictive covenant in light of constitutional rights. The booklet is by Tom Clark and Philip B. Perlman and is entitled PREJUDICE AND PROPERTY.

Another bulletin you might consult is Herman Long and Charles Johnson's PEOPLE V. PROPERTY. It is a study of restrictive covenants in Chicago and St. Louis, available from the Dept. of Race Relations, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

A copy of the US Supreme Court decision outlawing restrictive covenants can be obtained from the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, 123 W. Madison St., Chicago 2, Ill.

Hoping that this information will be of some help to you.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

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a 7t

Greensboro Monthly Meeting
of the
Religious Society of Friends

Greensboro, North Carolina

2512 Berkley Place

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1952
Southern Regional Council

9-18

Gentlemen:

I am tremendously interested in progress in race relations.

Would you kindly send me whatever statistics are available on the following subjects (with special reference to changes, say, over a ten or twenty year period)?

Intermarriage of whites and Negroes
whites and mixed bloods
Negroes and mixed bloods

Interracial churches
Passing
Employment opportunities in the better jobs
Lynchings
Restrictive covenants.

I am more interested in signs of progress over any given period than in the situation right now, separately considered.

I shall much appreciate any material available.

Yours truly,

O W Folger

Catholic News Service
interrnal general

October 31, '52

Dear Mr. Hunton,

Many thanks for your last budget of news. We were glad to have it all, and particularly the item about St. Joseph's Infirmary in Kentucky, which fitted into a collection of such items. Do send us your newstories from time to time; we'll be grateful.

I have been trying for some time to have my next trip to New York put me there on a Thursday, so as to be present with your group, but so far I haven't been able to arrange it. I keep trying.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1952
Southern Regional Council

October 14, 1952

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing herewith pictures and a newstory about the 1952 James J. Hoey Awards for Interracial Justice.

I intended writing you before to inquire whether you would like to receive newstories about talks given at our weekly forums. I am enclosing one or two for you to look over; also some recent literature we have gotten out.

I hope that next time you are in New York you will again visit us here at the Center.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:a
encls

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUCIL

PHONE
REctor 2-5417

News Service

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

STUDENT OPINION VITAL FACTOR
IN COMBATTING WORLD COMMUNISM

New York, Oct. 3 -- Student organizations play an important and sometimes decisive role in the political destiny of many countries, John J. Simons, director of student activities for the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs, declared here last night. The former head of the National Federation of Catholic College Students told a forum of the Catholic Interracial Council that Communists, recognizing this fact, are engaged in a world-wide program to penetrate student organizations.

An authority on world student movements, Mr. Simons declared that the attitudes and actions of Catholics in America have a bearing on the course of student opinion abroad. "The way we comport ourselves in the United States is a matter of immediate and lasting interest throughout the world," he said.

He cited as an example the program of the National Federation of Catholic College Students to further racial understanding in the United Stares through its Interracial Justice Week observances. This work is an encouragement and assistance to the Catholic students of South Africa in their efforts to counteract communist exploitation of the racial situation among students in that country. "Catholic students in Africa have the magnificant support of their hierarchy whom they have followed brilliantly," he said.

Emphasising the importance of a positive program against Communism, Mr. Simons declared that "communists pick up and spread news of what we do and what we fail to do" whenever it serves their purposes. But "The work of the Church for Christ's underprivleged children is some-

thing no one can ignore. Catholic activit es to solve the racial problem in the United States are known throughout the world and this is an example of how the Mystical Body of Christ lives in the world today with its different members coming to help each other."

The importance of the struggle between communism and democracy among world students is seen in the fact that student organizations play an important and often decisive role in the political destiny of some countries. Throughout the world, student, organizations are the training grounds for the leaders of national opinion, Mr. Simons said.

#M #

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

Phone:
REctor 2-5417

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N.Y.

News Service

WINNERS OF 1952 HOEY AWARDS ANNOUNCED
BY CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF N.Y.

Winners of the 1952 James J. Hoey Awards for interracial justice were announced today by the Catholic Interracial Council of New York. The awards, symbolized by the silver Hoey Medal, are conferred annually upon a white and a Negro Catholic layman who in the judgment of the Council have made the year's outstanding contribution to the cause of interracial justice.

This year, the awards go to Joseph J. Yancey of New York and Charles F. Vatterott, Jr., of St. Louis.

Mr. Yancey is a founder and coach of the Pioneer Athletic Club of New York, the country's outstanding interracial track and field team. His club, which may boast of many titleholders trained in city parks and armories, won the American Amateur Athletic Union championships in 1952. He has toured Europe and Latin America with American interracial teams.

The white recipient of the award, Charles F. Vatterott, is a builder and real estate developer. His St. Ann's Golf Course is the only privately owned links in the St. Louis area with an integrated white and Negro membership. He has built some 5,000 homes with special emphasis on providing good housing for large families, both white and Negro.

The awards will be conferred by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John S. Middleton, pastor of Old St. Peter's Church, as representative of His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, on Sunday, October 26, the Feast of Christ the King, at the Carroll Club, 120 Madison Avenue.

The James J. Hoey Awards were established in 1942 by the family of the late James J. Hoey, former Collector of Internal Revenue of New York, and a founder and the first president of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York.

THE INDIANA CATHOLIC AND RECORD, FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1952

Interracial Council Chapter Formed In City Of Indianapolis

An organization "to establish racial equality by eliminating the consideration of race in all human affairs" has been formed in Indianapolis.

It is the Catholic Interracial Council of Indianapolis.

Some twenty laymen and clergy, the founding nucleus of the group, have been meeting twice monthly to establish its constitution and board.

When activated, the Council will join ranks with twenty-one others in the United States which are working for interracial understanding and justice. These Catholic Councils have been outstanding in their fight for effective FEPC legislation and against the opening of institutions which draw "color lines."

The local group will endeavor to make known and bring to bear on interracial problems the teachings of the Catholic Church, based on the Encyclicals of the Popes and statements of the Bishop of the United States.

Associate membership in the organization will be open when the Constitution has been approved. The Council members hope to enlist the help of all who are interested in erasing race prejudice.

LATER, the group intends to sponsor Communion breakfasts and public forums to bring about further community understanding.

The local group was formed in May after George K. Hunton, secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, visited Indianapolis. The New York council, as well as the whole CIC movement, owes its existence to Father John LaFarge, S. J., nationally known Jesuit, its founder and director.

The Councils have prudently and effectively waged a campaign to guarantee all men all of their human rights. These human rights, based on the God-given dignity of man, include the right to a job, without consideration of color; economic freedom; education; housing; esteem and honor; the right to marry and worship God as each wishes. These phrases may all be found in the Constitution of the United States or the teachings of the Church, but are sadly neglected in everyday life.

Council members feel that one of the more effective ways of combating materialism and selfishness in the world is by eliminating racial prejudice.

THE ORGANIZATION has been formed under the patronage of Blessed Martin de Porres, O. P., and in accordance with words of Pope Pius XII as stated in his encyclical "Sertum Laetitiae." The Holy Father recorded the following paragraph for the world to read:

"We confess that We feel a special paternal affection, which is certainly inspired of Heaven, for the Negro people dwelling among you; for in the field of religion and education We know that they need special care and comfort and are very deserving of it. We therefore invoke an abundance of heavenly blessing and We pray fruitful success for those whose generous zeal is devoted to their Welfare."

The Indianapolis Interracial Council has been formed with the approval of Archbishop Paul Schulte.

Chaplain for the group is Father Raymond Bosler, editor of **The Indiana Catholic and Record.**

Catholic Interracial Council
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

THE BLESSINGS of FREEDOM

by

MOST REVEREND
FRANCIS J. HAAS, D.D.

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Excerpts from an address delivered by Bishop Haas of Grand Rapids at a reception given in his honor by the CIO. Reprinted from THE INTER-RACIAL REVIEW.

ONE common interest unites us all here tonight. We all hold to the precious American tradition that each man and each woman is just as good as every other, no more or no less. That is Americanism. That is democracy.

This is as good a place as any to compare present racial conditions with those of ten years ago. In 1942, we were at war. To meet war needs, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Committee by Executive Order.

There was need in 1942 and in the years following to abolish discrimination in the Armed Forces and in the Defense industries. Everyone knows that there was discrimination at that time—as indeed there still is although to a lesser degree—in the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

In 1942 the Capitol Transit Company in Washington created a major problem right in the shadow of our national capitol. It refused to employ Negroes on the front of streetcars because, as the Company said, the Amalgamated Association of Streetcar Employees would not work with Negroes.

But such discrimination was only a small part of the pattern of Washington life. Negroes from out of the city or for that matter, within it, could eat only in Negro hotels or in Negro boarding-houses, and could enter only Negro theatres. The same policy of exclusion applied to schools, to many churches, to recreation places, and to other public facilities.

This was the practice in Washington in 1942. Out through the country the situation was hardly any better. Generally, Negroes in defense plants were denied either employment or opportunity to be up-graded in employment in accordance with their skill and capacity.

Besides, discrimination was practiced not only in trade and industry, but also in schools and in colleges, in housing, and in places of

amusement. Over thirteen million of our Negro fellow citizens were treated as a kind of lower form of being, except in the important business of wearing a GI uniform and of dying for their country.

Now we are in 1952, and not in 1942. Surely, there have been heartening changes for the better. Marion Anderson can now sing in a mixed concert hall in Florida. Jackie Robinson can play for the Brooklyn Dodgers and Chico Carresquel for the Chicago White Sox. Ralph Bunche can negotiate a truce in Palestine for UN, and Joe Louis can play golf in a swank tournament in California. We have indeed made progress since 1942.

SOME of the progress is due to individuals and some of it to government. Recall that Branch Rickey had the courage to say just a short time ago "If Jackie Robinson can't play, my team can't play." It is to men and women of courage like Rickey to whom we owe much of the improvement that we have witnessed since 1942.

But we should not overlook what our Federal Government and ten of the States and twenty-two of the municipalities have done. They have passed laws of varying degrees of compulsion outlawing discrimination.

In particular, the U. S. Supreme Court has made an admirable record during the past decade in its rulings in the Pullman cases and on segregation in State universities.

You may say that right-minded individuals have brought about these changes by making their views felt through the Court. However that may be, we have had changes—definitely on the credit side of the ledger.

Nevertheless, I would not be honest if I did not say that we still have a long, long way to go. Who has not heard of the recent race riot in Cicero brought on because a Negro family —and incidentally, an educated and cultured family—had moved into what was regarded as a restricted family district? Who has not

heard of the recent murder of a Negro and his wife in Florida prompted by no other motive than that they were Negroes and representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People? Can anything else but selfish ignorance explain such sad occurrences?

But why pick out such well-publicized cases? Conditions, although improved over the past decade, are still far from being even decent.

WHAT do I propose? As a practical next step, I advocate the earliest possible enactment of Federal, State and Municipal laws, prohibiting discrimination in employment.

I am not so naive as to think that we can have a Federal FEPC by tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. I am firmly convinced, however, that we will have a national FEPC much sooner than the opposition even dreams. I am equally convinced that we will have a Michigan FEPC much sooner than the opposition dreams. Incidentally, an FEPC law does not require an employer to hire anyone. All that it requires is that the employer does not discriminate in hiring, and in his employment relations.

What is the value of law in reinforcing the moral sentiments of the community? Let me take a page from another field of legislation to answer this question. I refer to the accident compensation law first enacted in New Jersey in 1911, and later enacted in other states.

Prior to 1911, whenever a worker suffered an injury in the course of his employment, in order to collect damages, either he or his heirs had to face what were called the employers' defenses.

There were three of these defenses that an employer could raise to excuse himself from paying any compensation. One was that he could say to the injured man: "You, yourself, contributed to the accident." The second was:

"Your fellow employees contributed to it." The third was: "You assumed the risks of the job when you took the job. But in any case, I, the employer, am not liable for any damages."

The compensation law simply abolished these defenses and in fact took the whole transaction out of the hands of the Court. The law said in effect: "An eye, or a leg, or a life will cost you, Mr. Employer, so much, and you have to pay for them at the price that the law stipulates. You can charge the costs of injuries up to the consumers of your product, if you will, but you cannot put this additional burden on the person who is injured." The public saw the point, and demanded the passage of laws.

Immediately, industry began to put its house in order. It began what was called the "Safety-First" movement. Machines were guarded and were made as safe as they could be made for life and limb, because accidents cost money. At present, all the States, even the State of Mississippi, have enacted accident compensation legislation.

The point of this digression is that laws are made to give life and vitality to the moral convictions of the public. Applying this conclusion to racial injustice, one can say that the underlying sentiment of our people is against discrimination in employment, and they will see that this sentiment is embodied into laws.

Let me go into a wider field for a moment. After all, FEPC laws cover only conditions of employment.

As everyone knows, there is a much broader area of discrimination than that which is practiced in industry. There is discrimination and segregation in schools, in hotels, on railroads, in places of recreation and the rest. It is idle to think that such discrimination can be prevented by laws and courts.

In looking for a cure for bad race relations, perhaps the best procedure is to ask ourselves what is at the bottom of discrimination? What produces it? What causes it?

In my judgment, the basic cause of discrimination is an overweening pride on the part of those who discriminate, that is, that we feel that we are better than others. We discriminate against those whom we look down upon. We feel that we are made of better stuff than they are, and for that reason that they are not entitled to all that we are entitled to.

If this analysis is correct, then I submit to you that the only cure for discrimination is a generous helping of Christianity. First, let every one feel that everyone else is just as good as he is because like himself, he is a son of God. Then let him do all this out of love of God, and you have the remedy for discrimination. As the doctors say, "Take this."

Perhaps, I might reduce this formula to the lowest common denominator. In simple language, let everyone be entirely on the square with everyone else. Let every American think and believe and act as an American, in the true American tradition thinks and believes and acts. Then, as I see it, we shall be on our way toward banishing the disgraceful evil of discrimination and toward enjoying the blessings of freedom of opportunity.

Additional copies are available from:

Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Negro Labor Committee
312 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations
2330 North Halsted
Chicago 14, Ill.

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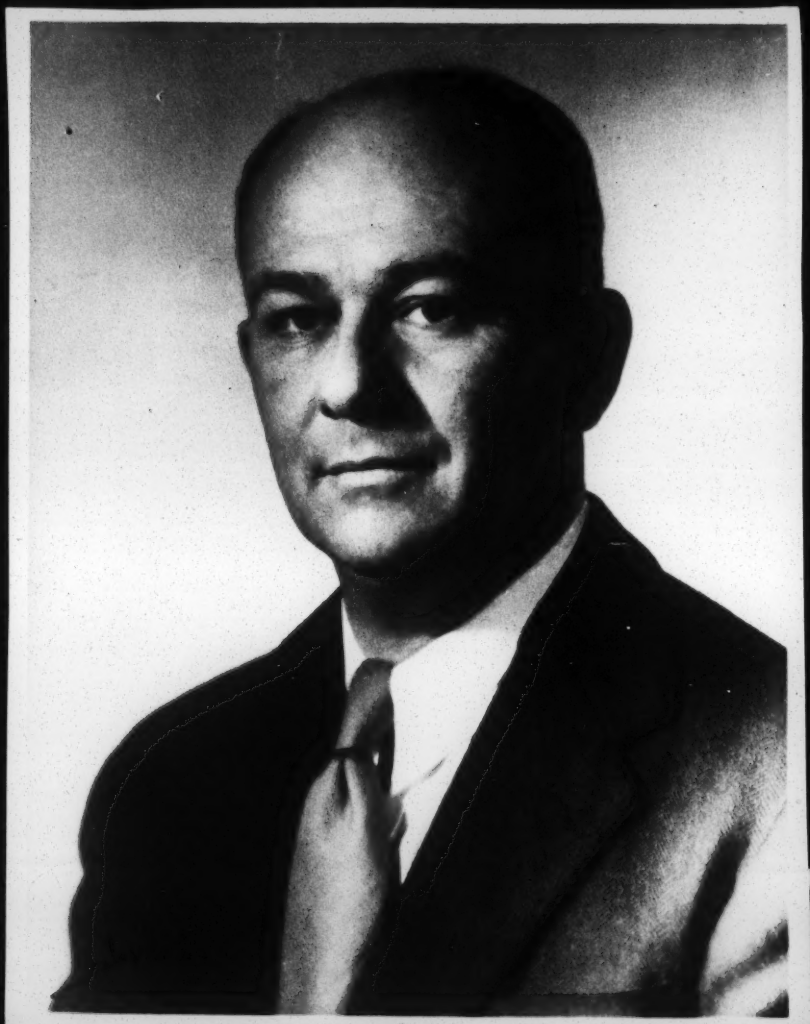
JOSEPH J. YANCEY

Founder and Coach of the Pioneer Athletic Club of New York

Redipient of James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice, 1952

Catholic Interracial Council of N.Y.



CHARLES F. VATTEROTT, Jr.

Builder and Real estate developer
of St. Louis, Mo.

Recipient of James J. Hoey Award
for Interracial Justice, 1952

Catholic Interracial Council of N.Y.

Race Relations
Brazil

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED
DEC 18 1952

December 16, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Just a line to thank you for sending us the copies of the "New South" and also to extend best wishes for a Happy Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

PHONE
REctor 2-5417

News Service

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE BASIS
OF BRAZIL RACIAL HARMONY

N.Y.-Dec.12-The Catholic doctrine on the equality of all men is the basis of the harmonious race relations in Brazil, Dr. Thales de Azavedo, a Catholic, professor of anthropology at the University of Bahia, Brazil told a forum of the Catholic Interracial Council here last night.

As an example of Brazilian racial understanding, Dr. de Azavedo cited the fact that in Bahia, seven of the eleven judges in the Court of Justice are of Negro descent. Colored priests minister alike to parishoners of white, Indian and Negro ancestry. Negro doctors and lawyers have white clients.

"Practically anyone can rise to high position, particularly in the professions, because everyone is measured by the same yardstick," Dr. de Azavedo said. "Mention of race or color is considered bad manners in Brazil, and we have no idea that one race is more capable than others."

Declaring that there is no racial discrimination by law or custom in the "multi-racial class society" of Brazil, Dr. de Azavedo said that as in other countries, there are certain distinctions by class, based mainly on educational and economic grounds. Individual social preferences exist but these frequently cut across racial lines.

"During Brazil's colonial period, the Church made every effort to educate and christianize both the native Indians and the African slaves," Dr. de Azavedo told the forum. The Jesuits, he said, devised two new languages so that Negroes and Indians, who had many individual dialects, might be educated and taught the Word of God.

Dr. de Azavedo cited statements of non-Catholic social historians that ~~the~~ this strong position taken on behalf of slaves in colonial Brazil is the historical origin of the present racial harmony in that country. This racial understanding in his native country is the subject of a book which he has written. It will be published shortly, in several languages, by the United Nations Educational Social and Cultural Organization.

Race Relations
Miami

January 12, 1953

Mr. M.A.F. Ritchie
Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Fla.

Dear Miller:

I wish to Goodness I could promise to be in Miami January 31. But I am half promised to be in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, January 28 and will probably drive, and I don't think my automobile would take the beating between Pine Bluff and Miami, even if the Council could afford to send me down.

The television course sounds exciting. I am proud of you.

No word as yet out of the Ford people, but we are pushing them hard.

Fleming still waits for the 500 words, and we will be happy when they get here.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:cc

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

January 5, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 12
Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF
HUMAN RELATIONS

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am no expert as implied by your letter of December 23, but I have looked over carefully your letter to the Executive Secretary of the Fund for the Republic, The Ford Foundation, 655 Madison Avenue, New York 21, New York. For the life of me I can't find any flaws in the letter, and I think it is a great idea. I hope and pray that it gets results moneywise. I am sure that, provided with the money, the Council could do great things along lines you indicate.

The whole matter of increasing desegregation needs careful education attention. The process is going on now and will continue to do so, regardless of the particular kind of decision that comes from the Supreme Court. I think that all appropriate institutions in our section must recognize this and act accordingly. I am going to a meeting of the Commission on Educational Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in a few days. At that meeting I shall urge the Commission to pay attention to the problem in the South.

Last Saturday, under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, we began a television program here in Miami called "Miami: U.S.A." It is moderated by Jim Keller, prominent business leader and me. Topics include things like the following:

Living Space for Miami's People
Who Lives in Greater Miami
Ways of Worship in Greater Miami
Miami As an International Center
Our Children's Attitudes about group Differences

One of the topics in the series of thirteen programs is entitled, "The South: Leader or Laggard in Community Relations" and is dated for Jan 31. It isn't possible that you will be in this vicinity at that time is it. If you were, we would be more than delighted to have you as a panelist on this program. Jim Keller moderates some of the programs, and I moderate others, with the breakdown between us about half and half. We hope it will do some good. Certainly it will show from time to time Miamians of different colors and group identities working together.

Due to illness in the family for most of the Christmas period, I have not found time to do the 500 words for you folks on our police program, but will get it to you shortly.

Best wishes from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Mac

M.A.F. Ritchie, Chairman
Department of Human Relations

jj

P.S. Today we were asked to do a short course for Miami firemen.

THE WORLD TODAY

2ND ANNUAL

Current Events - Human Relations Lecture Course

Wednesdays 10:30 A. M.

JANUARY 14 - Scott Bishop, News Commentator, Program Director, WIOD

"The World Today: A General Survey of National Conditions with their International Implications"

JANUARY 28 - Dr. Frederick Routh, Asst. Professor, Human Relations, University of Miami, and President of the United Nations Association of Greater Miami.

"The United Nations and the World Tomorrow"

FEBRUARY 11 - Rumor Clinic

Presented under the direction of Gilbert Balkin, Director, Anti-Defamation League

FEBRUARY 25 - Panel Discussion: Religion's Place in the World Today

Moderator: The Rev. Dr. Jacob Cunningham, Executive Director, Florida Chapter, National Conference of Christians and Jews

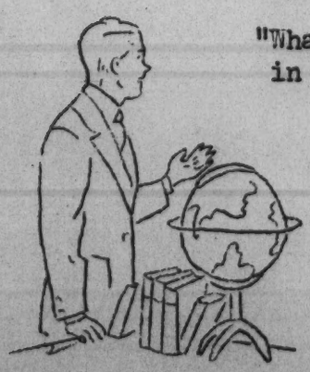
Speakers to be announced.

MARCH 11 - Donald Sprague, Associate Professor, Human Relations, University of Miami

"Hate Groups in America"

MARCH 25 - Dr. Miller Ritchie, Chairman, Department of Human Relations, University of Miami

"What Progress Are We Making in Intergroup Understanding in Miami."



Fee: Lecture Series, $2.00
Single Lecture, 50¢

YWCA Membership Required

~~IR~~
Human Relations

MEMORANDUM TO DAVE BURGESS April 1, 1953

Page 7--bottom of page. There was a notorious Georgia case of a Negro veteran who voted, although he had been warned on election day not to, and he was called from his home and shot down that night:

> July 20, 1946, Taylor County, Ga. Macio Snipes, veteran of World War II who had voted in the July 17 primary, was dragged from his home and shot to death by four whites. A sign was posted on a nearby Negro church, "The first negro to vote will never vote again."

This is so pat a case that it should be included in your list.

Page 11-"Negro must become a land owner." That's the ideal solution, as we all know, but as you hint on the top of page 12, it is an unlikely solution. I have in recent months come sadly to the conclusion that the hope for lessened dependence for the rural Negro in the black belt South in the next decades lies in a combination of greater skill, more responsible positions (herdsmen, dairymen, tractor drivers, mechanics, etc) with agricultural trade unionism. As you know, this latter has had a dismal history everywhere, but twenty or thirty years of trying to make it work seems to me what we face.

I think the main point at this juncture is what you bring out somewhat in the last paragraph of the paper: the formal legal barriers have mostly been cleared. There remains implementation in detail. This is something Negro people are going to have to do for themselves. They need to perfect more organization, more discipline. They need to pay off more to their own organizations. They just need to work harder at this job. They know it, and they aren't yet doing it in the numbers that will be rewarding. So I would in this paper be not sparing of that injunction. The paper will be widely read by Negro persons interested in political matters. And they should draw from it the lesson that they themselves have got to do a heap more to make this new day come around.

Otherwise, I agree that the paper does have a curious blend of sociological analysis and political history. Maybe you could retain both elements but separate them more severely in the body of the paper. Put all analysis in one chunk and all history in another, and then end with advice on what's to be done.

Much good penetrating stuff that will be of great interest. Main need is tighter organization of the paper.

GSM

IR

Human Relations progress

April 30, 1953

The Hon. Brooks Hays
Congress of the U. S.
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Hays:

Dr. Mitchell asked me to send the enclosed material giving evidence of progress in race relations during the past year.

The 1952 edition of the NEGRO YEAR BOOK (Jessie P. Guzman, editor; William H. Wise and Co., N. Y.) is just out and would probably be helpful to you in filling in the gaps in our information. One chapter entitled "Race Relations in the Southern States" was prepared by the Southern Regional Council; it covers recent developments, with emphasis on 1951.

If we can be of further assistance, please contact us.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistance

April 21, 1953

Sent package of material 4-30-53

The Hon. Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

We will get busy on material for the speech.

Meanwhile, I will be in Washington for a day or so in the middle of this week and hope I can catch you sitting calmly in your office with time to spare!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

ah

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
STEELE HAYS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

April 17, 1953

RECEIVED APR 18 Southern Regional Council
RECEIVED APR 20 Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

I will probably want to put something in the Congressional Record shortly about the progress made by our Negro people during the last year. Do you have any documents that I can use? If you have time to give me a letter just summarizing the various activities in the field of health, welfare and education I would appreciate it very much. (Also economic + political)

I think it is about time for another trip to Washington. Let me know if you are to be here. Please plan to give me some of your time. Hope all is well with you.

With best regards to Alice and yourself,

Sincerely,

Brooks.

IR

Human Relations & Jobs in

June 30, 1953

Mr. James Vander Zanden
415 N. Murray
Madison, Wis.

Dear Mr. Vander Zanden:

It's an old problem and one to which, tragically, there is not much answer. There is any amount of talent and enthusiasm waiting to be used in the South for just your purposes, and almost no paid jobs. We counted up some months ago. I believe there are only fifteen or sixteen full-time paid people in thirteen Southern States who work at these problems of human relations. And that includes the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, ourselves, and any other groups we know of.

I ran into something at St. Petersburg that has noteworthy possibilities. The St. Petersburg Council on Human Relations, of which Mrs. H. G. Rivkind, 3245 20th Avenue, South, is secretary, told me of a development in that city which was new to me. Various of the Protestant churches, white and Negro, have for a year or so been host on Sunday afternoon to a voluntary gathering of high school students of both races. The Mt. Moriah Baptist one Sunday afternoon and Lee Memorial Methodist, we shall say, the next. Perhaps twenty or thirty young people. They meet at three o'clock. Make up their own program, if any. Really, what they do is become friends. The city has, I believe, one large Negro high school and perhaps two or three large white ones, and young people come from several of the schools. It furnishes the first cross-over on the schools matter and does it on church premises. I don't know just what hand the various ministers have in it, but it seems to be carried on mainly from the enthusiasm of the high school students themselves.

I hear that something quite like it happens also in Miami. A severe complication is the embarrassment of working out a good relationship on this basis with students of Catholic or Jewish faith. But in some manner, they have contrived to overcome that problem, though only partially.

If you could find a way to do that in other cities, it would be a great contribution to the growth of interracial understanding and cooperation in school matters.

Possibly one of the larger church groups would finance a program of that kind on a mission basis. If you have any contacts with the Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, that would be a place to begin inquiring.

The Southern Baptists have, as you doubtless know, a Social Service Commission with offices at Nashville, Tennessee. You might be able to turn up some link there.

If you could happen in on the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, which starts, I believe, today and runs on through July 11, you will find there many of the people who would be interested in the kind of thing you have in mind. I will be there for a talk on the night of July 9.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

415 N. Murray
Madison, Wis.
June 27, 1953

RECEIVED
JUN 29
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Secretary, The Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Dean W.J. Faulkner of Fisk University suggested that I write and ask you if you could give me any advice, suggestions, or leads on the matter of my future work.

This is the situation. I am a white student at the University of Wisconsin, receiving my BS degree in Sociology. last year. I am now doing post-graduate work in Anthropology. I have geared my studies in a manner that I hope will equip me to better understand and promote better human relations, particularly race relations.

Likewise, I have sought to direct my extra curricular activities in a similar direction. For the past three years I have been the Social Action Chairman of our Baptist Student Center at the university here. Among other activities, our committee was instrumental in establishing the Joint Council on Human Rights, a committee of eight religious groups, 6 campus living units, the NAACP, and a number of other groups. The Joint Council worked to promote better race relations and the elimination of campus discrimination through education and legislation. Last year I was president of the group and received the 1952 Belle Kinney Wright Brotherhood Award.

What I would like to do, is to make my home in the South and to work in some field in which I could contribute to the bettering of race relations. I would prefer young adult work.

Would you be able to give me any suggestions, or leads? If so, it would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,

James Vander Zanden

James Vander Zanden

Press IR

July 24, 1953

Mrs. Sarah P. Boyle
Box 1183 University Station
Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Mrs. Boyle:

We are very glad to give what help we can in your latest project.

The enclosed copy of NEW SOUTH reports briefly on a survey of Southern newspaper practices regarding the Negro and news conducted by Robert W. Brown, editor of the COLUMBUS (Ga.) LEDGER. Brown's full report appeared in EDITOR AND PUBLISHER, December 13, 1952 under the title "Newspapers of Deep South Liberalize Negro Policies."

The EDITOR AND PUBLISHER article contains excellent material for your undertaking. Brown gives details on handling of race in the news in a number of Southern papers and quotes responses from several Southern editors. Unfortunately we have only one file copy.

Attached is a list of Southern newspapers using courtesy titles, drawn from our clip files and the EDITOR AND PUBLISHER article. It is by no means a complete list.

See Hodding Carter's new book WHERE MAIN STREET MEETS THE RIVER (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1953) for an account of his initial introduction of courtesy titles (Chapter 20, "Mrs. Means Married Woman").

Too bad the Readers Digest didn't come through. We had all seen the CHRISTIAN CENTURY article and appreciate another copy for the files.

Do keep us in mind for an account of your strategy if--as it surely will--it proves successful.

With best wishes, and with thanks for your enclosed contribution,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden, Research Assistant

Sarah Patton Boyle
Box 1183 University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

July 28, 1953

Miss Anne Holden
Southern Regional Council
68 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

I'm currently engaged in an effort on which I need the SRC's help.

We are trying to induce our local editor drop discrimination in news reporting. The Richmond Times-Dispatch, only 65 miles away and heavily subscribed to in Charlottesville, has for several years used courtesy titles in referring to Negroes and so on. But our local paper stoutly maintains that the whites in the community would object and that subscriptions would fall off if he referred to Negroes as Mr., Mrs. or Miss, printed their pictures for anything except crimes and so on. So I thought I would try the following plan:

1. Pass a petition among white subscribers requesting that these changes be made.

2. Pass a petition among Negro non-subscribers stating that they would subscribe if these changes were made.

3. Write a brief summary of what has happened in the cases of the more than 100 Southern newspapers who have made these changes.

4. Take all with a white delegation to the publisher of local paper.

(Incedentally, if this proves suscessful I'd like to write it up in an article for New South if you think you'd like to have it, as it seems to me a tripple barrel technique which could easily be employed in any community.)

We have completed steps one and two, and was settling myself for step three when I discovered that I had (in the process of moving my home) mislaid some of my data.

Among the mislaid materials I seem to recall a recent article in the New South. I still have your March 1950 report on Race in the News, but could you please send me any other data you have which will help scotch this fear that non-discrimination will mean financial loss to a news paper.

The Reader's Digest writes me that after buying piece on integration and farming it out to the Christian Century, what with one thing and another it was crowded out of each issue until now it looks as though they will not use it at all--out of date. I'm therefore enclosing a copy as you may not have seen it and mentions Harold Fleming and Mrs. Tilly. If you want it, keep it for your files. I'm glad that at least I got paid enough for it to be able send SRC a $100 last December.

Thanks so much for everything.

Sarah Patton Boyle

$100
KB.

Ans. by phone 9-8-53 IR

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
CLAUD D. CURLIN

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Human Relations

Little Rock, Arkansas
September 4, 1953

RECEIVED
SEP 8
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear George:

There are some interesting things going on in Arkansas that I know would please you in connection with improved facilities for Negroes. The purpose of this letter is to mention only one of many things. The City of North Little Rock is starting a movement for an adequate boys club and youth center for colored. They will pattern it after the club for white boys built in the WPA days.

I want to help them get whatever funds might be available from the outside. I know of no Federal fund. Do you? Is there any private foundation that we might interest in this project? The point is that there was Federal money in the project for white boys and if the one for colored is to be equal it will make it a little easier for the local contributors if we get a little outside help in this instance.

Sincerely yours,

Brooks Hays

Tobias

Race Relations
Advance

"I was at dinner with a party of friends at the home of a nationally known editor and publisher. In the party were a prominent public relations expert and a political leader of international fame. In the course of the discussion of the evening, which was on the American Negro race problem, the public relations expert said that he felt that Negroes should not run the risk of antagonizing white sentiment by insisting upon certain rights that white people were unwilling to accord to them, to which I made the following observation: "Mr. Blank, you seem to assume that the power of life and death that white people now hold over the colored peoples of the world will continue for all time to come. You may be right, and then again you may be wrong." Before the public relations expert could reply, the political leader said: "I can tell you exactly how long it will be—until the Far East becomes mechanized, no longer." This was just another way of saying that the one billion people of color, constituting two-thirds of the population of the earth, would endure the overlordship of white people only until they could acquire the implements that have given white men their power." - From an address delivered by Dr. Channing Tobias at the Jubilee Meeting (1944) of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Chicago, Illinois.

TEXAS
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
DALLAS

San Antonio (Tex.) News

Date FEB 14 1947

44-Year Career of Service Brings S.A. Negro Honors

34

Artemesia Bowden is a San Antonio negro woman who went to work 44 years ago for a man she had never seen and did such a good job that she has been named one of the 12 outstanding women of 1946.

Miss Bowden—professionally she is Dean Bowden of St. Philip's Junior College—will go to Washington, D. C., in March to receive an award, along with 11 other women from three nations, from the National Council of Negro Women.

Word of her selection came officially in a letter from Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and president of the national council. Dean Bowden already had read about it in the newspapers.

A native of Georgia, Dean Bowden attended a private Episcopalian school in that state and later was graduated from St. Augustine's College at Raleigh, N. C.

While she still was in college, the late James S. Johnston, who then was bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church's West Texas Diocese, visited the Georgia private school. He was impressed with the manner in which the school was operated and asked officials there to recommend a young woman to teach at St. Philip's Junior College which he had founded as a parochial school in 1898.

Miss Bowden was recommended and came to Texas when she had finished college. She has been at St. Philip's ever since.

She was honored last February by San Antonio negro community leaders for her work at the college, for her part in organizing a local negro Business and Professional Women's Club, in securing a negro nursing unit at the Robert B. Green Hospital, and in establishing the East End Settlement House and the State Training School for delinquent negro girls at Brady.

Other outstanding women named by the council were Marian Anderson, singer; Ingrid Bergman, actress; Selma Burke, sculptress; Mary C. Holliday, teacher; Alma Illery, women's club leader; Georgianna Sibley; Venice T. Spraggs, writer; Madelyn Morgan Stratton, educator, and Sarah Spencer Washington, business woman, all of the United States; Vijaya Lakshimi Pandit, "first lady" of India, and Helen Mills

DEAN ARTEMESIA BOWDEN

Scarborough, first woman member of the cabinet of Liberia.

TEXAS
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
DALLAS

San Angelo (Tex.)
Standard-Times

Date MAR 4 1947

NEGRO SITS ON COUNTY COURT JURY—The first member of his race to sit on a jury of any kind in Tom Green County, Johnnie L. Foster, local nursery salesman, was chosen on a county court jury here Monday without controversy. The case being tried involves a white defendant charged with driving while intoxicated. Foster is shown above, second from left. Other members of the jury pictured above, left to right, are C. L. Snow, J. W. Norment, and Harvey Gilbert. The other two members of the jury not shown in the picture are R. W. Thomason and Kenneth Taliaferro.

WITH NEGRO AS MEMBER

Jury Finds Robertson Innocent In DWI Case

Deliberating slightly over two minutes, a jury which broke Tom Green County precedent by having a Negro as a member, brought in a "not guilty" verdict in county court Monday for Henry D. Robertson, charged with driving while intoxicated.

Yesterday marked the first time a Negro had been on a jury of any kind in Tom Green County. The Negro juror was Johnnie L. Foster, 205 W. Eighth St.

ONE DISQUALIFIED

Another Negro, John Basped, 715 W. 19th St., showed up for jury duty, but was disqualified on a point of law.

Basped, who is employed by the Sunset Motor Lines, said this morning that he had reported "to do whatever is asked of me."

Since Tom Green County jurors are chosen by means of a jury wheel—the names being drawn from a large cylinder containing the names of thousands of citizens—this is not the first time that a Negro had been summoned for jury duty.

EXCUSED IN PAST

In the past, however, any Negroes who showed up in either the county or district court have asked to be excused, and have been released.

To the general question, as propounded by Judge Joe L. Mays, as to whether all the members of the jury panel were qualified ctizens under the Constitution and the laws of the state, Foster said nothing, thus indicating he was qualified under this legal provision.

Foster was questioned closely by both County Attorney W. A. Johnson and Cliff Tupper, defense attorney. He said that he sells fruit trees for a local nursery. Foster represents Hoover Manufacturers & Sales Club of New York. He gave his religious denomination as Baptist.

BUZZ OF COMMENT

The situation created a buzz of whispered comment in the courtroom, but everything proceded according to law and custom, and as the jury actually took the box there was complete quiet in the courtroom.

The other members of the six-man jury were C. L. Snow, R. W. Thomason, Harvey Gilbert, Kenneth Taliaferro, and J. W. Norment.

The Robertson case arose out of an arrest of three men by city police Nov. 2, 1946. In his argument to the jury, Tupper brought out that it had not been definitely established that Robertson was the driver of the car in which he was picked up. He also claimed that the car belonged to one of the other men.

Tupper said the two other men paid fines of $10 apiece in corporation court on charges of drunkenness, but that the police tried to pin the drunk driving charge on Robertson.

Court will reconvene at 9 o'clock this morning with the first case on cass being the one against Ynoncente Gonzales, charged with unlawfully carrying a dirk.

TEXAS
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
DALLAS

San Antonio (Tex.) News

Date APR 1 6 1947

34

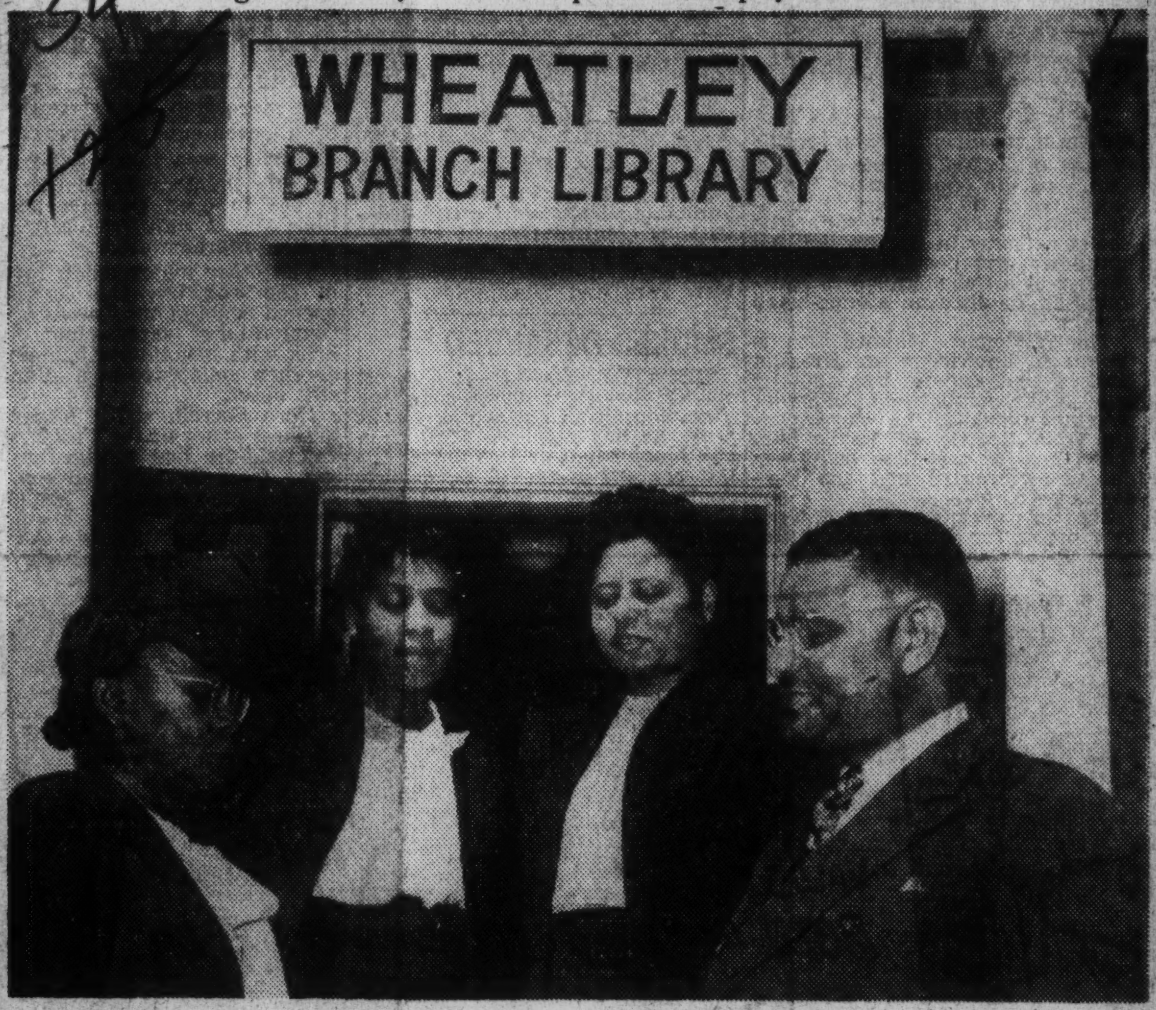
GROUP SINGING is enjoyed by members of the San Antonio Boys' Club Unit No. 3. From left to right, Samuel Hurd, Charles Stevens, Wilbert Hastings and Walter Fletcher sing to the piano accompaniment of Mrs. Tom Moore.—**Evening News Photos.**

TEXAS
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
DALLAS

Waco (Tex.) ~~Tribune~~-Herald Times-

APR 20 1947

Negro Library Branch Sponsors Repay Benefactor



The pleased expression on Dr. L. R. Adams' face is due to the fact that Mrs. A. B. Browne, left, is handing him a check for $800. When Friends of Wheatley, the Negro branch of Waco Public Library, decided to buy the lot adjoining their building at 619 North Sixth for future expansion, Dr. Adams advanced the $800 cash without interest. The Altrusa Club, of which Mrs. Browne is president and Mesdames W. B. Jackson and Margaret Wilson members (center), by personal solicitation raised the entire sum to pay him back. Next step in the program is a building fund. Dr. Adams is president of Friends of Wheatley. Altrusa Club members include Mesdames M. A. White, treasurer; A. Davis, secretary; Margaret Wilson, also librarian of Wheatley branch; Fannie Wilson, assistant librarian; R. McGrew, W. B. Davis, S. L. Burley, L. Crenshaw, Bertha Walton, W. B. Jackson, B. McLendon, Lola Hesner, Patterson, E. G. Boykins.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ORDER NUMBER

This Clipping from

Norfolk, Va. Pilot
May 20, 1947

due to fly them the rest of the trip to Istanbul.

Top ranking member of the Naval delegations is Rear Admiral Ernest A. Herman. The State Department's representative is Herbert F. Cummings.

Sue Slaughter New President Of Race Group

Miss Sue Slaughter was elected president of the Women's Council for Interracial Co-operation at its annual meeting yesterday afternoon at the Norfolk Young Women's Christian Association. Mrs. G. W. C. Brown was elected first vice president; Mrs. Mildred Peters, second vice president; Mrs. Sam Green, recording secretary; Mrs. Arnold Straus, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. Gammon Williamson, treasurer.

Mrs. W. T. Mason, retiring president, in her report covering the year's activities, expressed the hope that the "council will be able to include a regular radio program, an extension of the monthly bulleton so that it reaches schools, colleges, libraries, newspapers and churches, and an intercultural project in the high schools to implement the contributions of minority groups to the cultural growth of America," in the coming year.

Recommendations Approved

The council adopted three recommendations offered by Mrs. H. G. Cochran, chairman of child welfare. The first was that letters be written Franklin Rountrey, president of the Central Community Council, and to William P. Woodley, president of the Council of Social Agencies, expressing concern "over the inadequacy of grants in aid to dependent children, since these grants amount to only 68 per cent of the minimum standard budget set by the State Department of Welfare."

The second recommendation was to write a second letter to Rountrey "stating the council's interest in the city's newly organized Youth Bureau and offering cooperation in the matter of getting full support for this bureau from the city and the public."

The third was that the council assist in finding volunteer workers for the Recreation Bureau.

Mrs. G. R. Jackson, chairman of employment and labor, in her report, recommended for the coming year the council "work with the health and school committees on conduct in public places, such as streets, theatres, public transportation and school grounds; second, that special programs be arranged once a month stressing points for good citizenship.

Others reporting were Dr. Dorothy Lucker, chairman of the liberties committee; Miss Ellen Douglas Brooke, chairman of community education committee; Mrs. George Alston, chairman of the health committee, and Mrs. John T. Givens, chairman of the school committee.

Mrs. Helen Phillips, delegate to the International Women's Democratic Federation in Prague, spoke briefly to th ecouncil.

Southern Association

Courtesy titles
Coverage

1941

good handling

MIAMI TIMES

28

THE SPECTATOR

By ELLIOTT J. PIEZE

AVC CONTINUES TO MAKE HISTORY

Adding to its already long list of history-making activities, the American Veterans Committee of the Miami area recently accomplished a feat, which is being regarded as the first step toward the establishment of a precedent, which up to that time, was entirely unheard of in these parts.

Yes sir and yes mam—the American Veterans Committee, more popularly known as the AVC, recently came to the front, and made it possible for Negroes to ride in a non-jim-crow coach on the Florida East Coast Railway, leaving the city of Miami. I repeat for more understanding—the AVC in the Miami area, recently made it possible for three Negroes to ride the Florida East Coast Railway, in a non-jim crow coach, on the same basis and under the same condition as all other passengers. More than that, the AVC also made it possible for Negroes to eat in the diner, at any time they wished, and at any place they wished, without being jim-crowed, separated or segregated from members of other races. These things recently happened in Miami.

On Monday June 16, as I told you in my last column, which appeared on June 14, Mr. and Mrs. Herman Walton and I along with a group of delegates from Miami Chapter Number 1, and Miami Beach Chapter of the American Veterans Committee left the city for Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to attend the AVC National Convention. There's nothing unusual about attending a convention, but what makes this particular trip unusual is the fact that through the efforts of the local AVC leaders, reservations for all of us were made in a coach, normally reserved exclusively for white passengers, and, as I said before, we rode in a non-jim-crow coach without being segregated, and on the same basis as all others.

According to veteran trainmen, that was the first time that such a thing had happened on a train leaving Miami, under such conditions. As I said above, the event is being regarded as the first step in the establishment of the right and custom of all Negroes to ride all trains and buses, departing and arriving Miami, without being jim-crowed, and on the same basis as all other passengers. AVC has led the way. I recommend to other organizations to follow suit. It has been done, and it can and will be done again, if the proper efforts are put forth.

MILWAUKEE A CONVENTION CITY

The city of Wilwaukee, Wisconsin, with its 600,000 population, is probably one of the finest convention cities in the entire nation. The people are most courteous and friendly. They really make the visitors feel at home.

Herman Walton and I, along with a number of other delegates lived at the Abbot Crest hotel, which is just across the street from the historical Marquette university. There was absolutely no form of discrimination, anywhere at any time. In fact, that's one thing that's entirely unheard of in Milwaukee.

The city auditorium, where most of the sessions were held, is easily the largest general auditorium building that I have ever een. It has a main auditorium which seats approximately 5,000 which consists of a main floor, a mezzanine, a balcony and the galleries, In addition to this main auditorium, the building contains six smaller auditoriums each one with a seating capacity of approximately 1,000. Besides all of these assembly halls, the building contains various offices, several lounges and other features too numerous to mention. As I said before, it is one of the finest that I have ever seen.

FORMER MIAMIANS IN MILWAUKEE

Among former Miamians, which we met in Milwaukee, are Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Spencer of 936 W. Galena street. The Spencers, who live in a well appointed apartment, in the west side of the city, formerly lived in Miami, where they are widely known. I was one of the special guests at a very [illegible] dinner, which the [illegible] on last Sunday for [illegible] and a number of [illegible]

All things being [illegible] trip was history-making and [illegible] enjoyable, Milwaukee is a [illegible] vention city, the convention [illegible] great success, and everyone had a grand time.

Miami Times

5 APR. 47

Miami Beach Committee Raises $100 For Center

The Miami Beach Committee to Raise Funds for the Negro Recreation Center, recently formed for that purpose, reports that at their first function, a check for $100.00 was presented to Mr. Edward Graham, Director of the Negro Service Council, according to an announcement by Miss Marilyn Younger, treasurer of the Committee.

The Committee sponsored an affair on Sunday evening, March 30th at the Miami Beach Young Mens' Hebrew Association. History was made that night when for the first time on the Beach an audience composed of white and Negro persons were entertained by a group of talented Negro children. The children represented high-schools and elementary schools, and sang spiritual and semi-classical numbers. They were accompanied by their music teachers and were very enthusiastically received by the audience.

After a few preliminary remarks by Robert Lynn of the Committee, Mr. Graham presented the program. He also explained the need for the Recreation Center for Negro youth. "Our city fathers," said Mr. Graham, "believe we are superior beings. They believe so because they expect us to be intelligent human beings, good citizens, and that we should live well, all out of very poor educational facilities and on the bottom rung of the wage scale. Therefore, Negroes must be superior beings." After Mr. Graham's address a collection was made from the audience.

Upon presenting the check to Mr. Graham, Miss Gail Gropper also of the Committee remarked, "We are very proud to add our bit for this very much needed Recreation Center. We hope that soon our state government and "city fathers" will allocate equal funds to provide for the education and recreation of all of our youth regardless of race, color or religious beliefs."

The Committee plans future functions to be announced at a later date.

MIAMI TIMES

19 APR 47

100 DOLLARS FOR YOUTH CENTER — The Miami Beach Committee to raise funds for the Negro Recreation Center presents a check for $100 to Edward T. Graham, Director of the Negro Service Council at an affair sponsored by the group at the Beach YMHA, on Sunday evening, March 30th. Pictured from left to right are Miss Gail Gropper, Miss Marilyn Younger, Robert Lynn and Mr. Graham.

Miami Times

Apr. 19, 1947

THE SPECTATOR

By ELLIOTT J. PIEZE

AVC SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE IN ATLANTA, GA.

The First Annual Southeastern Conference of the American Veterans Committee, will be held in Atlanta, Ga., on this Saturday and Sunday, April 19 and 20. The meeting is being called in order to formulate various policies and objectives of of the American Veterans Committee in the southeastern area. Regional Vice-Chairman Walter Spearman, of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, will preside at the meeting, and National Chairman Charles G. Bolte, will address the convention on two occasions.

A large delegation from the Miami area will attend this conference, and I'm happy to announce that I will be among that delegation. In my next week's column, I will give you the highlights and outstanding features of the meeting.

HISTORY-MAKING "FIRSTS" IN MIAMI

Again, history was made in Miami—this time, on last Saturday night at Bayfront Park. The occasion was the Second Annual Memorial Services in honor of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. History was made and several "FIRSTS" were established. History was made, in that the occasion marked the first time that Negroes attended and participated in a program at Bayfront Park on the same basis as all others. "FIRSTS" were established as follows: It was the FIRST time that Negroes attended and participated in a program at Bayfront Park. The L. Leo Jenkins Chorus was the FIRST Negro Musical group to sing in Bayfront Park. Miss Alma Lee Everett, Accompanist for the L. Leo Jenkins Chorus was the FIRST and to date the ONLY Negro to play that prized piano on the rostrum at Bayfront Park, and the Miami Chapter Number 1, American Veterans Committee, was the FIRST Negro Organization in Miami, whose members assisted in serving as ushers for an event in Bayfront Park.

As I said history was made and several "firsts" were established. Bit by bit, this great city of ours is awakening to the responsibilities of a well rounded city. It is making great progress, and it is my prediction that within a comparatively short time, it will really be "there." A complete account of this affair is published elsewhere in this issue.

XXIV, NO. 32 MIAMI, FLORIDA, SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1947 TEN CENTS

FDR Memorial

FDR Memorial History-Making Success

Miami Times

Pepper In Masterly Address

By Elliott J. Pieze
(Times Staff Writer)

The Second Annual Memorial Services, in honor of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, held at Bayfront Park on last Saturday, April 12, the Second Anniversary of the death of the great leader, was a tremendous success and was history-making in several respects.

Sponsored by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Committee, headed by the FDR Club, of which Mrs. Theresa A. Kanter is president, the occasion was one at which time Florida's Sen. Claude Pepper was the principal speaker, and the large audience, estimated at approximately 6,000, was composed of members of both races. This event was history-making in that it marked the first time that Negroes attended and participated in a program in Bayfront Park, on the same basis as all others.

Mrs. Kanter served as Mistress of Ceremonies for the occasion, and did a most efficient job.

Delivering a masterful address, Sen. Pepper, who was introduced by Miami's Mayor Perrine Palmer, Jr., said among other things that he was not willing to admit the UN was a failure, before giving it a chance to help Greece and Turkey. He also voiced strong opposition to President Truman's plan to send a military mission to these countries.

"I defy any man to demonstrate a greater love for Greece than mine, he added.

Sen. Pepper recommended that $250,000,000 be appropriated for aid to Greece and Turkey but that it all be given through and handled by the UN.

At the beginning of his address, Pepper paid a number of very timely tributes to the late President. He quoted extensively from some of Roosevelt's most famous addresses, and advanced the opinion that:

"Not only was he four times elected President of the United States but he was so much loved and honored by the people of the world that if there had been a President of the World he would have been elected that President ahead of any other man of his time."

In addition to the principal address, a number of other tributes were paid to the late leader. These included representatives from the University of Miami, the American Veterans Committee, the Miami Central Labor Union, Temple Beth Sholom, the CIO, the Unitarian Church and several others.

Music for the occasion was furnished by two well-known groups—The Jewish Chorus, which sang "The House I Live In," and the L. Leo Jenkins Chorus, Prof. L. Leo Jenkins, Director and Miss Abree Lee Everett, accompanist, which presented "I'll Never Turn Back" and "Soon An Will Be Done." The Jenkins Chorus received a great round of applause, and but for the shortage of time, would have presented a third selection.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TEXAS
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
DALLAS

Corsicana (Tex.) Sun

JUL 29 1947

Date

NEGRO JUROR SITS ON CIVIL CASE IN 13TH DISTRICT COURT

34

Selection of a negro as a petit juror in the Thirteenth Judicial district court Tuesday morning in the case of J. E. Farmer vs. Texas Employers Insurance Association, to set aside award of industrial accident board, was the first time in many years this has occurred, according to court attaches and veterans about the courthouse.

A. W. Hines was on the jury panel for this week, and his name was not stricken by counsel, making him one of the twelve to decide the case on its merits.

The suit is being tried with A. P. Mays, district judge, presiding. Attorneys are Gallagher, Francis and Bean of Dallas and Doyle Pevehouse of Corsicana for the plaintiff while Tyson, Dawson and Dawson represent the insurance concern.

News & Observer

ONDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 15, 1947

cil to Hear
t on Tuesday

New President

DR. HAROLD L. TRIGG.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, first Negro president to head St. Augustine's College, will open the 80th annual session of the Episcopal institution tomorrow. At the formal opening exercises on Thursday, Dr. Trigg will be presented by the Rt. Rev. Edwin A. Penick, D. D., bishop of North Carolina and president of the college's board of trustees.

Among the visitors expected at the formal opening are several bishops of the Episcopal Church and representatives of the American Church Institute for Negroes. They will meet on the campus Thursday to discuss St. Augustine's building program.

Registration of new students is scheduled for Tuesday and returning students will register Wednesday. This year's enrollment is expected to exceed the 404 of last year, which was about 25 per cent higher than the pre-war peak. All boarding facilities have been exhousted for several weeks.

Tuesday Nov. 18, 1947

Miss Anderson Has Received Many Honors

Marian Anderson, who will be heard in concert at the Mosque on Tuesday evening, November 25, has received 12 major citations during her career, in addition to the scholarships which in her youth gave her the opportunities for study and development of her remarkable voice.

In 1926 Miss Anderson outstripped a field of 300 contestants to win an appearance with the New York Philharmonic Symphony at Lewisohn Stadium in New York.

Four years later, in 1930, Miss Anderson won a Julius Rosenwald fellowship, and in another four years, in 1934, she was awarded the Grand Prix du Chant for the best recorded voice on the European continent. Still another four years later, in 1938, she received the Spingarn Medal from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and also an honorary doctorate of music from Howard University.

WON BOK AWARD

In 1941 Miss Anderson won the $10,000 Bok Award from her native city of Philadelphia, and the same year Temple University granted her a second honorary doctorate of music degree. The Order of African Redemption, the highest award of the Republic of Liberia, was awarded to Miss Anderson in 1943, and the following year the New York Youth Committee gave her the Merit Award for her work in a music school among Harlem's underprivileged children. The same year Smith College conferred upon her her third honorary doctorate of music degree.

Last year the Women's Division of the Federation of Jewish Charities cited Miss Anderson as one of the five "key women of the year" and for the fourth consecutive season she was named radio's foremost woman singer by 600 music editors in the United States and Canada by Musical America.

INVITED TO WHITE HOUSE

Miss Anderson was called upon to sing for 75,000 people at the memorable concert held before the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C., on Easter Sunday, 1939. A mural in the Interior Department Building commemorating this event was unveiled in 1941. She was twice invited to the White House and once to sing before England's King and Queen. In 1944 Miss Anderson led an audience of 22,000 people in New York's Lewisohn Stadium in "The Marseillaise" in honor of General DeGulle, and she rendered the National Anthem at the V-E Day reception accorded General Eisenhower upon his return to the United States. In 1946 Miss Anderson participated in the dedication ceremonies of the Roosevelt Memorial Library in Hyde Park.

The concert here will be sponsored by the Young Peoples League and Church Interest Group of Mount Carmel Baptist Church. Tickets are now on sale at the Virginia Record Shop, 410 E. Grace Street, Slaughter's Hotel, 529 North Second Street, and Harrington's Pharmacy, 2601 "Q" Street. Separate sections of seats are reserved for white and Negro patrons.

Armstrong Is Liked Saturday

Walker Underdog In Stadium Tilt

A season's record of six easy victories and a tie with the top team in the Virginia Interscholastic League makes Armstrong High the favored team in Wildcat's game at City Stadium Saturday with the Green Dragons of Maggie L. Walker High.

The Wildcats need a victory Saturday to even up their standing in the 10-year series with the Dragons. Armstrong has won three previous games, Walker has won four, and two have ended in tie scores.

Coach Maxie Robinson's Wildcats, their explosive attack loaded with spinners and reverses, have run roughshod over most of their opposition this season. They've scored 176 points to only 6 points against them.

SCORELESS TIE

Their 0-0 deadlock with Huntington High, of Newport News, was a credit rather than a debit to their record book account. Huntington has gone undefeated for four seasons, and is the leading Virginia Interscholastic League eleven.

Robinson has built his razzle-dazzle attack around the triple-threat abilities of Halfback Melvin (Mutt) Stokes. The flashy performer operates in a first-string backfield with Oscar Robinson, quarterback; John D. Williams, fullback, and Alex Wood, halfback.

Stokes passes and runs with equal effectiveness. His aerials and break-away sprints have accounted directly or indirectly for most of the Wildcats' scoring.

The Wildcats are not a heavy team, but they make up for size in deception, fast-break charging and aggressiveness. Their single-wingback formation is geared to quick-forming plays designed to thrust through the enemy line before the rival team has had time to get set.

81 TO 0 ROMP

Such tactics have paid off handsomely so far. After opening the season with an 81-0 romp over Addison High, of Roanoke, the Wildcats battled Huntington to a deadlock. The tie, a moral victory, set up the rest of the season.

On consecutive week ends, the 'Cats have clawed Peabody, of Petersburg (9-6); Phenix, of Hampton (25-0); Booker T. Washington, of Norfolk (24-0); Norcom, of Portsmouth (12-0), and Parker-Gray, of Alexandria (25-0).

Coach Robinson declares that the Wildcat line has been as much responsible for success this season as the backfield. On the first team at ends he has Charles Poole and Warren Dance; at tackles, Hugh Brown and Lewis Dockery; at guards, McClennon Rozier and Frank Peace, and at center, Roosevelt Cunningham.

Archrival Maggie Walker High has won three games, lost two and tied three games under the tutorship of Coach Arthur Gardner. The Dragons take the underdog role on this account.

—Photo by Broadnax.

ARMSTRONG HIGH'S MUTT STOKES DISPLAYS HIS SPEED

Melvin (Mutt) Stokes, left halfback and captain of Armstrong High's Wildcats, demonstrates in scoring a touchdown against Parker-Gray High, of Alexandria, the speed and power he hopes to put into action against Maggie L. Walker High when the intercity rivals battle at City Stadium Saturday afternoon. Backs like Stokes make Armstrong the favorite to win.

News Leader Nov. 20-1947

Appeal Dismissed on Order Opening Law School to Negroes

BALTIMORE, Nov. 21.—(AP)—The Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals dismissed today "without prejudice" an appeal from a decision directing the University of South Carolina to admit a Negro to its law school unless the State furnished legal training "on a complete parity and equal in all respects" to that for white students.

The three-judge tribunal characterized the appeal as "premature," and its action met with no objection either from attorneys for the State or for John Wrighten, 25-year-old Charleston, S. C., Negro, who brought the original action.

The case now awaits determination, by the lower Federal Court, whether a law school established at the Negro College at Orangeburg since the filing of the suit is adequate within the meaning of the lower court's order.

South Carolina attorneys said in oral argument today they had been "very much disturbed" by the language used in the original decision. They argued that under a Supreme Court ruling segregation States were required to furnish "substantially equal" facilities to Negroes, and not facilities "equal in all respects" to those for whites.

APPROVAL REQUESTED

When one of them indicated he would like to see the Appeals Court rule that the State had met its obligation in establishing the Orangeburg Law School for Negroes, Judge Morris A. Soper pointed out that this had not been done until five months after Wrighten sued. He added:

"There is no occasion to ask this court for a certificate of approval when you waited five months to do what you obviously had to do. You are lucky if the court doesn't say anything on this point."

When South Carolina Attorney David W. Robinson observed that United States District Judge J. W. Waring's order at Charleston, S. C., had gone beyond the Gaines case—the one in which Supreme Court decision ordered substantially equal educational facilities for both races—one of the Appeals judges expressed the opinion that the case at issues was "obviously controlled" by the Gaines case, and that Judge Waring undoubtedly was guided by it.

To the State's contention that Wrighten should have applied to the Orangeburg College instead of the University of South Carolina, Judge Soper observed that at the time there was no such Negro law school.

"What sense could there be in applying to a school that doesn't exist? That's absurd. He doesn't have to wait until you (the State) make up your mind to build a law school," he said.

'SUBSTANTIALLY EQUAL'

And at another point the jurist remarked, indicating the attorneys, that "if you three distinguished gentlemen had put your shoulder to the wheel instead of working to get up the record in this case, the law school now would have been further along."

The State contended that the present Negro law school was already "substantially equal" to that at Columbia, but Thurgood Marshall, attorney for Wrighten, said he would contend before Judge Waring that "no segregated law school" can be equal within the meaning of the Gaines case.

He did not make his oral argument since the dismissal was agreed on before the South Carolina attorneys ended. When he rose to "protest using this court as a means of delay, which was the purpose of this appeal," the judges told him such a protest was out of order.

Robinson told the tribunal that it was the State's position it was not required to set up the Negro law school until demand—at which point Judge Armistead M. Dobie interjected:

"True, but until that is done, they (the State) have got to admit him (Wrighten) to the university."

A suggestion by Robinson that Judge Waring's order was contrary to State law encountered Judge Soper's comment that "it does not strike down State law, it observes it."

Better Ghost Writers Held GOP's Need

Times-Dispatch, Richmond Nov. 20-1947

Baker School Opens Fair In Celebration of Book Week

"Little Red Riding Hood," "Jack and Jill" with their bucket and "Mary" and a very curly-haired white lamb came to life this week as papier-mache reproductions of the famous fictional characters highlighted one of many exhibits at the book fair in progress at Baker School.

Hundreds of children's books in decorated booths are on exhibit in the auditoruim of the school where skits are being presented daily as the city's Negro schools celebrate Book Week.

"Books for the World of Tomorrow" is the general theme of the fair and exhibits are varied and colorful.

The Baker exhibit boasts a merry-go-round of stuffed cloth and papier-mache animals surrounded by tales of cats and dogs and hippopotamuses in bound editions to tell a story of "Animals on Parade."

Air Books Shown

A dummy flyer calls attention to the aviation books display of Washington Park School and growing plants abound at the Providence Park School exhibit on elementary science.

Dolls dressed in the costumes of foreign countries were features in the "Neighbors Around the World" presentation of Booker T. Washington School.

In connection with the fair, "The Movie Adventures of Tom Sawyer" and "Jane Eyre" have been shown to selected grades.

Beginning at 7 o'clock tonight a special program has been planned at Baker for high school students and adults with admission free. A band concert will be presented by Armstrong High School band and the Maggie L. Walker High School choir will sing.

A special skit on fairy tales will be put on by Woodville School under the direction of Mrs. Florence Fields Wright. This skit brings to the stage "Sleeping Beauty," "Cinderella," "The Three Bears" and "The Little Match Girl."

At 10:30 A. M. today the Navy Hill School will present its skit and at 1:30 P. M. Booker T. Washington will present folk dances. Tomorrow morning at 10:30 Buchanan School will give its playlet and at 1:30 P. M. Elba and George Mason Schools will present their skits.

The program and exhibits at the book fair were planned by the Book Week Committee made up of the school libarians and representatives from all the schools. Mrs. Laura F. Bright is chairman of the committee.

News-Leader
Nov. 20-1947

City Lions To Sponsor Food Gifts

Friendship Train Donations Accepted

Richmond's three Lions' Clubs—Manchester, North Side and the Richmond Clubs—today took over the sponsorship of this area's contribution to the Friendship Train.

Food will be received from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. daily from Friday through Tuesday at a car to be provided by the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad Company in the yard at Allen Avenue and Broad Street.

To be received here will be such items as dry beans, wheat, flour, evaporated milk, sugar and macaroni and spaghetti, either in bulk or in packages.

Contributions by check may be made out to Richmond Friendship Train and mailed to "Friendship Train, Care of Postmaster, Richmond, Va."

BAKERS DONATE FLOUR

Already it was announced the Virginia Bakers' Council, Inc., have donated one ton of flour. This announcement was made by Harold K. Wilder, executive secretary of the council.

D. Andrew Welch has been named general chairman of the Richmond committee. The Rev. Garis T. Long will serve as treasurer. Other members of the general committee are Ernest Hawkins, Frank S. Anderson, R. P. Cheatham, William Weeber, R. Thomas Lewis, Charles LeFoe, Bernard Dabney, the Rev. Frank E. Morris, R. P. Liphart and E. S. Whitlock.

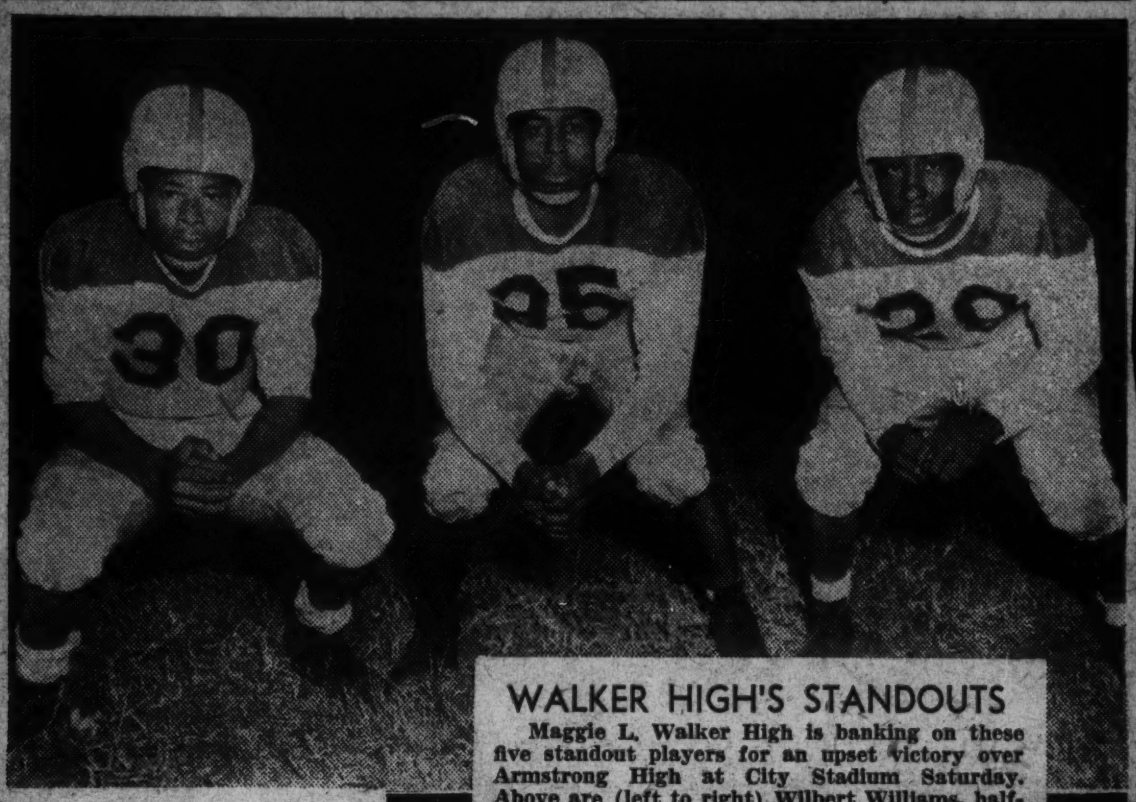
Victor H. Wickizer, of Morehead City, wired the Richmond group today to purchase $80 worth of foodstuffs in the name of the Wilmington, N. C., Lions' Clubs. He said a check was being mailed and that others would follow from other clubs in Eastern North Carolina.

Members of the committee said that contributions by check would be set up in a special bank account and that purchases of foodstuffs would be made from the fund to the extent that the fund will support such purchases.

Special address stickers for contributions in foodstuffs will be provided at the car in the Broad Street yard by members of the Lions' Clubs who will be on duty there daily from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

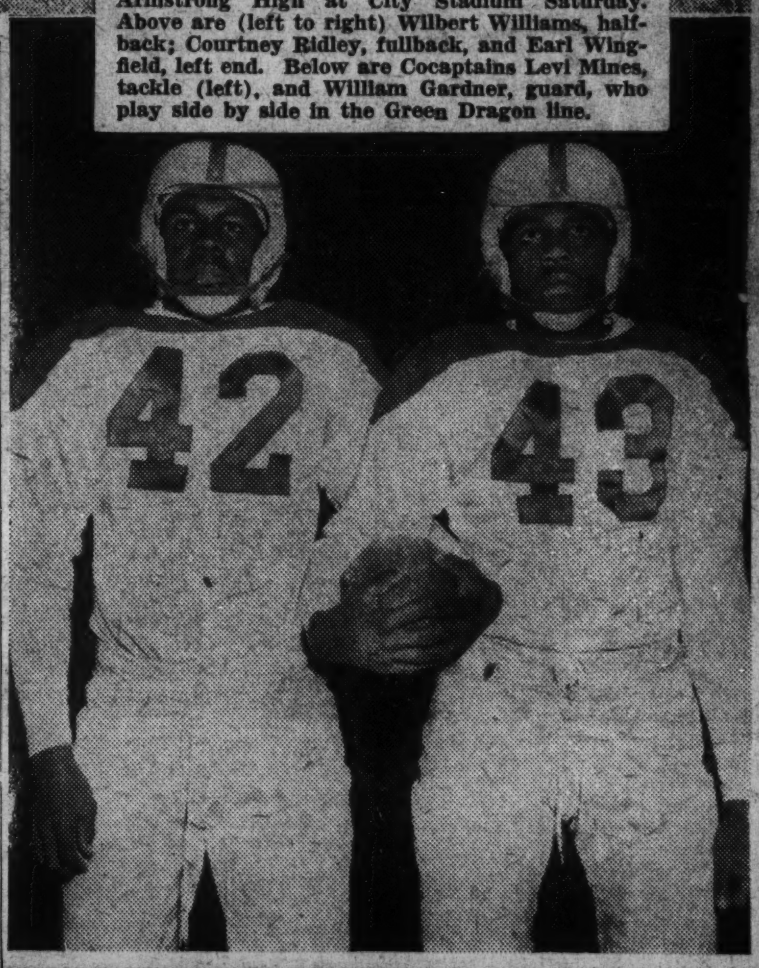
News-Leader - Nov. 20-1947

Coast Tie Possible



WALKER HIGH'S STANDOUTS

Maggie L. Walker High is banking on these five standout players for an upset victory over Armstrong High at City Stadium Saturday. Above are (left to right) Wilbert Williams, halfback; Courtney Ridley, fullback, and Earl Wingfield, left end. Below are Cocaptains Levi Mines, tackle (left), and William Gardner, guard, who play side by side in the Green Dragon line.



Dragons Aim For Upset On Saturday

Although Maggie L. Walker High is cast in the role of underdog for the intercity game with Armstrong High at City Stadium Saturday, the Green Dragons are far from disheartened about their chances against the Wildcats.

The Dragons remember years like 1942 and 1944. On the earlier date, the Wildcats were undefeated up until their meeting in the city classic which is now in its tenth season. Yet the underdog Walker team came through with a 6-6 tie.

In 1944, the Armstrong team was riding even higher—rampant on the crest of an undefeated and untied season. They fell all the harder to the ill-favored Dragons. Walker High pulled off the biggest of them all—a 20-0 boot of the old dope bucket.

WILDCATS UNBEATEN

This season, Armstrong has gone undefeated in seven games, although one was a tie. Walker has a record of three losses, one tie, and three victories.

Coach Arthur Gardner and his Dragons are ready for another upset. It's been done before and they feel that it can be done again.

Walker will throw its power attack against the trickery and razzle-dazzle of the Wildcats. Coach Gardner is counting on Halfback Courtney Ridley and Fullback Earl Randolph to provide a punch in the backfield. In the line are Guard Ramon Metts, outstanding defensive player, and Cocaptains Levi Mines, tackle, and William Gardner, guard, who play side by side on the right side of the line.

The Dragons have been a hard-luck team all season and have played better football than their record indicates. The fates of football have frowned on them in the decisive moments. For example, they led Peabody High, of Petersburg, 6-0, until a long pass was completed in the last minutes for a 6-6 tie.

WON LAST TWO

Coach Gardner's team has won its last two games, however, and from the looks of the spirit and drive in practices this week, the Dragons are out for their third straight triumph this week.

Walker is ahead in the over-all series. The Dragons have won four games, the Wildcats have annexed three, and two have been ties. The game ended in a deadlock last season.

ch, Thursday, Nov. 20, 1947 Times-Dispatch

ocked Penn State's Defe

—Brodnax Photo

DRAGON TOUCHDOWN ARTISTS—Walker High will throw this quartet of backs against Armstrong High Saturday afternoon at City Stadium when the two teams collide in their city classic. Left to right are: Quarterback Wilbur Williams, Halfback Courtney Ridley, Halfback Horace Hockaday and Fullback Earl Randolph.

Armstrong High Places Hopes For Title on Line Saturday

Armstrong High School's Wildcats put their State championship hopes on the line Saturday afternoon at the City Stadium at 2:15 o'clock against their traditional city foe, thrice-beaten Maggie Walker.

The Wildcats have won six conference contests this season and tied Huntington High, of Newport News, a club that hasn't been beaten since 1943.

The Armstrong eleven has everything. It started the season with three seniors adjudged among the best backs in the loop in Melvin "Mutt" Stokes, John D. Williams and Oscar Robinson. Williams was regarded as an outstanding blocking back and line backer.

Injuries Plague Williams

But Williams has been plagued by injuries. However, an eighth grade bombshell named William Powell arrived on the scene and the 165-pound kid has carried the fullback burden like a veteran.

Stokes, a triple-threat sparkplug, was sidelined for one game and another freshman, shifty Dan Alston, stepped right in and along with Alex Wood, and the team moved on to victory.

Quarterback Robinson has iron nerves and has consistently sighted weaknesses in the opponents setup all season. His understudy, Edward Wood, is the team's kicking specialist.

The Orange and Blue forewall is the answer to a coach's prayer.

Charles Poole, playing his third year at left end, knows the ins and outs of defensive play and is an excellent pass snatcher with five touchdown catches listed among his 17 catches this season. Warren Dance won the assignment at the other flank by outshining a trio of other wingmen.

Hugh Brown and Lewis Dockery, both veterans, rate with the best tackles in the neighborhood. They are the fastest men on the team and pack 180 pounds on their six-foot frames. The Armstrong guards, Peter Peace and McClennon Rozier, have been standouts on downfield blocking.

Roosevelt Cunningham, at center, is among the best in the circuit. Weighing 165 pounds and standing close to six feet, Cunningham helps make the Wildcat spinners click with his ball snapping and blocking.

Jackets Stage

News-Leader - Christmas Page December

ACTORS REHEARSE THEIR ROLES AS WISE MEN FOR CH

Blind Man Becomes Self-Supporting

By DIXIE DAVIS.

Tarboro.—Most civic clubs are formed originally in order to bring about some form of improvement in their respective community, but a lot of them sooner or later become little more than weekly get-togethers which members use to renew acquaintances.

Such is not the case wth the Tarboro Lions Club project, Sight Conservation. The Tarboro group recently made it possible for a blind, young Negro, Hugh Edward Porter, to go into business for himself. The business soon will make him proudly self-supporting.

The first to undertake a rehabilitation project for the blind in Edgecombe County, the Tarboro club fixed up a small shack just off Main Street, filled in with initial stock, and Porter was ready to begin work repairing chair bottoms. He displays fine craftsmanship, too.

Commission Helps.

The groundwork for this project was laid by Jeanette Sills, Negro rehabilitation counselor employed by the State Commission for the Blind to work in eight Eastern North Carolina counties.

Working with Constance Rabin, Edgecombe County welfare officer, Miss Sills located Porter in Wiggins Crossroads, a small community about three miles west of Tarboro.

After he agreed to take the job, he was sent to the pre-conditioning center in Greenville where he almost became a new man. There he was taught to walk alone, use a typewriter, read Braille, and many other actions necessary to a successful merchant.

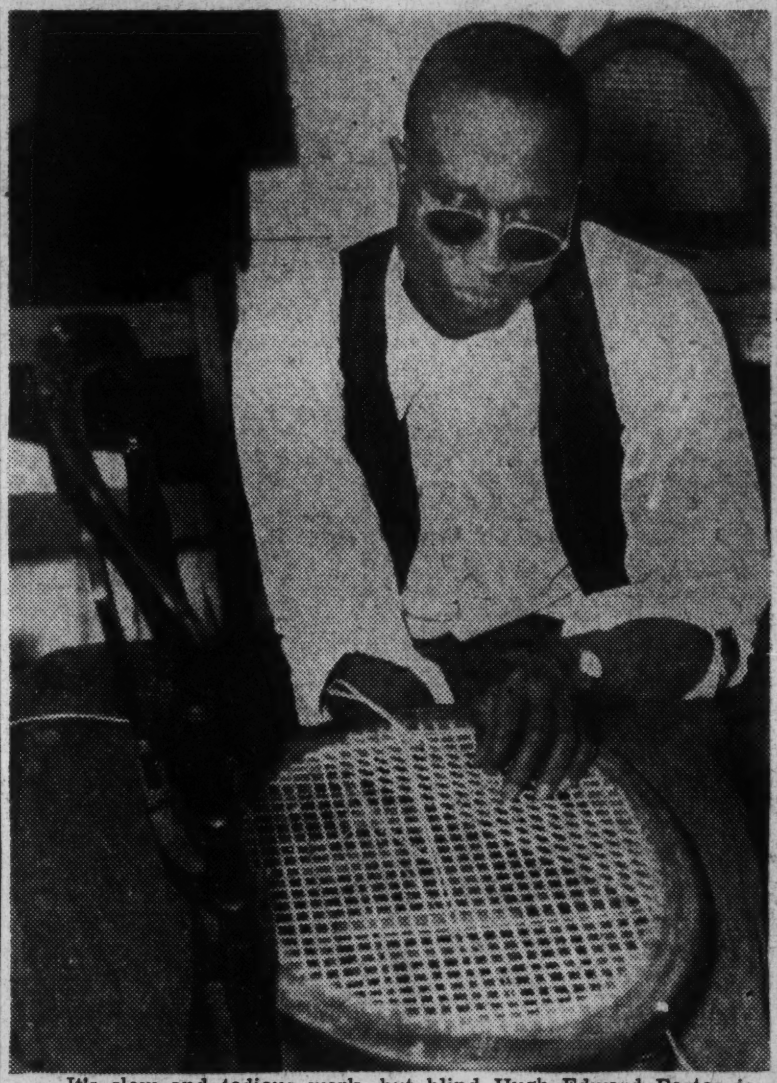
According to Miss Rabin, "They even taught him how to eat in the presence of others. And if you don't think that's difficult, just try to cut a steak with your eyes closed and see how much is left on your plate when you've finished."

Learns Leatherwork.

At the center, he learned every phase of chair-bottoming, and also how to make leather goods. When the training period ended, Porter came back to Tarboro and started work at his new job.

As a Christmas present, the Tarboro Lions Club presented him a new suit of clothes, a pair of gloves, a shirt, a tie, a pair of shoes, and a pair of work trousers.

"Best Santa Claus I ever had," grinned the 29-year-old Negro who has been blind since 1937, when glaucoma brought on a gradual loss of sight.



It's slow and tedious work, but blind Hugh Edward Porter is gaining speed at his new business and gaining a lot of self-confidence as it makes him self-supporting. He's had a lot of encouragement from the Tarboro folks.

Negro churches in Tarboro are now planning a "Hugh Edward Porter Day" for sometime in the near future in an attempt to bring more business in his direction—and also to secure enough money to buy him a portable typewriter.

"I could get the typewriter through the State office," Miss Sills explained, "but it will be much better to have the townspeople prove they're behind him by getting the typewriter themselves."

So. Hugh Porter is doing quite well, thank you. The repair work is tedious, but he's gaining more speed each day.

Oh, yes, there is one thing he'd like to request. He usually tries to stop work early enough in the afternoon for him to get across Main Street before the 5 o'clock rush begins. But, sometimes, he still gets caught in it. If you happen to be driving along north Main Street around that time in the afternoon, look out for him.

You can see him—but he can't see you.

Thrifty Easter Values

Civil War Splits Old Negro College

Feature Story Sec. IV 3-21-48 - Times Dispatch

Gazette News

By Ken Davis
Associated Press Writer

WILBERFORCE, OHIO.

CIVIL war has split 92-year-old Wilberforce University into two hostile schools with separate athletic teams, faculties, administrative staffs and student bodies.

This hodge-podge of hostility is contained on a single campus. It is a complex situation in which principles, policies and personalities are involved.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church still finances and operates Wilberforce University, chartered to the Methodist church in 1856 and the country's oldest Negro university.

The State of Ohio finances and operates an offspring of the current trouble—the College of Education and Industrial Arts at Wilberforce, Ohio. This name was ordered by a common pleas court judge.

Wilberforce alumni jumped into the fray a few weeks ago. They talked of a reconciliation between the AME Church and the State of Ohio. So far, their efforts have met little success. The end of the Wilberforce war is not yet in sight.

Billed as a fight between church and State, the Wilberforce wrangle also is a personal battle between two strong personalities: AME Bishop Reverdy Casius Ransom, chairman of the Wilberforce church school trustees, and Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of the Wilberforce State school. Dr. Wesley, a Negro educator of national prominence, was president of the university before the split.

There are those who say there is a third, and publicly silent, person in this dispute.

They point to the bishop's wife, Mrs. Georgia M. Teel Ransom, former Wilberforce dean of women, as this behind-the-scenes figure. Critics of this stately, smiling woman call her the "petticoat president." Friends describe her as a high-minded educator who was fired by Dr. Wesley in 1944 because of "a severe clash of ideas."

Feud Becomes Public

A church university pamphlet titled "The Wilberforce Dilemma" had this to say about the bishop's wife:

"The dismissal of the dean of women, who later married Bishop R. C. Ransom, is of special significance . . . because of the popular belief that the subsequent explosion between Bishop Ransom and Dr. Wesley arose out of this dismissal.

"While there seems to be some truth in it, Dr. Wesley's own actions alone are responsible."

The feud between 87-year-old Bishop Ransom, eldest of the church's elderly bishops, and 55-year-old Dr. Wesley erupted to public attention in June, 1947. A few weeks earlier, the bishop had called on Dr. Wesley to resign.

Wesley countered with the acid suggestion the bishop retire from the church board of trustees "in order not to impede further the unified education progress of the university."

On June 11, the church board of trustees fired Dr. Wesley, charging him with losing "faith and confidence in the university trustee board and the sacred principles upon which the institution was founded."

To understand how Dr. Wesley successfully defied the church board, you must know first the history of the dual church-State control of the school.

Wilberforce University was founded by the Methodist Church in 1856 to train pastors. Bishop Ransom points out it was "the third school in the nation to be coeducational."

The African Methodist Episcopal Church bought the school in 1863. In 1888, the Ohio General Assembly established at Wilberforce a normal and industrial department under a separate board of trustees, five to be named by the Governor, four by the AME Church.

Charges and Replies

The Legislature changed the title of that department to College of Education and Industrial Arts in 1941, and in 1947 created an office of president with a board of trustees of which eight were named by the State and one by the church.

From 1930 until last year's blow-up, the State helped support the faculty payroll of the college of liberal arts operated by the church. That support no longer is extended.

That's why the dismissal of Dr. Wesley just didn't take. The State's trustees wouldn't back the church. Somewhat later, the State established Dr. Wesley as president of the State school.

An official statement of the North American Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools may have had much to do with the State's action. The association's board of review last year wrote:

". . . The members of the board, as individuals, considered your (Dr. Wesley's) leadership in the institution the single point of strength that would warrant continuation of accreditation for the coming year."

But Bishop Ransom blames Dr. Wesley for Wilberforce's fall from North American grace. He further accuses the educator with conniving with the State Legislature to weaken the church's position.

To all this, Dr. Wesley merely observed that, "The statements by Bishop Ransom about the status of Wilberforce and its president are collections of incorrections, exaggerations and untruths."

The church took two steps: It asked the State to get out of Wilberforce and let the church run the school. It sued the State for possession of a girls' dormitory, O'Neill Hall.

Curious Rivalries

About 900 students chose the State school, about 400 the church school. They live for the most part in amicable truce.

The church once charged two of its students were "abused and manhandled" by State school authorities when they attempted to pass out pamphlets. Some students threatened a strike unless the rupture was healed. Neither charge nor threat came to anything.

But there still are some curious rivalries.

The State school is particularly proud of its athletes. Its football team climaxed a fine season with play in the Vulcan Bowl. Its basketball team won most of its games and trimmed Wilberforce church cagers in their first Midwestern Conference meeting. . .

Wilberforce church athletes just weren't so successful. Their basketball players strove mightily. They made the supreme effort one night and scored 116 points. Their opponents, little Rio Grande College, however, scored 118.

The church school does its crowing in a different direction. Its officials ignore this margin in muscle.

"We have eight Ph. D.'s on our faculty. The State has only two," commented Bishop Ransom serenely.

Local - City News Feature Story - Section IV

YWCA Observes Its 33rd Anniversary

Phyllis Wheatley Branch Here Started on 'Shoestring'

By Rita Robbins

ONE-HALF DOZEN spoons, one quilt, one blanket, two flat irons, one box of Dutch Cleanser and two bars of Octogan soap might seem a pretty shaky foundation on which to start an organization, but such was the beginning of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA in Richmond.

Faced with the problem of providing some sort of haven for Negro women and girls in a growing industrial community, a small group of women met during 1911 and set the wheels in motion to organize what is now an integral part of the life of our community.

It has taken 31 years for the painfully slow growth of the Phyllis Wheatley branch but each of those years has seen a myriad of almost insurrmcuntable problems overcome and the torch of progress handed on from one volunteer leader to another.

The history of Phyllis Wheatley, the young slave girl who was sold in the streets of Boston [illegible] John Wheatley, a prosperou[illegible] tailor, has been an inspiring [illegible] in the growth and developme[illegible] Negro YWCA's over the cou[illegible] Phyllis had been in the Wh[illegible] household only a few weel[illegible] it was discovered that [illegible] quently attempted to [illegible] [illegible] on the wall wit[illegible] [illegible] daughter Mary's ne[illegible] educate her. The ease and rapidity with which this 8-year-old learned, not only to write the English language but also to use it with elegance and grace, soon resulted in a voluminous correspondence which she carried on with a wide circle of friends. Her knowledge of astronomy, geography, ancient history and the classics made her a leading figure among the intellectuals of pre-Revolutionary Boston. When one considers that this was the eighteenth century—a time when very few women even knew how to read intelligently or were interested in anything beyond the daily drudgery of keeping a Colonial household in running order—it is not surprising that Phyllis Wheatley was described as "a kind of poet laureate of Boston."

At 16 she became a member of the Old South Meeting House, where the Rev. Samuel Sewall was rector. She was the first slave to be admitted to the congregation.

Her amazing thirst for knowledge, her brilliant conversational powers and her modesty were constantly enhanced by the understanding of the members of the Wheatley family who gave her their love and every kind of encouragement and opportunity.

Unlucky Marriage

The death of Mr. and Mrs. Wheatley left Phyllis completely alone in Boston and it was then that she lost her heart to John Peters, "sometimes a barber, sometimes a grocer" and a reader of law books, who liked to be known as "Doctor Peters." He was, in reality, a fairly intelligent but unsympathetic and lazy husband and it was an unfortunate and unhappy marriage. "Dr." Peters left her soon after the birth of their three children, all of whom died in infancy, and Phyllis was forced to give up her writing to support herself by drudgery to which her frail body was unaccustomed. At 31, she died, "unbefriended and heartbroken."

On December 5, 1784, the Independent Chronicle of Boston published this brief paragraph:

"Last Lord's Day died Mrs. Phyllis Peters (formerly Phyllis Wheatley) age 31, known to the literary world by her celebrated miscellaneous poems. Her funeral is to be this afternoon at 4 o'clock from the house lately improved by Mr. Todd nearly opposite Dr. Bulfinch's at West Boston where her friends are desired to attend."

Phyllis Wheatley lives on, however, not only to honor with her name many YWCA branches in t[illegible]untry but also as a person[illegible]et and a notable wom[illegible]erican history.

[illegible] natural then that the [illegible] women in Richmond rec[illegible] the movement to estab[illegible]WCA clubs throughout the [illegible]y and became concerned [illegible] the need of establishing a [illegible]hristian home for country [illegible]ls coming to Richmond seek[illegible]g work."

'Shoestring' Start

A "shoestring" beginning was inevitable for the Negro [illegible]WCA with those interested able [illegible] offer little in the way of ac[illegible]ual property. The officers of the newly formed club rented a basement room at 100 East Leigh St., to be used as an office and a six-room dwelling at 22 West Leigh St., was opened as a home for young Negro women. From this small beginning, the tremendous effort on the part of the devoted organizers bore fruit in the shape of increased membership in the club. In December, 1914, the Central YWCA accepted the responsibility for the Phyllis Wheatley branch to replace the YWCA Club. In October, 1915, Miss Adela F. Ruffin was employed as the first executive secretary.

Miss Ruffin soon demonstrated the need for larger quarters and in December a more spacious residence at 740 North Fifth St. was rented. The first floor was fitted up for offices and club rooms, and the second floor as a dormitory. Here the first group work activities were started—Bible classes, crocheting, embroidering and sewing groups for women and the Sunshine clubs for girls—the forerunners of the Girl Reserve department.

During the First World War period the branch was used largely as a war work center and it was during this same period that an appropriation was made by the National War Work Council of the YWCA for the purchase of a permanent home. A house at 319 East Clay St. was purchased but after occupancy it was found that this building would not allow for future expansion and was sold. The appropriation from the national council was then increased to $20,000 for the purchase and repair of the present building at 515 North Seventh St.

In 1921 the Louisville Conference of the National YWCA gave to all Negro branches of the South the challenge to build on the foundation laid by the Young Women's Christian Association during the war period, to become an integral part of the association movement and to use and develop the leadership which had been exhibited and proved in war work centers.

Mrs. Hannibal E. Holmes (right), chairman of Richmond's Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the YWCA management committee, discusses problems and plans with Mrs. A. G. Thompson Taylor, a founder of the local branch.

Richmond's answer to this challenge may be seen in the growth of the Phyllis Wheatley during the years which followed. In 1921 activities included 10 Girl Reserve clubs with an enrollment of 226, a club of 16 employed girls and short-time classes in music, cooking, home nursing, millinery, tailoring, current events and Bible. In addition, there were vesper services, employment, placement and the domitory.

Firmer Footing

The year 1921 also saw the end of the shoestring method of financing when the Phyllis Wheatley branch, along with the Central YWCA, became a charter member of the Community Fund (now the Richmond Area Community Chest).

The great achievement of 1925 was the opening of Camp Whoelo at Claremont, Va., for a six weeks period. For two years the camp closed with a deficit but the committee was determined not to abandon the promotion of camping. In 1927 a different site was rented and an enlarged camping program was made possible in 1931 through the loan of Camp Harrison at Verdon, Va., by the IVNA. Later space was rented at the Swift Creek Recreational Area.

In 1943 the Phyllis Wheatley Committee of Management voted to turn its camping program over to the Girl Scouts who operate a Negro girls' camp at Swift Creek.

Recognizing the need of activities for younger women, the committee of management next organized an industrial department which now serves approximately 125 in the industrial field and about 35 in the business and professional fields.

To meet the needs for training as expressed by employers and employees in domestic service, classes in household management were opened under a co-operative plan between the city and State school boards and Phyllis Wheatley branch during the early part of 1929. These classes are still in operation.

A special appropriation from the Community Chest in 1939 made possible the formation of neighborhood clubs for the 17 to 25 age groups and these clubs continue to function with youthful energies and talents being directed toward the building of more responsible citizens.

The Phyllis Wheatley building has been host to a number of projects through the years. It was there that the first nursery school for Negro children was formed, the first sewing projects and the first training group in home care were organized. For creating public opinion and disseminating information on questions of public concern affecting the race or community, discussion groups and public meetings have been promoted. Thus the Phyllis Wheatley branch has served the community well.

Wartime Growth

DURING the second World War, the institution found itself able to serve much more adequately than in the first. With a strong staff and scores of devoted volunteers, the branch continued to conduct clubs and classes and to furnish guidance to Negro girls and women who were distracted and emotionally upset by the war and new problems of human relations, and of economic opportunity which it created. Negro soldiers came to the branch in great numbers for parties and they and their wives and relatives came for advice and possible places to lodge or to live.

The building which houses the Phyllis Wheatley branch activities and the inadequate facilities with which they are attempting to meet the needs of an ever-increasing membership is 200 years old and has long passed its usefulness. Because of its rundown condition and the fact that it was not originally constructed to fit a YW program, there is a growing demand for better facilities.

With that aim in view a study committee was appointed by the Community Chest board of trustees, with Webster S. Rhoads as chairman. Mr. Rhoads was assisted by Buford Scott, Guthrie Smith and William T. Reed, Jr. It was 1945 when their study was completed and submitted to the board of trustees of the chest of which Lewis G. Chewning was president.

—Photos by Patterson

Dorothy Williams, Shirley Cooper and Peggy Branche (left to right), young members of Phyllis Wheatley Branch, demonstrate artistic skill for RPI Student Peggy Cunningham who instructs classes as part of her field work.

The study committee, in its report, called attention to the fact that there was a slow trend throughout the country toward "coed" activities, closer co-operation between YM's and YW's in serving jointly the needs of young Negro men and women, and that a building which could house both the Leigh Street and Phyllis Wheatley branches would be an economy. Individual activities would for the most part, be carried on as they are now in each branch but members would have the benefit of sharing a swimming pool, gym and other facilities.

Current Leadership

On March 19, 1947, the board of directors of the joint building program had its first meeting. Walter W. Craigie accepted the chairmanship of the board with Mrs. Nathaniel Dillard and Mrs. Etna Green serving as representatives from the Phyllis Wheatley branch; R. J. Kenney and R. A. Cole from Leigh Street YMCA; Frank T. Bates and W. Stirling King, Central YMCA; Mrs. Arthur S. Brinkley and Mrs. Henry W. Decker, Central YWCA; Thomas C. Boushall and Mr. Craigie, Richmond Area Community Council and D. Tennant Bryan and Mr. Rhoads representing the Richmond Area Community Chest.

The board has met many times since then studying the various problems involved in undertaking the planning of a joint building project. Although it has not yet been incorporated it is hoped that this next step will be taken within the next few weeks.

The development of an organization such as the Phyllis Wheatley branch depends to a large extent on the quality of its leadership. They can exhibit with great pride the names of many who served faithfully and well—names such as Mrs. Lucy B. Lewis who became chairman of the committee of management in 1914 and who was succeeded by Mrs. Maria Wilder, Mrs. Joseph B. Smith, Miss A. Deborah Patterson, Mrs. Minnie P. Mundin, Mrs. J. R. Mayne, Mrs. Hobson H. Pryor, Mrs. James E. Segear, Mrs. Nathaniel Dillard and Miss Beatrice Cox. The present chairman is Mrs. Hannibal E. Holmes who has worked untiringly in the interests of Phyllis Wheatley branch along with Mrs. Louise McKinney, executive secretary.

Today, Richmond's Phyllis Wheatley branch celebrates its thirty-third anniversary with the entire membership invited to participate.

Jackson (Miss) Daily News
21 March 1948

Colored Teachers Plan Three Day Association Meet

The Mississippi Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, convening here Thursday for a three day session, will hear Dr. Charles S. Johnson.

Dr. Johnson, the sixth and first negro president of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., will speak on "Education For New Demands In Citizenship".

Dr. Johnson served as one of the ten United States delegates to the first session of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, and last year was appointed a member of the UNESCO board of foreign scholarships under the Fulbright act.

W. W. Blackburn, executive secretary of the Association, predicted that 2,000 of Mississippi's 6,000 negro teachers will attend the meeting at Lanier High school.

ley, dean of the University
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JACKSON (MISS) DAILY NEWS
21 MARCH 1948

Assault Suspect Arraigned; Bail Set For $5,000

Edgar Keeler, 22-year-old negro, 922 Salem street, was bound over to the Hinds county grand jury Thursday afternoon when he waived a preliminary hearing on a charge of assault and attempted robbery in police court. Bail was set at $5,000.

The negro was taken into custody shortly after he had beaten an old negro woman, Annie F. Adkins, at her store on North Gallatin street on February 8.

The aged negress sustained four skull fractures from a hammer which Keeler used in the assault and attempted robbery. Keeler admitted the attack and led police to a loading platform on North Mill street where he concealed the weapon during his flight. He also showed police a large piece of iron pipe wrapped in a newspaper in Town creek on another occasion.

urst; Pvt. Tory R. Poole, next-f-kin, Harvey E. Poole, Route 2, rton.
fc. William T. Reed, next-of- Jewel T. Kelly, Blue Moun- FM1C Harold C. Shirley, next Mrs. Willie M. Shirley, Gulf- vt. Robert A. Shoemake, n, Dave Shoemake, 105 street, Hattisburg; Pfc. Simmons, next-of-kin, Route 1, Fulton; Pvt. er, next-of-kin, Wal- , Route 2, Clarks- L. Sykes, next- Sykes, Oxford; kes, next-of-kin, kes, Route 2, fc. Walter R. Walter L. Jerby O. Tu- Myra E. Tu- Pvt. Hill- -kin, Mrs. 2, Lau- Thomas Whit- atties- next- 1,

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Not forgetting individual likes
dislikes of the correspondent.
Hoping that you will give th
letter and request your kindes
consideration.

Yours truly,
Dennis W. Cottle.
(Jack Dusty)

Among the newest developments is an anti-skid device for automobiles that consists of a series of rubber blocks hinged together by a continuous flexible metal assembly to hold them in place on the tread of the tire.

Jackson (Miss) Daily News
March 21, 1948

JACKSON (MIS

A NEGRO AMERICA IN 1960

Since February 2nd, when President Truman presented his 10-point "civil rights" program to Congress, many persons have speculated on the consequences of such a program were Congress to enact it into law, particularly the four points which affect negroes and the white South, writes Virginia Doss in the Southern Weekly. A number of predictions have been made concerning the future relationship of the two races, but none is more revealing than Carey McWilliams, in his article, "A Look at the Negro in 1960," which appears in the April Negro Digest. Since few white persons, either in the North or in the South, read the negro press, McWilliams' predictions may come as a surprise and a jolt. But gone are the days when such predictions can be laughed altogether away. The left-wing, anti-South, pro-negro element enjoys far too much political prestige for conservatives to take the predictions lightly.

McWilliams, who is contributing editor of Negro Digest, lists his predictions under eleven headings. Some of his predictions are an absolute certainty, others are problematical, and still others fall into the category of wishful-thinking. McWilliams, himself, admits certain "ifs", but asserts nevertheless that his predictions are based on current, well-established trends, and and for that reason one should give them at least thoughtful consideration.

McWilliams first predicts that by 1960 all American negroes who care to exercise the franchise and who are of voting age will be voting. No one will argue that assertion, for it is valid even today. By 1960—only twelve years from now—McWilliams predicts that there will be a negro in the cabinet, and that negroes will also hold second-level cabinet p o s i t u o n s. There will be negro members on the Supreme Court and in key diplomatic positions. And, since negroes hold the political balance of power, there is no reason why, by 1960, according to McWilliams, the Vic President of the United States should not be a negro.

By 1960, the rank and file of negroes will no longer be tenant farmers or sharecroppers on Southern farms. Many Southern negroes will have migrated to the metropolitan areas of the North, where they will have become skilled laborers or college professors. Mean while, the South will have become revolutionized by the CIO's inroads, and Jim Crow will have been abolished. In fact, by 1960, the head of the CIO probably will be a negro.

All negro institutions will have been abolished, with the possible exception of Howard college, which will be continued as a national university catering to foreign students. Negroes will attend the white schools, and whites the negro schools. A negro author will have won both the Pulitzer and the Nobel prizes in literature. Negroes will be assuming leading roles in world affairs, and in all probability a negro will be president of the United Nations Assembly.

Marriages between negroes and whites will be on the increase. Such marriages will be regarded as perfectly "normal," and will receive little notoriety. All miscegenation statutes will, meanwhile, have been abolished.

Southern Senators and Congressmen (the so-called "Bourbons") will have been swept completely out of office. And, since the majority of them — according to McWilliams — are "crabbed, morose, perverse; more and more like some of the characters in William Faulkner's novels," they will have been placed in insane asylums where they will present psychiatrists "with a great opportunity for the study of morbid types." With conservatives out of the way, the South by 1960 will become one of the most progressive sections of the country, with negroes "playing a leading role."

McWilliams predicts that during the period 1948-1952 there will be many race riots and much bloodshed, but that the negroes will triumph and that the solid South will be no more. Negroes, meanwhile, will have continued their great careers in athletics, and by 1960 "Miss America" will be a negro girl. Also, by 1960, the negroes will have become so thoroughly intrenched in the Catholic church that many bishops, and one archbishop, will be negroes. There will even be the rumor of a negro cardinal.

The negro press, like the historic negro church, will also have disappeared, and newspapers and magazines, formerly negro, will be leading publications. In fact, by 1960, America will have become so advanced that the very word, "negro," will be almost obsolete.

McWilliams' predictions digress rather far from the aspirations of negro leaders of the past, who asked only that the race be given a fair chance at employment, a right to adequate education, health facilities, and decent living quarters. Many of McWilliams predictions are in the realm of mere speculation — and he admits them as such — but none are completely impossible, and what Southerners and Northern conservatives do in 1948 will determine to a great extent the accuracy of these predictions. If, by 1960, the South becomes negro dominated, it will have only itself to blame.

Chamber Forms

Note: Have photograph and cut lines — good reporting & data. Lisa

What Negroes Are Doing

BY MATTIE B. ROWE

Principal George C. Bell was host at a tea Wednesday at Ullman High School honoring the Citizenship Tour Committee. Paul Ware presided. The purpose of this meeting was threefold: to acquaint students with detail plans of the tour; to introduce members; and to take pictures of the group.

The group will leave The Birmingham News Age-Herald Building at 6:30 a.m., April 3. Dr. Ambrose Caliver, specialist for higher education, U. S. Office of Education, will assist the tourists while in Washington. Mrs. Dessie H. Ray and Mr. Paul Ware will chaperon the tour.

Dean C. H. Hamilton, of Clark College, Atlanta, will be host at lunch. After a short tour of the Atlanta colleges they will leave for Charlotte, N. C. Johnson C. Smith University, Dr. Hardy Liston, president, will care for the tourists overnight. The tour from Charlotte to Washington will be handled by The Saturday Evening Post and Associated Press.

Departing Sunday, the schedule includes lunch at A. & T. College, Greensboro, Dr. Ferdinand D. Bluford, president, and to visit the campus of Bennett College. Next on the itinerary is a visit to Monticello, home of Thomas Jefferson. Arriving in Washington in time for dinner, the party will make the George Washington Carver Hotel and Lucy D. Stowe Home, their headquarters. Then follows a three-day tour at the capital which will include Smithsonian Institute, National Gallery of Art, Washington Monument, Mt. Vernon, Arlington Cemetery, Lincoln Memorial, Library of Congress, sessions of House and Senate, Folga Library, FBI, White House, Supreme Court, Ford Theater, National Cathedral, Bureau of Engraving, the embassies and business district.

Thursday the party will go to Gettysburg, Pa. They will stop in Baltimore to visit the campus of Morgan College.

Returning home April 9, the party will spend the night in Bristol, Tenn.

Members of the Citizenship Committee are Paul L. Ware, chairman; E. Paul Jones, Mrs. Odessa McKinney, C. W. Hayes, Susie Jamar, E. J. Oliver, and J. S. Abrams.

Student tourists will be Charlie Mae Hunt, Brighton; Curtis Cheathem, Dorothy Driver, Ethel O'Neal, Dunbar; Gladys A. Waters, Harold Mullins, Fairfield; William Bryant, Alice Saxton, Hooper City; Jacqueline Gilbert, Mary Louise Jackson, Immaculata; Mildred L. Hamilton, Mary A. McClinton, Muscoda; Newstell Dowdell, Paul W. Oliver, Bertram Perry, Jacqueline Ross, Betty Taylor, Parker; John Anna Samuels, Praco; Barbara Crews, Oscar Franklin, Gloria Freeman, Ullman; Johnnie Daniels, Louise Reed, Annie Stanbeary, Westfield; Lela George, Charles Howard, Wenonah.

Dunbar High School, Bessemer, Ala., Prof. J. S. Abrams, principal, selected three of its most outstanding students to make the tour to Washington. The students are Ethel Mae O'Neal, Dorothy Driver, and Curtis Cheathem.

Miss O'Neal is a music enthusiast and member of the Dramatic Club. Miss Driver, a member of the Y-teen, and chorus, has maintained an average of A for two years. Curtis Cheathem, a member of the student council is an avid reader and football fan.

The man, who along with R. Adm. R. R. Peary, discovered the North Pole on April 6, 1909, Matthew Alexander Henson, 82, became the first Negro to be honored by the Geographic Society of Chicago last week. He was awarded a gold medal for his achievements.

The occasion was the golden jubilee of the society, held at Orchestra Hall. Dr. H. M. Leopard, professor of geography at the University of Chicago and president of the society, made the presentation.

The Birmingham Metropolitan Council of the National Council of Negro Women, Inc., is one of Birmingham's most outstanding groups. It is dedicated to contributing towards cultural and civic progress of this city. Last year they sponsored a concert artist. This year they are presenting three promising young concert artists, Buell Thomas, tenor; Penelope Johnson, violinist, and Vivian Weaver, harpist.

* * *

THE MOST UNUSUAL PERFORMER of the trio is Vivian Weaver. Her playing of the harp has been so excellent, great musicians have given her full credit for making the harp a solo concert instrument.

The concert is scheduled for Friday evening, April 2, at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church at 8:15. In the afternoon at 3:30 there will be a matinee for school children.

Mrs. Jessie O. Thomas, widely known club, social and civic leader of Atlanta, will speak at the annual "Know Your State" Federation program Sunday afternoon at the Tabernacle Baptist Church, Rev. W. L. Varnado, pastor. This program, sponsored by the City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, will begin at 4 o'clock with Mrs. M. B. Gaillard, chairman, presiding.

Purpose of this observance is to acquaint the public with the work of the club women of Alabama. Mrs. F. S. Simpson, of the Ensley Federation, will give the history of the "State Federation." The guest speaker will be presented by Mrs. Mabel L. Neely.

* * *

AT A MEETING OF a special subcommittee headed by A. G. Gaston, of Birmingham, president of the National Negro Business League, held in Detroit, John H. Harmon, of New York City, was named executive secretary of the accredited as a full fledged member of the North Central Association in Chicago by unanimous vote of the committee on colleges and universities.

Dr. A. N. Vaughn, assistant director of surgery at Home G. Phillips Hospital, St. Louis, became the first Negro to be elected to the board of directors of the Greater St. Louis Community Chest, it was announced last week.

Dr. Vaughn is a member of the board of directors of the St. Louis Urban League and of People's Hospital. He is former president of the Mound City Medical Forum and the National Medical Association.

* * *

EAST END BAPTIST CHURCH, with Rev. C. J. Evans, pastor, is celebrating its fourth annual Woman's Day Sunday.

At 3 p.m. the main speaker will be Corine Watts, state director of the Young People Women's Baptist State Convention.

Principal speaker at 7:30 p.m., will be Mattie Peques, instructor at Ullman High School.

Special music will be a feature of the services.

* * *

Mayor Eugene Van Antwerp, of Detroit, appointed a new inter-racial committee to promote racial harmony last week. Three Negro members of the group are Edward M. Turner, vice president of the Detroit branch N. A. A. C. P.; Dr. Scipio Murphy and Chester Smith.

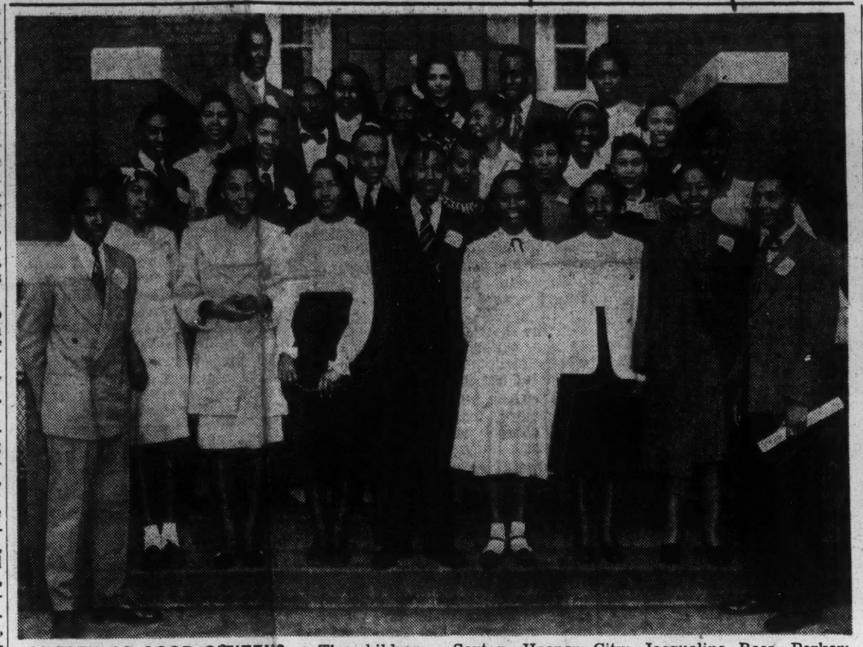
* * *

Dr. Warren Brown, the first Negro to earn a doctorate in social sciences from the New School of Social Research, has been named as an associate director to work in the newly expanded City College's social research laboratory.

* * *

Residents of the Alden community turned out en masse Sunday afternoon for a program of music, presented by the Ensley Jubilee Singers.

Proceeds from the program will go to the school project, the "Miss Alden" contest, which is an annual event.



CHOSEN AS GOOD CITIZENS — The children pictured above have been selected from high schools and colleges of the county to make a trip to Washington to see the federal government in action. They will leave Birmingham April 3 and return April 10. They will travel by chartered bus, chaperoned by representatives from the county schools. A trip to Gettysburg and Philadelphia is also on their itinerary. The tour has been made possible by contributions from business, industry, individuals and churches.

Front row, left to right, are Oscar Franklin, Ullman School; Barbara Crews, Ullman; Lela George, Wenonah; Gladys Waters, Fairfield; Paul W. Oliver, Parker; Gloria Freeman, Ullman; Alice Saxton, Hooper City; Jacqueline Ross, Parker; Bertram William Perry, Parker.

Second row, left to right, are Harold Mullins, Fairfield; William Bryant, Hooper City; Curtis Cheathen, Dunbar; John Anna Samuels, Praco; Cinda B. Windtham, Praco; Mary Alice McClinton, Muscoda; Mildred Hamilton, Muscoda.

Third row, left to right, are Mary Louise Jackson, Immaculata High School; Charles Howard, Wenonah; Annie Stanberry, Westfield; Dorothy Driver, Dunbar; Ethel O'Neal, Dunbar.

Four row, left to right, are Johnny Daniel, Westfield; Jacqueline Gilbert, Immaculata High; Betty Taylor, Parker; Newstell Dowdell, Parker, and Charlie Mae Hunt, Brighton.

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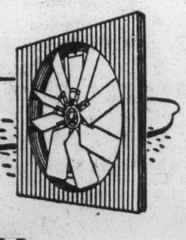
What a welcome weather forecast when stifling, sultry summertime heat is clinging to you night and day! You can bring that cool wave right into your home, without waiting for the weatherman, by installing Coolair Breeze Conditioning. Enjoy the cooling caress of gentle, fresh-air breezes in every room, day and night! And the quietness of the Coolair fan, on its exclusive spring mounting, will amaze you. Ask us for a free estimate without obligation.



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AT A MEETING OF a special subcommittee headed by A. G. Gaston, of Birmingham, president of the National Negro Business League, held in Detroit, John H. Harmon, of New York City, was named executive secretary of the league pending the annual meeting of the body next August.

Today the students in music at Miles College will hold the annual Easter Festival of Music in the college auditorium at 4 p.m. They will present the "Seven Last Words of Christ," by Dubois.

Miss Ruth McArthur, soprano; Nathaniel Scurlark, tenor, and Fletcher Myatt, baritone, will be soloists. Miss Edwina Divers, teacher of music, will direct the presentation.

Miss June Rice Woodward and Miss Bobbie Hardigree, both of Talladega, were initiates in Zeta Chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma Sorority in its meeting in the library of Lincoln High School on March 13. Miss Maria Whitson was in charge of the program which included the new constitution, by Mrs. Mildred Woodall; founders of Dela Kappa Gamma, by Miss Fannie Crocket, who is a transfer from Alpha chapter in Austin, Tex., to this chapter.

Later, members went to the home of Mrs. Mildred Vawter for refreshments.

Miss Eloise Keebler, supervisor of elementary schools in Fulton County, Georgia, and a former member of the local chapter, was a guest.

* * *

PAULINE MONTGOMERY, state president Alabama Congress Colored Parents and Teachers, is asking all P.-T. A. units in Jefferson County communities to get entries in for The Birmingham News-Age-Herald P.-T. A. Community Service Contest.

A $50 cash award will be presented to a P.-T. A. in the city group and another to the county group. These awards will be made on the basis of a written report outlining an association's accomplishments and activities during the past year.

Awards will be made at a program and reception at 2 p.m., April 14, at Smithfield Court Auditorium. All P.-T. A. members are invited.

LANGSTON UNIVERSITY was

board of directors of the Greater St. Louis Community Chest, it was announced last week.

Dr. Vaughn is a member of the board of directors of the St. Louis Urban League and of People's Hospital. He is former president of the Mound City Medical Forum and the National Medical Association.

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But the conditions under which we now live provide additional reasons why so many thinking Americans are investing more of their dollars in life insurance. Think for a moment in terms of yourself:

You are living in a period of inflation—of high prices and high taxes. Never has the purchasing power of your dollar been less for most of the things you buy. What would happen if you put more of your spendable dollars in life insurance?

With your very first premium you receive *immediate* protection—a guarantee of security that can't be obtained in any other way. *It would take years of self-denial and saving to accumulate the amount of security that is provided* at once *through a life insurance policy.*

Moreover, the benefits which you or your family will receive from your policy will come, in all likelihood, at a time when the dollar has regained a more normal purchasing power. In this respect, life insurance paid for today is bargain protection for the future.

EQUITABLE FAMILY GROWS

The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States—a non-profit institution operated solely in the interests of its policyholders and their beneficiaries—has been helping families build security since 1859.

More people purchased more protection through Equitable policies last year than ever before. New insurance issued amounted to $1,170,000,000. A total of $11,944,000,000 of insurance in force now safeguards the Equitable family of policyholders.

In line with this increase in protection, the resources of The Equitable Society increased $322,400,000 to $4,505,000,000, a new high. Benefit payments last year from policies that were called upon to fulfill the purposes for which they were purchased, amounted to $280,685,000.

FIGHTING INFLATION

Money used to purchase life insurance is non-inflationary, since premium payments represent funds diverted from consumption into channels of investment, where they help to increase the nation's industrial productivity.

Inflation is the enemy of everyone.

The primary source of inflation in this country is the excessive supply of money and credit in our commercial banking system, reflecting unsound national monetary policies.

If we are to solve the inflation problem, we must first of all deal with this excessive supply of money in our banking system.

It is useless to try to control prices through rationing, or through increased production, when the creation of money in the form of bank credit goes on uncontrolled. *It is like fighting fire with one hand while the other hand pours on additional fuel.*

Inflation can be restrained at its primary source if enough citizens, motivated by self-interest and recognition of the need for preserving the economic strength of the nation, make their demand for sound monetary policies known to those who represent them in Congress.

THOMAS I. PARKINSON, President

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DECEMBER 31, 1947

Assets	
Cash	$ 137,561,755
Bonds (including $5,926,627 on deposit with public authorities) United States Government Bonds	1,298,974,268
Other Bonds	2,270,114,161
Preferred and Guaranteed Stocks	25,384,623
Common Stocks	3,028,912
Mortgage Loans	536,779,788
Real Estate	54,698,145
Loans on Society's Policies	117,560,786
Premiums Receivable	33,429,134
Interest and Rentals Due and Accrued and Other Assets	27,440,181
Total Admitted Assets	$4,504,971,753

Reserves, Other Liabilities and Surplus	
Reserves for Policy and Contract Liabilities	$4,118,202,703
Premiums Paid in Advance	74,859,971
Reserve for Taxes	7,499,000
Miscellaneous Liabilities	8,533,865
Provision for 1948 Dividends to Policyholders	56,001,338
Total Reserves and Other Liabilities	$4,265,096,877
Surplus Funds:	
Contingency Reserve for Group Life Insurance	7,129,000
Unassigned Funds (Surplus)	232,745,876
Total Reserves	$4,504,971,753

In accordance with the requirements of law, all bonds subject to amortization are stated at their amortized value, and all other bonds and stocks are valued at the market quotations furnished by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners.

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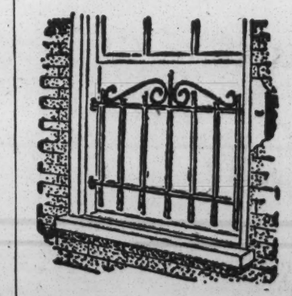
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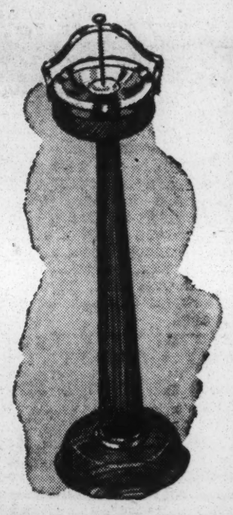
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Robinson Receives Nod Over Burgess

Tolbert Blasts Pike By T.K.O.; O'Bannon, Brown, Medley Triumph

By JIMMY BROWN, Courier-Journal Staff Writer.

Jimmy Robinson treated a crowd of 3,500 Armory fight fans to another good fight last night, but the scrappy Louisvillian had to battle hard before winning a unanimous eight-round decision over hard-punching Luther Burgess of Detroit.

In winning his 30th fight in 34 starts, Robinson was awarded the 5th and 7th rounds by the judges when Burgess connected with low blows. Otherwise, the fight might just as easily have gone the other way.

Many fans thought the Detroiter had earned the victory, anyway, and a loud chorus of boos greeted Referee Ellis Joseph's signal that Robinson was the winner.

In the semi-windup bout, Louisville's Gibbs Pike lasted just three minutes and twenty seconds under the dynamite-laden fists of young Ossie Tolbert, Chicago Negro heavyweight.

Jeffersonville's Bob O'Bannon was extended to five rounds before he finally overcame the height and reach advantage of George Wilson of Louisville. O'Bannon was awarded a T.K.O. after 2:54 of the fifth round.

In the main go between Robinson and Burgess, the Louisville Negro, was the aggressor in the early rounds, but he had difficulty in any telling blows.

Then in the fifth, when Burgess, 126 pounds, opened up his attack he caught Robinson twice with blows below the belt. Another hard low blow definitely hurt Robinson in the seventh, but, just as he did against Willie Cheatum week before last, Robinson finished strongly in the last round to clinch the decision.

NO CHANCE

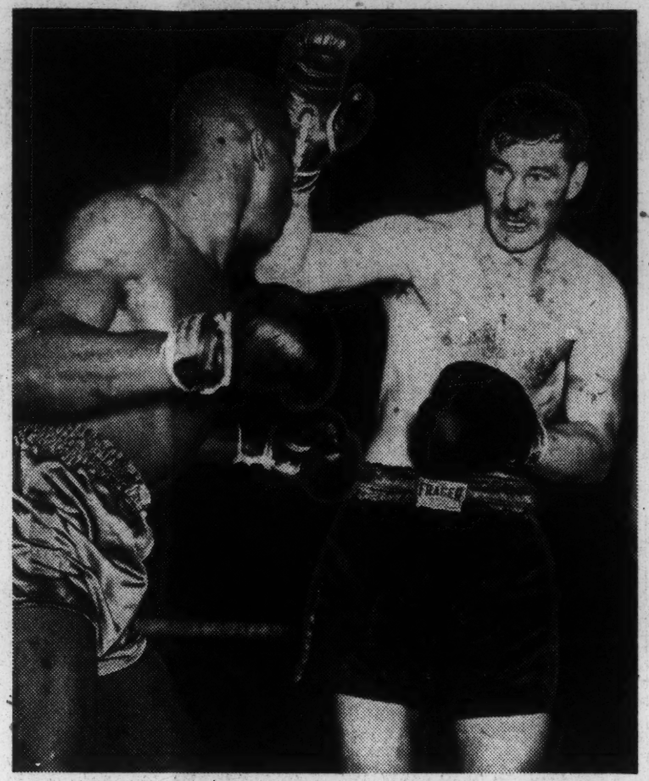
Pike, who weighed 199 to Tolbert's 202, never had a chance against the Chicagoan. Tolbert floored Pike twice in the first round, with the bell saving the Louisvillian from a knockout. However, Pike lasted only through 20 seconds of the second round when the fight was stopped.

In a six-rounder Sam Brown, 132 - pound Charlestown, Ind., puncher, gained a unanimous decision over Frankie Malone of Louisville. The lanky Hoosier floored Malone once in the fourth round for a count of nine.

Doug Medley, promising Louisvillian, scored a unanimous 6-round decision over another Louisville scrapper, Don Rocco, in the second fight on the card.

In the opener, a four-rounder, Lewis Leonhart was awarded a T.K.O. over Lester Fuqua after 2:20 of the first round.

* * *



Courier-Journal Photo by Charley Pence.

JUST BEFORE THE END—Ossie Tolbert (left) has his right cocked and ready to land the t.k.o. punch to the head of Gibbs Pike in the second round of their fight in the Armory last night. Tolbert was declared the winner a few seconds after this picture was taken.

THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1948
SECTION 2—14 PAGES

The Courier-Journal

WOMEN'S NEWS, SPORTS, RADIO,
FINANCIAL AND CLASSIFIED ADS

Teachers At U. L. Ask $500 Raises

Taylor Asserts He Is Aware That Pay Is Low

A salary schedule calling for immediate raises of about $500 a year for all University of Louisville teachers was proposed yesterday.

The schedule has been submitted to President John W. Taylor by the U. of L. chapter of the American Association of University Professors, a national independent professional organization. It includes a series of raises over a five-year period to bring the total increase for each teacher to about $1,000.

Realizes Salaries Are Low.

Dr. Taylor said he was aware that salaries at the university are low and must be raised as soon as money is available. He said his budget for the next school year will contain a recommendation for whatever raises "can be afforded." He is collecting data on that question now and hopes to have a proposal ready for the May 5 meeting of trustees.

He said every $100-a-year increase for full-time members of the teaching staff costs $20,000 and for nonteaching employees an additional $35,000.

Annual Increases Asked.

The A.A.U.P. schedule would provide $100 annual increases for each of the first five years of college-teaching experience above the following basic scale:

Instructors	
Less than master's degree	$3,000
Master's degree	$3,300
One or more years beyond master's	$3,400
(Present minimum, $2,400)	
Assistant Professors	
Master's degree	$3,500
One or more years beyond master's	$3,700
Ph.D. or equivalent	$4,000
(Present minimum, $3,000)	
Associate Professors	
Less than Ph.D.	$4,000
Ph.D. or equivalent	$4,500
(Present minimum, $3,500)	
Professors	
Less than Ph.D.	$4,500
Ph.D.	$5,000
(Present minimum, $4,000)	

Dr. George A. Muench, president of the A.A.U.P. chapter, said the latest raises granted U. of L. teachers, in February, 1947, were wiped out quickly by higher living costs.

Good Faculty Needed.

Clements Signs Bill Requiring Full School Tax

$1.50 Maximum Levy Made Mandatory If Districts Get Equalization Aid From State

Frankfort, Ky., March 24 (AP)—A bill requiring school districts to levy the full $1.50 tax rate before getting equalization aid was signed into law by Governor Earle Clements late today.

The measure will become effective next January. It will affect 33 county districts and six independent districts now getting extra help from the State but not levying the maximum tax rate locally.

Sponsored by Representative Clyde Howard, Elizabethtown, the bill had rough going in the House where it first was beaten, then then revived and passed. But it got peaceful passage in the Senate.

Judges Get Expense Money.

The Governor also signed into law a measure giving judges and commissioners of the Court of Appeals $150 a month extra for expenses. They now receive the maximum State salary of $5,000 a year. The bill also grants Circuit judges $100 a month for expenses. The expense money eventually will come from increases made in fees connected with the filing of law suits.

Other bills signed by the Governor today will:

Raise from 5 to 7 cents mileage pay State workers receive after April 1 for using their own vehicles on official duty.

Appropriate $400,000 for the next biennium to the Division of Soil and Water Resources for the purchase of machinery which may be rented to soil conservation districts.

Liquor Permit Fee Raised.

Provide for the microfilming of State records and papers.

Impose a 7-cent tax on a gallon of diesel oil, starting April 1.

Increase by $100 the cost of annual retail alcoholic beverage drink and package permits.

Revise and tighten child labor laws and prohibit employment of children under 14 in

the doorkeeper of Louisville's Police Court to $90 from the present $50.

Authorize junior colleges at Paducah and Ashland to charge $200 a year for tuition, instead of $100.

Include the X-raying of teeth in regulations governing dental hygiene.

Authorize agencies of City or County Governments to adopt retirement and hospitalization plans for their employees.

Raise from 50 cents to $2 the amount of State money allotted daily for each patient in tuberculosis hospitals.

Slum Clearance Authorized.

Enable second-class cities to launch slum-clearance programs.

Require all new cars sold and registered in Kentucky after next January 1 to be equipped with safety glass.

Permit Kentucky insurance firms to invest in real-estate loans granted under G.I. Bill of rights.

Empower utilities to launch condemnation proceedings to obtain underground gas storage areas.

Void uncashed State checks one year after their issuance; owners then will have to turn them back to the State and get vouchers for the same amount.

Another Jefferson Bill Signed.

Increase State advances from $7,500 to $9,000 to Jefferson County tax commissioner and from $300 to $600 to tax commissioners of counties containing cities of the second class.

Provide that refunds for the tax on Diesel oil be paid out of the State road fund, instead of the general fund.

Provide for nomination and election of officials by the party

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Good Faculty Needed.

"We are interested in working with the administration toward building a better university," he said, "and to do this we must have a good faculty. The only way to have a good faculty is to have a salary schedule high enough to attract capable teachers and to keep the ones we have."

Dr. Muench said the proposed schedule fixes no maximum at any level and would not affect whatever "merit" raises the university wished to grant. The schedule is proposed for all schools of the university, he said.

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Increase by $100 the cost of annual retail alcoholic beverage drink and package permits.

Revise and tighten child labor laws and prohibit employment of children under 14 in gainful occupations at any time; measure excludes newspaper carrier boys on regular routes and permits children to perform farm and domestic chores.

Allow governing boards of municipally owned utilities to pay money as tax equivalents to Boards of Education; these utilities now are tax free.

Raise the monthly salary of the doorkeeper of Louisville's Police Court to $90 from the present $50.

Authorize junior colleges at Paducah and Ashland to charge $200 a year for tuition, instead of $100.

Include the X-raying of teeth in regulations governing dental hygiene.

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Provide that refunds for the tax on Diesel oil be paid out of the State road fund, instead of the general fund.

Provide for nomination and election of officials by the party system in second-population-class cities having commission form of government, instead of on nonpartisan tickets.

The Governor allowed to become law without his signature a bill raising Erlanger, Jenkins, Elkhorn City and Dawson Springs to fourth-class cities and Russell Springs, Cave City and Liberty to fifth-class cities.

Application of Negro To Be Rejected By U. K.

The University of Kentucky will reject the application of Lyman T. Johnson, Negro teacher at Central High School here, for enrollment at the university, Dr. Maurice F. Seay, registrar, said yesterday.

Johnson said he had applied for enrollment at the summer session of U.K.

"Our policy has been pretty well defined," Dr. Seay said. "We are prohibited both by State law and the State Constitution from accepting the registration of a Negro."

If Johnson presses his application through the courts, the board of trustees will determine what course the university should follow, Dr. Seay added.

Has No Comment.

"Until I have been informed officially that I have been rejected, I would rather not comment," Johnson said when apprised of Dr. Seay's statement. "I wouldn't want to start something when perhaps there won't be any need of a fight."

James A. Crumlin, president of the Louisville branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is interested in the outcome of Johnson's application, joined Johnson in refusing to discuss further steps "until we have been notified the application is rejected."

Earlier Crumlin said: "We believe the University of Kentucky will accept Mr. Johnson. We look at this as an opportunity for our State university to take this forward step without the fight that has blotted the records of other universities in the South."

Believed to Be First.

Johnson is believed to be the first Negro to seek admission to the university since the recent Supreme Court decision which ruled that the Oklahoma State University Law School must admit a Negro girl within three days or provide equal facilities for her.

Johnson, who lives at 2627 W. Madison, has taught history and civics at Central High School for the past 14 years. He is treasurer of the A.F.L.-Louisville Federation of Teachers. He received his A. B. degree from Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., and took his master's degree at the University of Michigan. He wants to work toward his doctorate in history and political science at U. K.

International News Photo

HONORED BY D.A.R.— Belle Price, 18, high school senior, has been selected by the Montrose, Penn., chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution as its entrant in the statewide competition for the annual D.A.R. good citizenship award. The state winner will go to Washington where the girls will be presented at the D.A.R. national meeting in Constitution Hall in April. Belle was selected on the basis of her academic record "leadership, dependability, service and patriotism."

WHAS
Back Page—Section 2

The Courier-Journal

SECTION 1
16 PAGES

VOL. 187. NO. 92 ******* Associated Press and Wirephoto LOUISVILLE, THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1948 New York Times Service, United Press 32 PAGES 5 CENTS

House Votes 6.2 Billion Aid; Russians Bar U.S. Train From Their Zone of Germany

Reds Refused Inspection Permission

From Overseas Dispatches.

The Russians refused to allow an American military train to pass through the Soviet zone of Germany today.

The train, bound from Bremerhaven to Berlin, returned to Helmstedt, on the border between the U. S. and Russian zones, after Soviet authorities at Marienborn, the Russian check point, refused to allow it to proceed. The American commander refused to permit Soviet inspection teams to board the train.

A Soviet order, issued yesterday, instructed its troops to conduct such inspections as trains traversed the Soviet zone. Inspection was to begin at midnight last night.

Told to Bar Russians.

Shortly after midnight, the American Military Government announced that trains had been ordered to continue their trips into the Soviet zone. Train guards were instructed to bar Soviet troops entry to the trains.

The commander of the Bremerhaven train ordered its return to Helmstedt when his refusal to permit inspection was met by Russian denials of permission for the train to proceed.

A second American train, bound from Frankfurt to Berlin and following the train from Bremerhaven, now is being held at Marienborn. Its return is expected.

As the trains piled up, the confusion was increased by the arrival, at Helmstedt, of a French train from Paris. There was no immediate indication whether it would try to proceed.

2 British Trains Held.

The Russians now are holding two British trains at Marienborn because the commanders refused to allow them to inspect them.

One of the British trains was en route from Berlin and the other was going to Berlin.

At 5:20 a.m. an American mili- [illegible] Berlin to Bremer-

Associated Press Wirephoto.

TRAVEL CURBED . . . Map shows the four Allied control zones in Berlin. Arrows, lower left, mark the one-track railway line to Helmstedt and the Berlin-Hannover highway, over which Russians have clamped controls on the movement of American, British, and French personnel and supplies.

'Package' Bill Is Passed 329 to 74

By FELIX BELAIR, JR.
Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Washington, March 31.—The House passed the $6,205,000,000 foreign-aid bill tonight by a vote of 329 to 74 and sent the omnibus measure to conference with the Senate for adjustment of differences.

Authorizing $5,300,000,000 for the first 12 months of a four-year European Recovery Program and lesser amounts for economic and military aid to China, Greece, and Turkey, the legislation was identified in the last hours of debate as a "measure short of war" for halting the spread of communism.

Military Aid Provided.

In addition to the European Recovery Program already passed by the Senate, the omnibus measure provided $425,000,000 of outright military aid to China, Greece, and Turkey to bolster their front against aggression. It carried $420,000,000 of added economic aid to China and a $60,000,000 contribution toward the International Children's Emergency Fund.

The President's Food Cabinet Committee is seriously considering a substantial increase in wheat allocations to Europe within the next three months, Drew Pearson says on the back page of Section 2. A story on Page 2 says criticism of the U. S. move to aid Franco Spain is increasing in the European press.

In the vote on final passage, 158 Democrats joined with 171 Republicans in response to appeals of leaders on both sides for a sufficiently substantial majority to produce a favorable psychological effect on the forthcoming elections in Italy. Against the bill were 61 Republicans and 11 Democrats with two American Labor members from New York.

Stands Pat On Franco Aid.

Just before the showdown, the

4 Negro Leaders Here Cold to Draft Boycott

Say They're Shocked By Unionist's Threat To Advise His Race to Defy Conscription

Louisville Negroes apparently are cold to the idea of defying a federal draft as a gesture against segregation.

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At 5:20 a.m. an American military train from Berlin to Bremerhaven arrived in Helmstedt after passing through the Soviet zone.

The lieutenant in charge said the train was halted at Marienborn about 20 minutes. He said he let the Russian commander there board the train and inspect the Army cards and passports of passengers.

He was asked why he did this in view of a Berlin announcement by United States authorities that no inspections would be allowed. He said:

"You will have to ask Berlin."

(In Berlin no competent authority was available for comment immediately.)

No Extra Guards Carried.

American military authorities in Helmstedt reported U. S. military trains bound for Berlin were checked carefully before entering the Soviet zone to see that they carried only the normal number of guards.

They said they acted on specific orders to see that no extra guards were carried. They even went so far, they added, as to forego plans to "deadhead" two or three soldiers to Berlin who had been waiting in Helmstedt.

The sudden Soviet order precipitated the most critical four-power crisis in Germany since the end of the war. It was the first incident that threatened any direct clash between Soviet and Western occupying forces.

The Russians demanded that

Column 3, back page, this section.

Associated Press Wirephoto.

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Senator Lodge proposed yesterday that the United States let 50,000 Europeans join the Army and get citizenship later. Story is on Page 2.

He said before the Senate Armed Services Committee that he would advise his race not to bear arms, and thus drew a warning that treason charges might result if he does. Randolph retorted that "Negroes never will win civil rights" unless a drastic step is taken.

Believes Randolph Is Wrong.

Four leading Louisville Negroes were "shocked" at the proposal.

While the Louisvillians were emphatically opposed to segregation in the services or anywhere else, they believed a man should serve his country regardless of the injustices he has suffered because of internal issues.

"I believe he (Randolph) is wrong," said Dennis Henderson, a representative in the State Legislature. "The idea of refusing to serve your country for any reason is shocking. After all, it is our country right or wrong—and I do think it is wrong in its attitude on segregation. But that wouldn't keep me from fighting for it or serving in any way I can."

'Couldn't Go Along.'

"That's an attitude (Randolph's) I can't comprehend," said Earle Pruitt, director of Beecher Terrace. He served 14 months overseas as finance officer with the U.N.R.R.A.

"From the days of the Revolution the Negro has always been loyal to his country. True, he hasn't received all the rights and privileges guaranteed him by the Constitution.

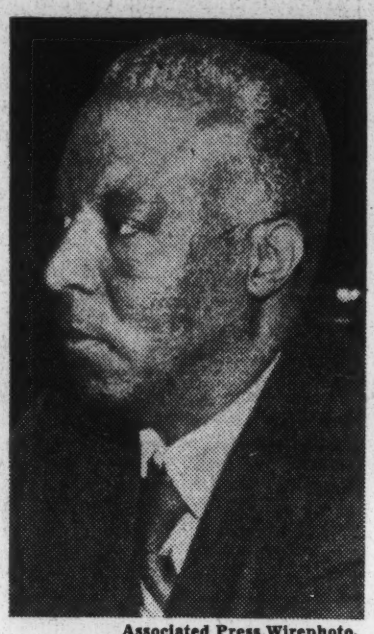
"He has the right to continue to demand and fight for the things that are his only as long as he proves a worthy citizen—and the worthy citizen is ready to fight for his country. No sane person would turn his back on his country in time of crisis."

An indefatigable fighter against segregation, Lyman T. Johnson, teacher at Central High School, "couldn't go along" with Randolph in the threat to refuse to serve in the armed forces because of segregation. Johnson recently applied for admission to the University of Kentucky. His application was denied by the registrar and Johnson has referred it to the board of regents.

Vet Would Fight.

"I was in the service two years—and I know all about segregation in the services and elsewhere," Johnson said. "I think I have a bigger complaint to register than I would have if I hadn't been in service. But I would fight for my country. I would go ahead and serve under protest if segregation continues—which is better than protesting

Column 1, back page, this section.



Associated Press Wirephoto.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Might advise draft boycott.

U. of K. Loses To Oilers

New York, March 31 (U.P.)—Phillips Oilers won the National Olympic basketball championship tonight with a 53-49 victory over University of Kentucky.

It was one of the most bitterly fought contests in Madison Square Garden annals. The score was tied at 26 at the intermission.

(Details are on the sports pages.)

In addition to the European Recovery Program already passed by the Senate, the omnibus measure provided $425,000,000 of outright military aid to China, Greece, and Turkey to bolster their front against aggression. It carried $420,000,000 of added economic aid to China and a $60,000,000 contribution toward the International Children's Emergency Fund.

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Stands Pat On Franco Aid.

Just before the showdown, the House divided along party lines in turning back a Democratic effort to reverse its action yesterday in designating Spain as eligible to participate in the European Recovery Program. By a standing vote of 188 to 104 the House reaffirmed its action and then swamped a substitute proposal by Representative Marcantonio (A.L., N. Y.) to turn the entire program over to the United Nations. This standing vote was 270 to 6.

As the dinner hour approached and members began to clamor for a vote, the House turned back successive efforts led by Representative Mansfield (D., Mon.) to eliminate whole titles of the bill providing military aid for China, Greece and Turkey and for economic aid to China.

Drive to Cut Fund Fails.

Earlier in the day while the House was sitting as a legislative committee, a two-to-one majority

Column 4, back page, this section.

Truman Signs Bill Giving 3 Countries Aid

Washington, March 31 (AP)—President Truman today signed into law a bill appropriating $55,000,000 in stopgap aid to Austria, France and Italy.

Congress passed the bill upon the urging of the State Department that this aid is necessary to meet certain urgent needs until funds become available under the European Recovery Program bill.

U. S. Carriers to Deliver Planes to Turkey Soon

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, March 31.—The Navy announced tonight that three escort carriers will deliver planes to Turkey in the next few months.

The planes are being sent to Turkey as part of the Turkish military-aid program.

The number and types of planes to be delivered could not be learned. The 12,000-ton carriers normally handle about 30 planes each. They can transport more than 100 each in ferry service.

Two of the carriers will leave the East Coast and one from San Francisco. The destination was announced as Yesilkoy, an outer port of Istanbul.

Rendova to Leave Today.

The Rendova, under Capt. Leonard J. Dow, will leave San Francisco tomorrow, the Navy said. It is due to arrive in Turkey April 28, discharge the planes, and will leave for the United States May 4.

The Siboney, commanded by Capt. G. K. Fraser, will leave Norfolk May 1, arriving in Turkey May 15. She will leave Turkey May 25 and is due back at Norfolk June 9.

The Palau, commanded by Capt. F. N. Taylor, will leave Norfolk June 15, arriving in Turkey July 1. She will leave 10 days later and arrive at Norfolk July 25.

Air Force Provides Men.

The official Navy announcement said, "The delivery of these planes to Turkey is in connection with the Turkish aid program. The U. S. Air Force is providing the aircraft and personnel to maintain the aircraft en route."

The Air Force meanwhile denied reports from Ankara that American officers have been inspecting Turkish airfields to see if they can handle U. S. heavy bombers. The Air Force said it has no plans to send heavy bombers to Turkey, either for U. S. or Turkish use.

The Navy also said four U. S. fleet submarines will leave American ports "early in April" for Turkey. The undersea raiders will be turned over to the Turkish Navy under an aid agreement that was announced last January.

4 Negro Leaders Here Cold to Draft Boycott

Continued from First Page.

and not serving. It would be foolish to allow the house to burn down and protest over the ashes."

"No matter what comes up every Negro should take a firm stand in being true to his country and fighting for it if necessary," said Mrs. Emma Clement, who was selected American Mother for 1946. "Of course I'm against segregation and discrimination—but we can continue to fight that out."

In Washington Randolph had said, "I personally will advise Negroes to refuse to fight as slaves for a democracy they cannot possess and cannot enjoy."

Told He's Making Error.

His proposal for a civil-disobedience protest against the draft brought advice from Senators Morse (R., Ore.) and Baldwin (R., Conn.) that he is making a mistake and harming the civil-rights cause.

But Randolph, who recently told President Truman that Negroes would hesitate to shoulder arms unless segregation were abolished, declared, "We've got to face this thing sooner or later and we might as well face it right now."

"Negroes," he said, "are just sick and tired of being pushed around and we just don't propose to take it, and we do not care what happens."

Randolph appeared along with other members of a "Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training." He said he spoke only for himself and was not sure other members of the committee would support a civil-disobedience campaign.

Chaplain Backs Randolph.

But Grant Reynolds, chairman of the committee and also New York State commissioner of corrections, said he would go along with any program Randolph proposed, "including civil disobedience."

Reynolds, an Army chaplain during the war, said the Negroes could only fight with "the weapons of truth and non-co-operation in any form or variety of compulsory Jim Crow."

During the war, he asserted, Negro soldiers were humiliated, beaten, and otherwise mistreated.

Besides the U.M.T. and draft amendments, his committee also asked no Jim Crow in interstate travel for trainees in uniform, a federal penalty for attacking or lynching a trainee, no poll tax for trainees voting in federal elections, and civil-rights guarantees.

Protests Southern Training.

Another witness, Albert Black, chairman of the committee's Washington chapter, also protested against what he called an Army policy of sending Negro soldiers to the South for training.

Black, an Army veteran, said Negroes "do not like the South; do not like Georgia; do not like to serve on a post as viciously segregated as exists in the typical Southern camp.

Randolph was urged by Senator Morse to reconsider his disobedience plans. The senator, an advocate of civil-rights legislation, told the witness that this is not the way to gain full civil rights.

He asked Randolph if he were saying that he would tell Negroes not to shoulder arms "in protection of your country."

Time to Change, He Says.

"That is correct," Randolph said. "I would be doing my country a great service. If it does not develop the democratic processes at home then it is not the type of country worth fighting for."

And if the country goes to war?

Randolph replied slowly that there is time to change the laws, but if it were not done, he "would recommend that Negroes take no part in the Army."

If such a nation-wide protest of Negroes developed, the witness conceded, it probably would "cause terrorism" among them. He said he thinks that is "a price we have to pay to get our democratic rights."

Morse warned: "Then the doctrine of treason would be applied to those participating in that civil disobedience."

I asked them why they didn't go television stations because no Can you beat that."

Communists Won't Win Italian Elections, But Riots Are Likely, Louisvillian Says

Louisville Courier Journal 4-3-48

Red Cross Aide Visits Mother

By MARION PORTER

The Communists will not win the Italian elections—but there will be postelection riots in which anything may happen.

This was the prediction yesterday of George W. Clement, formerly with the Red Cross in Italy. He was director of the Livorno Military Club until it was closed last November.

He is visiting his mother, Mrs. Emma Clement, 2303 W. Chestnut, who was chosen American Mother of 1946. In June he will go to Germany as a Red Cross field director.

Clement spoke of the "paradoxical" situation that exists in other countries as well as in Italy. While Russia makes demands and gives practically nothing and the United States makes no demands and gives much, the Soviet form of government is steadily making the greater inroads.

U. S. Has Given Most Aid.

This he said was especially true in Italy, where the Russians are making excessive reparations demands. The United States, he added, has given Italy more food and material help than any other country has given her.

"While I am most certainly in favor of the European Recovery Plan, I don't think it is the complete answer," Clement said. "And I don't pretend to know the answer myself—but we've got to indoctrinate and propagandize some way."

Communism in Italy, he continued, "isn't so much communism as it is a protest against the existing Government—and a protest against the church." He explained that not having enough to eat and not having jobs tended to make the citizenry bitter against the Government. The Government hasn't had a chance as yet to prove the worth of a democracy, he added. The wealth of the church — the Catholic Church — contrasted with the poverty of the people, is creating some bitterness, he said. However, the people will remain loyal to their church, he believes.

Many Say They're Reds.

The average Italian knows less about the meaning of communism than the average American, Clement said. Most of the Italians who call themselves Communists can be compared to a large group of people in this country who are against the Democrats, the Republicans, and the existing order; who see some good points in communism but who are horrified at the idea of overthrow of the Government and a rule from Moscow. These people would never dream of labeling themselves Communists — while in Italy persons with the same ideas blithely accept the term Communists. "They don't realize what they're letting themselves in for," Clement said.

Clement, who speaks Italian well, said he had had Communists on his staff of 150 and that he had talked at length with them and had made quite a study of the political situation while he was in Italy.

There still are many Fascists in the country masking as Communists and awaiting more propitious times, he said. The true Moscow-directed Communists are the top men of the Labor Party—and there is just one Labor Party. While there are some communities in which the open-shop policy is followed, in event of a strike all plants or businesses—including the ones not affiliated with the Labor Party—strike in sympathy. "Or perhaps in fear is the better word—I've seen it happen time and time again," Clement said. "So the Communist threat to cripple the country with strikes is no idle threat."

He suggested one practical step to curb the strength of communism—but admitted he didn't see how it would be possible to carry it out. It was this: This country could encourage or set up a rival labor party in Italy. And it would gain adherents immediately, he predicted.

"I don't know how it could be done—but if it could be accomplished it would do more than anything else to halt the influence of communism," he said.

Courier-Journal Photo.

SHOWING his mother the silver-lined wine cask presented him by the citizens of Livorno, Italy, is George W. Clement, former director of the Military Club at Livorno. Mrs. Emma Clement, 2303 W. Chestnut, was 1946 American Mother.

WHAS
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The Courier-Journal

SECTION 1
8 PAGES

VOL. 187. NO. 94 ******* Associated Press and Wirephoto LOUISVILLE, SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1948 New York Times Service, United Press 16 PAGES 5 CENTS

Tax Cut of 4.8 Billion Made Law As Congress Beats Veto In 4 Hours

6-Billion Aid Voted Swiftly By Congress

History-Making Measure Goes To Truman

By the Associated Press.

Washington, April 2.—Congress gave final approval by an overwhelming margin today to a $6,098,000,000 foreign-aid bill aimed at stemming the world tide of communism with the goods of peace and the weapons of war.

The House passed the historic measure by a 318-to-75 vote shortly before 2 p.m. The Senate shouted agreement, without even bothering to call the roll, less than 2 hours later.

President Truman was ready to sign the bill into law almost immediately, thus starting history's largest peacetime flow of American dollars, arms, and reconstruction equipment to 18 countries east, west, and south of the Soviet Union.

Wallacites Opposed.

In the House, 167 Republicans and 151 Democrats voted for the bill and 62 Republicans, 11 Democrats and two American Laborites—both supporters of Henry A. Wallace—against it.

The long and bitterly debated program, which Russia already has declared its intention to wreck, will swing into action more than two weeks before the April 18 Italian elections in which the Communists will make a new, perhaps decisive bid for power.

Most of the actual funds remain to be voted later, but the Reconstruction Finance Corporation can advance right away:

$1,000,000,000 for the European Recovery Program—to launch the so-called Marshall plan of helping 16 European countries and western Germany work their way toward economic health.

$50,000,000 each to China, Greece, and Turkey. For Greece and Turkey, the United States aid is wholly military—to help them resist Communist pressure. China's share is partly military, partly economic.

$42 Per Capita.

The entire program—which will cost every man, woman, and child in the United States an average of $42 for the first 12 or 14 months—was rushed to law with speed few would have believed possible when it started through Congress three months ago.

Many veteran foes of past foreign-aid programs shouted their "Ayes" to this one, lining up with the majority view that the spread of communism must be halted.

The bill is built around E.R.P.—the European Recovery Program—and authorizes up to $5,300,000,000 for the first year of it. Four and a quarter years of U. S. aid is "contemplated," but not definitely pledged. The overall cost of E.R.P. has been estimated at $17,000,000,000.

Includes China Aid.

Other items in the bill are:

$125,000,000 in military and $338,000,000 in economic aid to China, whose Government is locked in civil war with Chinese Communist forces.

$275,000,000 in military aid to Greece and Turkey, continuing a similar $400,000,000 program started last year.

Countries sharing in the European Recovery Program—first proposed by Secretary of State Marshall in a Harvard Univer-

Column 5, back page, this section.

Tax Summary

By the Associated Press.

Washington, April 2.—Here is how the new tax law works:

1. Grants relief to all the 52,000,000 taxpayers, ranging from 100 per cent in the lowest income bracket to 5 per cent in the higher brackets. It removes 7,400,000 from the tax rolls completely.

2. Reduces, effective May 1, all tax withholdings from pay envelopes and salary checks. Since the reduction is retroactive to January 1, taxpayers will get refunds next year on such overpayments from January 1 to May 1.

The reductions are accomplished by:

1. A $100 increase in personal exemptions—from $500 to $600.

2. Application of the "community-property" principle to all states. This permits husbands and wives to split the family income equally for tax-reporting purposes—thus holding the tax rates at lower bracket levels. A dozen States now have this principle by local law.

3. Additional percentage cuts. These are figured in after the preliminary tax estimate is made on the basis of old law rates, but using the increased personal exemptions and the community-property principle. These extra cuts are provided as follows:

12.6 per cent off the tax on the first $2,000 of income (after deductions and exemptions.)

7.4 per cent off that part of the tax levied on income above $2,000 and up to $136,700. And 5 per cent off the tax on any part of a person's income above $136,700.

(These percentage cuts are in addition to the 5 per cent reduction in effect since 1946.)

4. An additional $600 exemption for persons 65 years or older, bringing their total personal exemption to $1,200. Exemptions for blind persons also are increased.

5. Applying the community-property principle to estate and gift taxes.

The optional 10 per cent of income deductions for contributions, other taxes, medical expenses, and the like—if they are not itemized—is continued. But the maximum deduction is increased from $500 to $1,000.

Withholding At New Rate Starts May 1

By JOHN D. MORRIS
Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Washington, April 2.—Congress voted the Republican tax-reduction bill into law today over President Truman's protests that it would weaken the United States, thus imperiling world peace.

Both Houses overrode Truman's veto less than 4 hours after its receipt and with many votes to spare. It was one of the worst defeats the Democratic President had suffered at the hands of the Republican-controlled Congress.

Sweeping aside the Chief Executive's contention that the $4,800,000,000 of annual cuts in individual income taxes would cause a federal deficit and increase inflation, the House overrode the veto without a word of debate. The Senate followed suit after a brief discussion.

Cuts Are Retroactive.

The House ballot was 311 to 88, a veto-overriding majority of two thirds with 45 extra votes. The Senate completed enactment of the bill by 77 to 10, or 19 votes more than the required majority. Two members of the House, Morton of Kentucky and Carl Andersen of Minnesota, were the only Republicans who failed to mount the election-year tax-reduction bandwagon.

The cuts are effective retroactively on January 1. Employers will begin withholding taxes at lower rates on May 1. Overpayments during the first four months of this year will be refunded by the Treasury after taxpayers have made their final returns for 1948.

In their rout of divided Administration forces, the Republicans succeeded on the third try in redeeming a campaign pledge made in the 1946 elections that gave them control of Congress. Vetoes of two tax-reduction bills last year were sustained, the first by the House and the second by the Senate after the House had overridden it.

Truman Foresees Increase.

Today's action was taken against a background of world unrest which many of the legislators recognized as a potential

Associated Press Wirephoto.

SHE DENIES IT . . . Mrs. Mattie Faulkner, shown with her sons, Kenneth, left, 4, and Oran, 3, denied in New York last night she had received money or gifts from Joe Louis.

Tax Cut Drops Surplus In Budget to 7 Billion

Washington, April 2 (AP)—President Truman's tax-bill veto came on the same day as a Treasury report showing the Government took in $7,777,669,794.82 more than it spent in the first nine months of fiscal 1948.

Treasury officials estimated passage of the bill over the veto would reduce May and June tax receipts by $600,000,000 and drop the year-end budget surplus be-

Ike Urges Early Draft, Offers to Stay In Khaki

3 Louisvillians—Mrs. Shelton, Mrs. Netherton, And Rabbi Rauch—Back U.M.T. At Hearing

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, April 2.—General Dwight D. Eisenhower called today for an immediate draft and offered to stay in uniform himself as long as needed.

The former Army chief of staff appeared before the Senate Armed Services Committee as the Administration formally asked Congress for universal military training and the drafting of men 19 through 25 to build armed services up to a total of 1,734,000 men.

Other witnesses, including several Louisvillians, were heard.

Says Both Are Needed.

air power cannot alone win a war.

Air power may be used to destroy an enemy's industrial heart, Eisenhower continued. But, he added, there must be men to seize and hold bases from which

Courier-Journal Photo.

PATROLMAN MARVIN ALMON
Says he fired point blank.

Love-Theft

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Eisenhower said the proposed stopgap draft and universal military training were programs of equal necessity. Both should be enacted as soon as is possible, he declared, in the interest of national security and to let the world know that America's championing of free peoples was here to stay.

Single emergency measures, like the temporary draft, he asserted, would not be enough. This action, to fill the vast gaps in present armed-service personnel, he counseled, was of immediate urgency. But, he added, the sustained supplying of trained reserves through U.M.T. was also most vital.

"The United States," Eisenhower told the committee, "cannot live as an island of democracy surrounded by a sea of dictatorship."

Applause Is Terrific.

Although recently retired, General Eisenhower appeared in uniform, with battle jacket, five stars, and campaign ribbons. Applause was terrific as he strode into the room.

Even before the general had completed his testimony, Senator Russell (D., Ga.) observed:

"You have presented a strong argument for the selective draft—general—for one who himself has so persistently resisted another kind of 'draft.' "

"I'll keep my uniform on as long as my country wants me to," was the general's unsmiling reply.

The former Army chief of staff and European commander in World War II let the presidential elections implications drop there.

He brought with him no prepared statement. At the outset he confessed to being "a brass hat," and said he was proud of it. Much of the testimony in opposition to the U.M.T.-draft programs, he noted, had been expressions of fear that the military in the U. S. wanted to "take the country over."

"The armed services," he snapped, "are the bulwark of democracy."

Eisenhower said that air power is of the greatest importance, but air power cannot alone win a war.

Air power may be used to destroy an enemy's industrial heart, Eisenhower continued. But, he added, there must be men to seize and hold bases from which planes can operate to protect long-range bombers.

"And bases mean soldiers taking them and holding them," he emphasized.

"In any war now the first 30 or 60 days may determine our ability to carry on. We won't win a war that quickly, but the period is important."

The Army is ready to start the training program rolling by June 1, he continued. But, he said, it would be two years before U.M.T. could reach maximum volume production; therefore, selective service should be started at once.

Raises Segregation Question.

Senator Saltonstall (R., Mass.) raised the question of segregation of Negroes in the armed forces.

Eisenhower said the human race someday may grow up to the point where there is no race prejudice, but he added:

"When you try to pass laws to force someone to like someone else, you're going to get into trouble."

"In general," Eisenhower said, "the Negro is less well educated than white men. Because of that, if you try to make a complete amalgamation, the Negro will be relegated to the lower jobs and his chances of promotion will be less because the competition (with

Column 5, back page, this section.

Courier-Journal Photo.

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Column 5, back page, this section.

Policeman Kills Prisoner During Scuffle In Hospital

Patrolman Almon, Charged With Manslaughter, Says Victim Attempted to Take His Pistol

Arthur Mitchell, 29, Negro, sometimes called "Joe Louis" by his pals, was slain by a policeman in General Hospital at 6 p.m. yesterday.

Mitchell was at the hospital in police custody for treatment of injuries suffered in a scuffle with other policemen earlier.

Patrolman Marvin Almon, 40, said he fired five times at Mitchell after the latter attacked him and tried to get his gun while both were in a hospital washroom. Almon suffered a cut lip in the fracas.

Mitchell sprinted from the washroom down a hall toward the emergency-room exit in the basement. He dropped dead, with a bullet wound in his chest, after having run about 100 feet.

Shot 4 Times At Feet.

Almon, regularly assigned to the emergency ward, was charged with manslaughter. He was paroled to Night Police Chief Charles Doyle.

Almon said Mitchell had asked to be taken to the washroom. Once inside, Mitchell grabbed him by the neck, struck him, and struggled for his gun, Almon asserted. He would have got it, the patrolman added, if the thong of his night stick hadn't been looped over the gun butt.

Almon said he shot Mitchell point blank when the latter stooped as if he intended to fling some water buckets. Mitchell then dashed through the door and Almon, in pursuit, shot four times at his feet. All four shots missed.

Bullets Chip Hall Walls.

Several bullets chipped holes in the hallway walls.

An intern who declined use of his name partly confirmed Almon's version of the shooting. A nurse, who also withheld her name, said Almon shouted for help and fired after none appeared.

Patrolman Kenneth Smith and John Steele said Mitchell fought them when he was arrested at his home, 1118 W. Madison. They said they were called there by a woman who charged Mitchell had threatened to kill her.

Smith and Steele said they then took Mitchell to his mother's home, 1017 W. Madison, where he asked to be allowed to pick up some clothes.

Had Record of 33 Arrests.

Instead, they related, he stood them off with a poker and had to be clubbed before they could get him in their squad car.

On the way to headquarters, they asserted, Mitchell again "acted up" and subsequently was handcuffed. While being slated on disorderly conduct and assault-and-battery charges, Mitchell requested treatment for a head wound. He was turned over to Almon at General Hospital and his handcuffs were removed.

Night Chief Doyle said Mitchell had been arrested 33 times. He said Mitchell's belligerency had earned him the nickname "Joe Louis" among his acquaintances.

(These percentage cuts are in addition to the 5 per cent reduction in effect since 1946.)

4. An additional $600 exemption for persons 65 years or older, bringing their total personal exemption to $1,200. Exemptions for blind persons also are increased.

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Associated Press Wirephoto.

SHE DENIES IT . . . Mrs. Mattie Faulkner, shown with her sons, Kenneth, left, 4, and Oran, 3, denied in New York last night she had received money or gifts from Joe Louis.

Love-Theft Suit Accuses Joe Louis

By the United Press.

Chicago, April 2.—Joe Louis, world heavyweight champion, was sued for $500,000 today for allegedly alienating the affections of a Negro minister's wife.

The suit was filed in Superior Court by attorneys for the Rev. Matthew Faulkner, 32, Atlanta. It charged that Louis last November, December, and January wilfully destroyed and alienated from the plaintiff the affections of his wife, Mattie Carie Faulkner."

Mrs. Faulkner, 26, is a professional model. The suit described her as a "beautiful woman."

It said that Louis, "through his agent and representative, furnished Mrs. Faulkner with $15,000 and other gifts, making a total of approximately $35,000."

Minister Served In Army.

The suit charged that "the illicit affair was carried on while the Rev. Faulkner was in the Army serving as a captain in the Chaplain Corps."

It said that the Faulkners were "sincerely in love and happy together until the interference of Louis."

They were married September 28, 1941, the suit said, and have "two fine children" who are "devoted" to Mr. Faulkner.

Mr. Faulkner is a Baptist preacher. He was discharged from the Army March 17. According to Sol Friedman, Mr. Faulkner's attorney, the couple separated last December when Mrs. Faulkner left their Park Avenue apartment in New York.

Children With Mother.

Mr. Faulkner filed a separate-maintenance suit in New York, but then had it dismissed. He now is living with his family in Atlanta. The children, Matthew Kenneth, 4, and Oran Drake, 2,

Column 4, back page, this section.

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Continued from First Page.

better educated white men) for promotion will be tougher."

Secretary of Defense Forrestal submitted his draft plans, along with a sample bill covering both the draft and U.M.T., to the Armed Services Committees of both houses.

Men 18 to 45 would be registered, under these recommendations, with nonveterans 19 to 26 liable for two years' military service.

Forrestal's recommendations called for raising the total man power of the Army to 782,000, the Navy and Marine Corps to 552,000 and the Air Force to 400,000—a total of 1,734,000.

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Veterans would be draft-exempt if they have been on active duty 18 months since September 16, 1940. Those with 90 days' active duty would be exempt if they now are enrolled in a reserve unit.

Would Draft Doctors.

Other recommendations:

Doctors, dentists, and veterinarians under 45 could be drafted under presidential authorization.

After two years' service, men would remain in the reserve for five years. They would be entitled to be reinstated in their previous civilian jobs within 90 days after leaving service.

National Guard and reserve units could be ordered to active duty at any time by Congress (instead of the President as in the past).

Two Roman Catholic spokesmen, meanwhile, gave the senators differing views on U.M.T.

Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York reaffirmed his stand "in favor of universal military training as a necessary defense measure in the present times, under the present conditions."

Committee Hears Devine.

Bishop Hugh Lamb of Philadelphia, speaking for Denis Cardinal Dougherty, protested against U.M.T. except for a limited period. He said a permanent program "carries the seeds of a nation in decay."

The Senate committee, winding up its hearings, heard Maj. Gen. M. J. Devine say that the Army's experimental universal military training program is working out fine.

General Devine, former director of the Army's trial U.M.T. program at Fort Knox, told the committee that U.M.T. is the most democratic system of training, but that the draft is needed, too.

"Selective service builds up the Army," he said. "but U.M.T. builds up the nation."

Louisvillian Testifies.

He quoted a Catholic chaplain who said 40 per cent of the Catholic boys had been going to church on Sunday before entering U.M.T., but at the end of six months training, 70 per cent were attending.

Another witness who said U.M.T. builds better men was Mrs. Charles T. Shelton, Louisville president of the Kentucky State Congress of Parents and Teachers.

"It has been interesting to note the marked physical growth and development of each group of trainees," she said. ". . . from a rather bewildered group of immature boys, I have seen emerge a well-groomed, self-assured corps of bright-faced and purposeful young men—with a well-defined purpose now a part of their make-up."

Appeals To Parents.

Mrs. W. J. Netherton, of the Louisville Council of Parents and Teachers, said:

"As a parent I make earnest and sincere appeal to all parents in America . . . to support U.M.T. as a precaution against war and to assure the keeping of peace so that we may go forward with the civilization which is our heritage."

Rabbi Joseph Rauch of Louisville praised the religious program carried on in the Fort Knox experiment. He is chairman of an advisory committee on religion in U.M.T.

"As this committee saw U.M.T. in action (at Fort Knox), preparedness and not combat was the dominant motive," he said.

Senator Baldwin (R., Conn.) said: "Would you say that in health, habits, and moral precepts, the boy got better supervision than in the average school?"

"By all odds," said Rabbi Rauch.

Associated Press Wirephoto.

GENERAL EISENHOWER
Gives testimony.

Fishermen Await Herring Run And Hope for Record Catches

By JACK RIDER.

Colerain.—For the past several weeks fishermen from Mackeys to Winton on the broad reaches of Albemarle Sound and silvery Chowan River have been busy mending nets, tarring nets, cutting and driving net stakes and laying in stocks of salt and vinegar in preparation for what is expected to be one of the biggest herring runs in many years.

The Albemarle and Chowan are the favorite haunt of that bony deep sea denizen when spawning season comes around and the waters literally teem with the shiny white sides of the hordes of herrings as they push their way toward the upper reaches of North Carolina and Virginia streams to reproduce their kind in the age old processions inland from the sea.

Nesting beside the wide and sometime stormy Albemarle and on the banks of the lazy Chowan are countless small fish houses where the herring reaches the end of his way in a salt pack or in a vinegar solution. Farmers and townfolks all up and down the sound and river turn fishermen for two months and eagerly watch the color of the water, the direction of the wind and the run of the herring.

Big Combine Operates.

At Colerain in Bertie County and across the river from Colerain in Chowan County are a combine of three herring processing plants no more kin to the small herring houses than River Rouge is to a blacksmith shop.

These three fish packing plants owned principally by a group of Colerain men, comprise the biggest fresh water fish packing combine in the world. In a single day the cutting tables and canning rooms of these three plants can and often do handle a million and a half herring—some mathematical mind might calculate how many bones that might be. At any rate it would be a figure in bones almost comparable to the national debt figured in mills.

Here at Colerain—in the Chowan Packing Company, the Perry-Belch Fish Co., and at the Cannon's Ferry Fish Co., on the other side—the age-old spawning surge of the herring runs head on into the mechanical age.

Herring Trail Ends.

When the herring is dipped from the boats of the hardworking fisherman and dumped onto an endless belt, the silent procession of the herring to his spawning ground is ended in a hum of machinery, a hiss of steam and a babble of voices.

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At the Perry-Belch plant, owned by L. D. Perry and the heirs of the A. T. Belch estate, 90 expert Negro women wait the flow of herring from the cleaning drum. With sharp knives and flying fingers, they rid the herring of his head, the soft underpart of his belly and his entrails.

Roe Is Taken.

The herring goes on in one direction while the roe is taken off and packed in brine. White women, who are expert in their trade, earn from five dollars per day and up.

When the herring are divested of the inedible portions of their anatomy, part of them move on the endless conveyors to salting bins; in a capacity day's processing, around one million of the million and a half wind up in salt. A liberal portion of salt to every herring runs the salt bill into a big figure, since one million salt herrings are really salty—over 75,000 pounds of salt being spread on a million.

The remaining half million herring on a capacity day run will be divided into about 350,000 in vinegar cure and 150,000 canned.

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This is the joint from which cometh the foul odor. Here the scrap is heated and dried out and bagged later to become a prime ingredient in fertilizers and cattle foods. In the cooking of the scrap fish, oils are removed and saved too.

Oil Comes Back.

This fish oil, and it is truly smelly, comes back to the local scene fre-

O. H. Britton, Ahoskie plumbing contractor who turns fisherman when the herring begin to run, sits "holding" while Elbert Bazemore, Harrellsville township farmer, winds twine for mending nets. Burgess Jones, plasterer, sits strictly in an advisory capacity.

S. M. Miller of Tunis exhibits a "forerunner" of the millions of herrings expected up the Albemarle Sound and Chowan River this spring.

Tommy Lee Bazemore, who lives between Tunis and Harrellsville, pours hot tar over his nets to preserve them against

Martin School Principal Helps His Race To Better Living Through Better Learning

By Z. BRYAN HAISLIP.

Parmele.—"I sorta feel like it's my step-child," says Principal W. C. Chance, speaking of the Parmele High School for Negroes, which he founded almost 40 years ago. "I've never taught anywhere else, so I don't know how it would feel to teach at another school. But I've watched this one grow and I've worked hard to keep it going. I feel like it's part of me now, and I'm proud of what we've been able to do."

He has reason to be proud of the school which he began in a church and a home in 1909. Today it ranks on a par with the best Negro high schools in the eastern part of the State. On the faculty of 12 are two teachers holding M.A. degrees; one from Columbia and one from Northwestern. Five others have done graduate work.

The school plant includes two class buildings, a building used by veterans' classes, a vocational agricultural shop, a small arts shop, and a teacherage. There is an enrollment of 460; 312 in grammar school and 168 in high school. Its graduates are well prepared for college and about 70 per cent of them go on to institutions of higher learning. This compares with an average of about 50 per cent for the other high schools in Martin County.

Still Gets Things Done.

A short, energetic man in his early sixties, Chance is still active in improving the school's facilities for serving the people. Recently, farming and trades classes for veterans were started. When Chance was trying to get the classes for veterans, representatives of the Veterans Administration told him he would have to have a building in which to hold the classes. He went to Camp Lejeune and bought a war surplus barracks. It now serves as the shop building.

At the present time he is interested in getting a water system for the school.

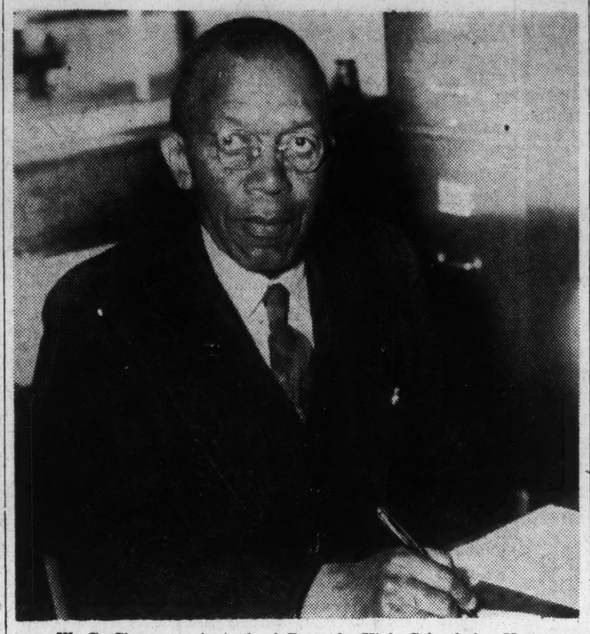
"All of our water supply has to come from the pump in the school yard, and we have no indoor toilets. It's a sanitation hazard," Chance explains.

Not Enough Buses.

The school also suffers from a shortage of transportation. Martin County provides five school buses for Negro schools. Two of these serve the High School at Williamston and the other three are stationed at Parmele. Since the Parmele buses must cover all of the northern end of the county, they are inadequate.

A native of the Parmele section, Chance was graduated from A. and T. in Greensboro with an A.B. in agriculture. He was studying law at Howard University in Washington when he decided to return to his home and start a school for his people. At first he planned to get the school under way and then return to Howard. The work at Parmele kept him too busy. Although he has done work at Hampton and the State College at Durham, he has never taken his law degree.

The first year he had 30 pupils



W. C. Chance, principal of Parmele High School for Negroes, commenced as an educator in 1909 with 30 pupils in the classroom space he could borrow in church and home. Today 480 students attend his school, including extensive buildings.

tour through North Carolina and as a result of the interview, he promised Chance that he would pass through Parmele and speak to the people of that area.

Washington Speaks.

In those days regular passenger train service was maintained through Parmele. On the day that Dr. Washington was due to pass through, a large crowd of whites and Negroes poured into the village. In carts and buggies, by train and on foot, they came to hear the famed educator.

"It was night when his train arrived," Chance recalls. "We didn't have any way to light the station, so the day before he came through, I tied rags around some sticks and let them soak in kerosene. I put these all around the station and had men ready to light them. When the train pulled in, all the torches flared into light."

The train was delayed for 15 minutes and Washington spoke to the crowd in the torchlight. "One thing he said gave me inspiration to go on with my work," Chance relates. "He said, 'You can't keep a man in a ditch unless you stay down with him; if you climb upward, you'll bring someone else up with you'."

Through Representative Small, Chance met Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, then secretary of Yale University. Dr. Stokes became interested in the school and it was one of the first to benefit from the Phelps Stokes Fund. This fund was established in 1911 by the Phelps Stokes family for the purpose of aiding Negro education and improving through the years, giving advice and suggestions for improvements, as well as aid."

New School of Brick.

"Sister Rhoda" laid the first brick when the new building was begun in 1914. For the county's share of the funds, three prominent white citizens—A. J. Manning, county superintendent of schools, Godard, and R. G. Harrison—signed a personal note. The county repaid them as the taxes were collected.

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"We are now raising money to build a gymnasium. We have no place to play basketball except an

his students a well-rounded education, with emphasis on practical training as well as academic work. The veterans' trades classes illustrate this. In these classes, which Negro veterans can take under the educational benefits of the GI Bill, carpentering, brick-laying, cabinet-making and upholstering are taught. Approximately 78 veterans are enrolled. When the veterans' program is terminated, Chance hopes to keep the classes to give training to adults.

Got County Agent.

It was largely through his efforts that Martin County became one of the first counties to get a Negro farm agent under the Farm Administration. Through Rep. Small, he met Dr. Seaman A. Knapp of the Agriculture Department, the father of Farm Demonstration work. Dr. Knapp put him in touch with C. R. Hudson, who was to be head of the work in North Carolina.

Chance persuaded Hudson to send a committee to investigate Martin County with the establishment of a Farm Agent's office in mind. Though the committee returned an adverse report, the decision was reversed through the influence of Rep. Small, and the office was set up.

Some of the opposition Chance has encountered from members of his race is seen in an incident that followed the coming of the first Negro farm agent.

"I was in New York at the time," he says. "When the agent arrived the people thought he was a government spy, sent down to catch bootleggers. They gave him the cold shoulder. When he got back, he was discouraged and ready to quit. But after a while the people began to understand what he was trying to do and the work was very successful."

Got Much Help.

In his work, Chance has received the aid and encouragement of most of the people of Martin County. A. J. Manning, superintendent of county schools from 1914-23, was a great friend and supporter of the school. His son, J. C. Manning, now county superintendent, has also aided the school.

"If there has been any opposition," Chance declares, "it has come from petty jealousies, or persons who didn't understand our purpose. I remember many friends from the early days when the school was young. The late Mr. J. G. Staton of Williamston always gave us his moral support. Mr. J. E. Pope, former county commissioner, is our old friend."

In nearby Robersonville, he counts among his friends the Reverand J. M. Perry, Mrs. Vernon A. Ward, Sr., and N. C. Norman, former member of the county board of education.

"Race feeling is better in North Carolina than in most Southern states—or Northern states either, for that matter," he says. "She is a great example and inspiration to other states. There are injustices but they are on the decrease. Much has been done to give equal opportunity to all citizens and it's a matter of

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Harold and Wilbur are attending Union University in Richmond. Anson Grey lives in New York. The youngest son, Edward Anderson, is in school at Parmele.

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"I am a firm believer in peace

fresh water fish packing combine in the world. In a single day the cutting tables and canning rooms of these three plants can and often do handle a million and a half herring—some mathematical mind might calculate how many bones that might be. At any rate it would be a figure in bones almost comparable to the national debt figured in mills.

Here at Colerain—in the Chowan Packing Company, the Perry-Belch Fish Co., and at the Cannon's Ferry Fish Co., on the other side—the age-old spawning surge of the herring runs head on into the mechanical age.

Herring Trail Ends.

When the herring is dipped from the boats of the hardworking fisherman and dumped onto an endless belt, the silent procession of the herring to his spawning ground is ended in a hum of machinery, a hiss of steam and a babble of voices.

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Roe Is Taken.

The herring goes on in one direction toward the final cleaning tables, the "innards" of the herring are inspected by another fast fingered crew of 45 "roe pickers." portion of salt to every herring runs the salt bill into a big figure, since one million salt herrings are really salty—over 75,000 pounds of salt being spread on a million.

The remaining half million herring on a capacity day run will be divided into about 350,000 in vinegar cure and 150,000 canned.

Waste Makes Fertilizer.

Back at the cutting table of the plants after the fish has been gutted and the roe picked out in huge vats,

Tommy Lee Bazemore, who lives between Tunis and Harrellsville, pours hot tar over his nets to preserve them against rotting. Nets cost about $300 and must last more than a season to make herring catching profitable.

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This is the joint from which cometh the foul odor. Here the scrap is heated and dried out and bagged later to become a prime ingredient in fertilizers and cattle foods. In the cooking of the scrap fish, oils are removed and saved too.

Oil Comes Back.

This fish oil, and it is truly smelly, comes back to the local scene frequently in a much altered manner—as soap. Fish oil is also used in making paints and varnishes and in many other chemical preparations.

In the operation that takes the scales from the flow of herrings, one might think that this water would run back into the river and take with it the trillions of herring scales. Not so.

Another operation takes the scales and removes the enamel. Look at the bottom on your shirt or dress of the string of cheap pearls that someone gave you last Christmas. Yes. Herring scale enamel!

In a normal season—two months—fishermen that furnish these three houses are on the receiving end of more than $150,000 for their hard labor and ingenuity.

Nets Are Costly.

Around 40 boats serve these three plants. The average boat has two men working it. They average about 12 nets per boat. The average net costs $300, and deep water nets (30 feet deep) cost up to $700.

The fisherman unless he is careful and takes good care of his nets from year to year is not in a money making position. Nets will last many years if they are properly tarred before going into the water and are properly hung and dried after the season ends.

Payroll for the three plants which employ some over 400 workers will run over $12,000 per week. With an average year and about six full peak weeks of work, an additional $72,000 goes into the pockets of the workers who come from a 20 to 30 mile radius of the plants, hauled in by buses owned by the fish companies.

Canning of the herring and roe is done by high speed machines, rated at 60 cans per minute.

All roe is canned. Last year it sold for around $8 per case (24 cans).

The canned herring sold for around $2.75 last year.

Two Cents Per Fish.

Fisherman are paid by the thousand for herring. Early in the season the price is up around $20 per thousand or two cents per fish. In an average year the price usually tapers off to about $10 per thousand.

Over a million pounds of salt and more than 18,000 gallons of strong vinegar are used in the average year by the three plants.

The Colerain men in addition to Perry, who owns a considerable interest in all three of the plants are Leo Wynn, L. A. Perry and A. T. Belch, Jr., the latter representing the A. T. Belch estate.

On the Chowan side, the plant is managed by part-owner Emmett Elliott.

In 1947 a combination of bad weather and plain bad luck brought one of the smallest runs of herrings ever seen to the unloading wharfs of the packing plants.

Big Season Expected.

Indications now are that 1948 will bring one of the biggest runs of the decade.

Early herrings are called "forerunners." To the amateurish eye, they appear no different from any other herring. However, the fishermen assert that there is a considerable difference. Particularly in the taste.

This year the advance crop of "forerunners" is one of the best seen since the turn of the century. With more than 50,000 already hauled as of the extremely early date of March 19.

This tug-of-war between O. F. Taylor of Winton (left) and Will Whedbee (with cigarette holder) of Ahoskie is the worst job required in preparation for reaping the silver harvest of herrings. After nets are dipped in tar and cooled, they must be stretched until the mesh is separated. "Hog lard," Taylor says, "is the best thing to get the tar off your hands." James and Tommy Lee Bazemore are in the background. (Photos by Jack Rider).

Old Terrapin Liberated

By BILL SHARPE.

Beaufort.—Now, if a terrapin could read, he would be better prepared for what is shortly going to happen to him. There is very little chance, however, that he has heard about a Congressional Budget Committee, and so if the behaviorist school of psychology still means anything to diamond-back terrapins, some 2,600 of them are due for traumatic experiences if not actual death.

Very soon, the whole 2,600 of them are going to be poking their pulsive little reptilian necks up through strange and brackish waters, to listen hopefully but without avail for the sound of Captain Charlie Hatsell's spoon thumping the side of his fish bucket. They won't hear it because all the brood stock remaining in special breeding pens here at Piver's Island are to be released from a captivity stretching back 50 years, and at last put back into a natural environment. The step marks the end of a long Federal-State program of breeding the succulent (to some people) terrapin to prevent what appeared to be their utter extermination.

Taste Changes.

The breeding program, lately under the direction of Dr. Herbert F. Prytherch of the U. S. Fisheries Laboratory here, was quite successful. In latter years, some 15,000 or more year-old terrapin were released annually in Atlantic waters, where they thrived, a total of about 250,000 of them. In the meantime, however, demand for terrapin stew and terrapin soup dropped off during prohibition, and the fancy prices of $100 a dozen went down to as little as $12 a dozen. With the decrease of public interest in the project, it couldn't muster enough support in Congress for continuation.

The brood stock consists of 2,000 females and 300 males, and since the Federal and State governments each contributed half the original stock, half the old-timers will be distributed in North Carolina waters, the other 1,300 in the waters of other Atlantic states suitable for their propagation.

Terrapin dishes were famous in the gay nineties and are still served in a few places catering to epicureans, but their use as a food generally is so light that commercial fishermen do not find it profitable to go after them.

Year's Free Board.

In their breeding pens here, the old-timers (some of them known 50-year-olders are still laying fertile eggs) stuck to an instinctive pattern. Mating was under water; the female climbed out of the tidal waters into a sand beach, scraped out a hole, laid her eggs, artfully covered it, while still leaving an air pocket, then went back to the water and forgot about her progeny. The young were captured by fishery attendants and kept and fed a year in a special brooding house, then strewn, like so many large seeds, into likely waters.

For the 2,600, most of them matured comfortably under the nursing of Captain Hatsell, it may come as a shock to have to chase their food this spring without benefit of that dinner bell, and some local people say they'll starve for lack of experience in foraging for themselves. Or maybe die of pure heartbreak for the Captain.

Needless Discomfort.

There would have been no fuel shortage last winter, government figures indicate, if the 85 per cent of American homes which have no insulation had been insulated full-thick with mineral wool. Fuel savings up to 50 per cent are possible when a house is properly winterized, with the added summer bonus of cooler rooms even on hottest days.

erans, representatives of the Veterans Administration told him he would have to have a building in which to hold the classes. He went to Camp Lejeune and bought a war surplus barracks. It now serves as the shop building.

At the present time he is interested in getting a water system for the school.

"All of our water supply has to come from the pump in the school yard, and we have no indoor toilets. It's a sanitation hazard," Chance explains.

Not Enough Buses.

The school also suffers from a shortage of transportation. Martin County provides five school buses for Negro schools. Two of these serve the High School at Williamston and the other three are stationed at Parmele. Since the Parmele buses must cover all of the northern end of the county, they are inadequate.

A native of the Parmele section, Chance was graduated from A. and T. in Greensboro with an A.B. in agriculture. He was studying law at Howard University in Washingtn when he decided to return to his home and start a school for his people. At first he planned to get the school under way and then return to Howard. The work at Parmele kept him too busy. Although he has done work at Hampton and the State College at Durham, he has never taken his law degree.

The first year he had 30 pupils and classroom space in a church and a home. The county was operating a one-room school in Parmele on a four-month year basis—teaching two months in the summer and two minths in the winter. Chance ran a full eight-month term from the beginning.

His aunt, Miss Rhoda Chance and a Miss Jernigan from Greenville taught with him the first year. "Sister Rhoda," as Chance called his aunt, passed away only recently.

Couldn't Pay Them.

"I don't know what kept them with me," he says, "unless it was faith in the work, because I couldn't pay them anything."

He soon found that he would need help to keep the school open. The late J. G. Godard, then president of the Bank of Martin County, extended him credit to enable him to travel about soliciting funds. He went to Washington and appealed to the late John H. Small, who was at that time representing the First District in Congress.

Representative Small, sympatheic to his cause, gave him letters of introduction and arranged an interview with Booker T. Washington in New York for him.

Dr. Washington was planning a trip through Parmele and speak to the people of that area.

Washington Speaks.

In those days regular passenger train service was maintained through Parmele. On the day that Dr. Washington was due to pass through, a large crowd of whites and Negroes poured into the village. In carts and buggies, by train and on foot, they came to hear the famed educator.

"It was night when his train arrived," Chance recalls. "We didn't have any way to light the station, so the day before he came through, I tied rags around some sticks and let them soak in kerosene. I put these all around the station and had men ready to light them. When the train pulled in, all the torches flared into light."

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Through Representative Small, Chance met Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, then secretary of Yale University. Dr. Stokes became interested in the school and it was one of the first to benefit from the Phelps Stokes Fund. This fund was established in 1911 by the Phelps Stokes family for the purpose of aiding Negro education and improving race relations.

"Dr. Stokes would always help us," Chance declares. "Sometimes when I'd go to see him, he would be just coming in from preaching somewhere. He would give me $50 or so from the money he'd received from preaching."

School Consolidated.

For the first two years, the school was operated as a private institution. Some of the people who might have helped were skeptical of putting money in a school run by one man, so in 1911 it was consolidated with the county school at Parmele. An advisory board, on which Representative Small, County Superintendent R. J. Peele and J. G. Godard served, was appointed for the school.

Shortly after the county took over, Chance began a drive to raise money for a brick building. Help was received from the Rosenwald Fund.

"One of Mr. N. C. Newbold's first official duties after he was appointed director of the Rosenwald Fund was to investigate the school here," Chance says. "Of course, about all he could investigate was our needs and plans, since we had nothing else. He has been helpful

New School of Brick.

"Sister Rhoda" laid the first brick when the new building was begun in 1914. For the county's share of the funds, three prominent white citizens—A. J. Manning, county superintendent of schools, Godard, and R. G. Harrison—signed a personal note. The county repaid them as the taxes were collected.

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Serves as Teacherage.

Until about three years ago, this building served as a dormitory for students living some distance from the school. Since the school buses have been added, it is now used as a teacherage. Another brick building, housing high school classrooms, offices, the library and an auditorium was completed in 1941.

"We are now raising money to build a gymnasium. We have no place to play basketball except an upstairs room in the grammar school building." Even with this handicap the girls' team, coached by M. A. Armistead, has done well.

One of the 25 North Carolina teams chosen to participate in the third annual Twin-State Tournament held in Charlotte March 19-20, they advanced to the semi-finals before being eliminated by the Schofield School team from Aiken, South Carolina. The Parmele team went into the tournament with a season record of 16 victories against one defeat.

Team in Finals.

Last year's team played in the North Carolina Negro Sports Association tournament, losing to Winston-Salem in the finals for the State championship. Four members of that team played on the Shaw University varsity squad this year.

An annual event at the school is Patrons' Day, when the parents of the students attend school and discuss problems and possible improvements with the teachers. Held sions gave rise to a drive to raise on March 9 this year, the discusmoney for the construction of a gymnasium. Headed by Chance's wife, Julia J. Chance, the drive has as its goal $5,000 by September 30.

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What the average Negro wants, he declared, is an equal opportunity to develop the best that is in him.

The Parmele school, despite its growth, still can use help. Here, for instance, is the source of drinking water for the school, which has no indoor toilets. (Photos by Whit Saunders).

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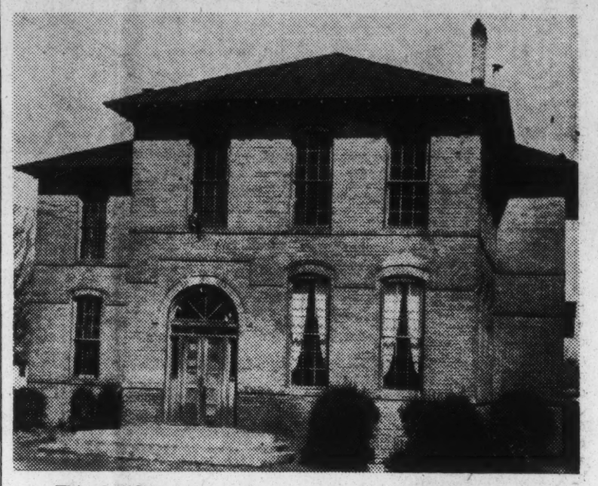
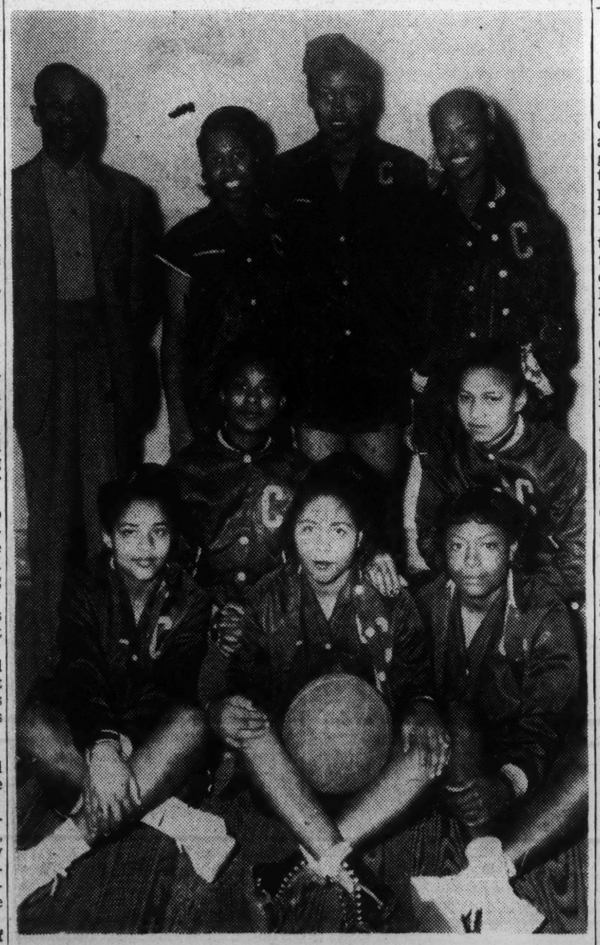
A large part of the good race feeling in Martin County can be attributed, Chance feels, to Sheriff C. B. Roebuck and his officers. He has a great respect and admiration for Sheriff Roebuck and says that the feeling that law officers will be honest and fair can do much towards eliminating race conflicts.

"I am a firm believer in peace and good will," he says. "If we can be at peace and respect each other as good neighbors, we need never have any trouble."



This building now houses the Parmele grammar school for Negroes. Completed in 1916, it was the first brick school building in Martin County and one of the first in Eastern North Carolina.



Parmele's basketball players rank high among their race in North Carolina. Here's the girls' team and coach. Left to right are, back row, Coach M. A. Armistead, Maggie Howell, Leah Jones and Deloris Bryant; second row, Susie Moore and Doris Black; and front row, Mack Morris Andrews, Rosa Howell and Naomi Close.

Textiles, Ceramics Placed on Exhibit

By JANE HALL.

Gallery talks on the watercolors, ceramics and textiles now on exhibit at the State Art Gallery will be given this afternoon at 3 o'clock by the two artists whose works comprise the show. The exhibition will remain open through April 18.

The two are Alexander Crane of the faculty of the School of Architecture at State College, watercolorist and textile designer, and William Watson of Wilson, ceramic designer and maker.

Although Watson has exhibited in Ohio and New York State, this is the first time his work has been shown in North Carolina. Crane has had a one-man show in New York and has exhibited on numerous occasions in various places in his native New England. Last fall, a group of his watercolors was shown at Ferree's here. The current exhibition at the State Art Gallery is the artists' first in this gallery.

Vivid Textile Designs.

A vivid crimson wool altar cloth by Crane is the first thing that strikes the eye of the gallery-goer The cloth was commissioned as a memorial for one of the small chapels in the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine in New York.

"The Whaling Blanket," a wall hanging, is an example of overlay technique, whereby the figures are woven into the cloth and yet are raised above it, somewhat in the manner of a flat relief. The hanging has a dark green background and nautical designs.

"The Ewe and the Black Lamb" is a charming portrait of the two embroidered and hooked in their own wool. The animals were owned by Crane.

Other examples of Crane's textile designs include numerous wall hangings, two unusual hooked rugs—"The Cats" and "The Cranes"—and a number of men's wool scarves, which he designs for commercial use.

Among the artist's watercolors are a number of Raleigh scenes. These are: "On Hillsboro Street" (the old Hinsdale home); "Yates Mill"; "Landscape with Yellow Tree" (at a point just down the road from the mill); and "Construction, Raleigh" (near the Seaboard Station).

A native of Massachusetts, Crane became affiliated with the State College faculty of the School of Architecture last fall, where he teaches painting, drawing, sculpture, and design. Since his arrival in this State he has become interested in a study of native North Carolina crafts.

Crane was educated at Harvard and subsequently at the University of Berlin. He has studied art under a number of noted teachers, including Federigo Ioni of Siena, Italy, and Eliot O'Hara and Charles Martin.

Among other things, he has had his own painting classes; dealt in pictures and antiques in Paris, London, and New York; and founded and served as president of the Connecticut Watercolor Society.

Table Ware Shown.

Originality in design, form, and color mark Watson's display of pottery in the current show. In his workshop at Wilson, Watson is busily engaged, among other things, in designing and turning out tableware for outdoor eating. A part of the gallery's exhibit is a table set with Watson's ware.

One place-setting is of stoneware glaze in brown and beige; another is salt glaze stoneware in sand and deep tan; and a third is lead glaze stoneware in sand color, with design. The pitcher displayed is of pleasing proportions.

Several of the vases and bowls in the show are owned either privately or by the Cranbrook Museum, and were lent for exhibition purposes. These include a tall, handsome copper blue glaze vase, a lead glaze taupe vase; and a low fire matte nickel glaze with ruby luster decoration.

Other Watson items are: several unusual stoneware crackle glaze bowls and vases; ash trays of sodium uranate glaze; white glaze table ware; small bowl of cobalt glaze; and a small stoneware vase, with Albany slip decoration.

Pottery Process Shown.

In the small gallery there is a display of his working models for tableware, plus pictures, which show the actual process of pottery making.

Watson, whose study of ceramics and sculpture was interrupted by four years' military service, recently received his M.A. in ceramics at Ohio State and has just opened his own workshop in Wilson. He is the son of Mrs. Mary Lou Watson, and the late R. P. Watson, of Wilson. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1936, and subsequently studied at the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Michigan.

Watson has exhibited in group shows in the Syracuse and Toledo Museums, and the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts. In 1941, he won honorable mention for pottery in the contemporary ceramics of the Western Hemisphere exhibition at the Syracuse Museum.

SEEDS HELP EUROPE FEED HUNGRY PEOPLE

New York.— (AP) —Americans are helping Europeans feed themselves from their own soil. More than 5,000 orders for collections of seeds have been received by one New York seed house.

Most of them are for the collections to be sent to England, but others go to Germany, Italy, France, the Netherlands and to Greece. Many of the garden clubs of this country send in blanket orders.

Garden seeds sold last summer in parts of Germany for two cents a seed.

THE EXPLORER AMERICA FORGOT

By SAUL PETT, Associated Press Writer

NEW YORK, April 3.—The old man perked up, blinked misty eyes.

"Long time since any reporter came up here," he said. His tone suggested gratitude. Yes, he said, he could remember all of it. Some of it wasn't pleasant, but he could remember.

Thirty-nine years ago Tuesday, April 6, Com. Robert E. Peary, four Eskimos and an American Negro fought their way to the North Pole after almost 20 years of trying. Nobody had done it before. No man since has reached the Pole on foot.

Rewards Slow

Yet the real rewards of fame have been slow, if not completely unwilling, to catch up with Matthew A. Henson, last survivor of that final, 133-mile race to the top of the world. It wasn't until March of this year that a major scientific body remembered to honor him. The Geographic Society of Chicago gave Henson a gold medal, and Com. Donald B. MacMillan, who was on that 1909 trip until the last leg, said:

"Justice has been lurking in the background. Tonight, it is in the open. It stands ready to pay tribute—regardless of race, creed, class or color—to a man who has been patient through the years."

Henson lives in obscurity, in a small apartment along the drab, northern fringe of Harlem. He is now 81, frail, a little hard of hearing. His vision in one eye is nearly gone, thanks to snow blindness.

Born on a poor Maryland tenant farm, Henson went to sea at the age of 12. Nine years later, he joined Peary, then a young naval lieutenant, on an expedition to survey a canal across Nicaragua.

Was Crack Hunter

Then they turned north, where they were to fight the icy vastness for the next 18 years. Henson became an expert trail-blazer and dog-team driver. He learned to speak the numerous dialects of the Eskimos. He became a better hunter than most of them. On the long marches, in the howling winds and 70-below temperatures, which had killed or driven other men mad, Henson never broke.

Peary, the great explorer-engineer, and his Negro assistant fought cold, starvation and maddening frustration together for 18 years. Many times, they had to eat their dogs, burn their sledges for fuel, crawl across treacherous, thin ice.

Once Matt's rifle saved Peary from being mangled by an enraged musk ox. Another time, he nursed his commander's frozen feet, saved him from gangrene and wouldn't let the discouraged Eskimos go away and leave him.

All this is not only Henson's story; others who were on the Peary expeditions have recounted it all.

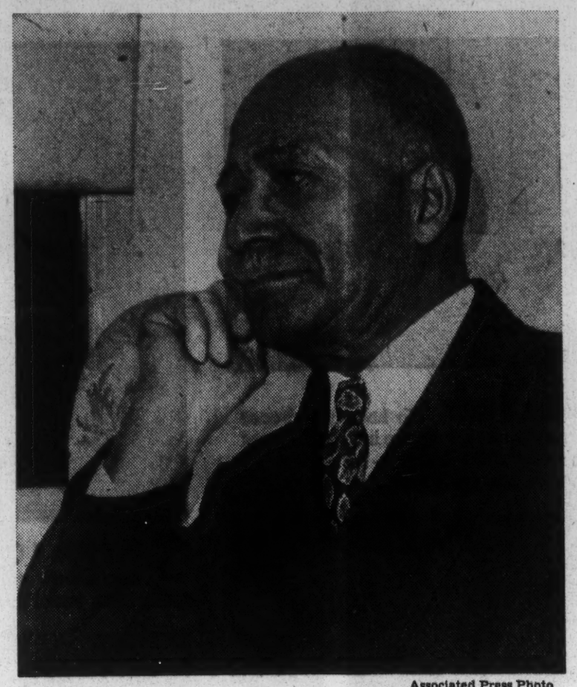
The Big Moment

On one trip, in which they had to eat 34 out of 35 dogs, Peary and Henson established that Greenland was an island. As a result of their work, the U. S. was able to claim the northern tip of Greenland, which was traded in 1917 to Denmark for $25,000,000 and the Virgin Islands.

But the big moment came on April 6, 1909, on a privately financed expedition. Their ship, the Roosevelt, had taken the party to within 500 miles of the pole. From then on, it was a race across the thin ice up to the Pole and back before the spring tides could turn the shifting ice into a death trap.

The full party made its way to within 133 miles of the pole. Here, Peary chose only Henson and four Eskimos to accompany him the rest of the way. The Navy commander and his Negro assistant took the lead alternately, each with his own dog team and two Eskimos.

On April 5, Peary "shot the sun." His position was now 89 degrees, 25 minutes, only 35 miles from the Pole and farther north than any man ever had traveled before.



Associated Press Photo

Matthew A. Henson is the only surviving member of the Peary party which reached the North Pole 39 years ago Tuesday. Not for him the laurels given great heroes.

The next day, Henson started first. Less than 15 miles from the Pole he suddenly stopped. In the ice along the tracks of his sledge runners, thin slivers of water appeared. In the next second, he was thrown into the water, his furs and heavy sealskin boots pulling him under. Matt flailed his arms, vainly looking for something to grab. Then he found himself half on ice, half on water. One of the Eskimos had saved him.

Before long, they were on their way again, racing against a rising temperature which was now up to 15 degrees below. At last, they stopped; and 45 minutes later, the 53-year-old Peary arrived. He quickly set about taking observations.

In a voice trembling with emotion, Peary announced, "Eighty-nine degrees, 57 minutes. The Pole at last!"

The next 30 hours were spent at the top of the world, resting and making many observations to confirm their position. They knew it would be impossible to find the exact 90-degree pinpoint of the pole, but in their hours there, they must have crossed it several times.

The Cook Claim

On his return to Indian Harbor, Labrador, Peary breathlessly wired the news to America, "Stars and Stripes nailed to North Pole." But instead of finding immediate glory, the tired explorer learned that Dr. Frederick A. Cook claimed he had reached the Pole a full year before.

It was many, many months before Peary's claim was vindicated by investigators. But by then, the edge had worn off his achievement. The public wasn't much interested.

Here, Matt Henson picks up the story.

"When we got back to New York," he said, "I found myself without a job and broke. I had made only $25 a month on the trip to the Pole. Then William A. Brady, the theatrical producer, wanted me to go on a lecture tour.

"But Peary said no. He didn't

Continued on Page 9

Henson Tries to Forget Days With Peary

Continued from Page 8

say why, and it was the first time in 20 years we disagreed. I needed the money, and so I lectured. But because of that, I guess, I never heard from Peary or saw him again until 11 years later, just two months before he died."

Matt paused, looked down at his thin fingers. "Peary was a great man," he said. "No doubt about it. Personally, he was a little on the cold side, but we always got along well except . . . well, we liked each other—as far as it went."

Matt was asked to explain that "except."

His eyes dimmed. He said, "It was just something that happened at the Pole. Just between us. But I'm not saying what. I never have told, not while Peary was alive, and I never will now that he's dead."

Peary Honored

In the years that followed, after Cook's claim was discredited, Peary finally was retired as a rear admiral with the thanks of Congress, and later was buried as a hero in Arlington Cemetery.

Several attempts were made to give national recognition to Henson. They came to nothing.

In 1913, Matt was found working in a Brooklyn warehouse. Finally, he received a "presidential appointment"—as a messenger in the New York Customs House.

While Matt worked for $1,000 a year and later $1,200, when he became a mail clerk, three moves were launched in Congress to retire him immediately on a decent pension. All three bills died.

"But I never think anything against the Government," Matt says. "I see what they're up against."

Henson worked out his full time, until he was retired at 70 on a pension which now pays him $85 a month. His wife still works so they can get along.

Received Medal

In 1945, or 36 years after the epic dash to the Pole, Henson received his first reward. The Navy asked him to come downtown to receive a special medal awarded by Congress. Matt said the trip would be too tiring. There were several more letters, and finally a car was sent up to Harlem for Henson.

At Navy District Headquarters in lower Manhattan, he was given a silver medal which bore Peary's words, "I can't get along without him."

"It wasn't much of a ceremoney," Matt recalls. "Just a few of the office help around. A captain, I think, gave me the medal. He read the citation, and didn't say anything else until he noticed the date of the expedition on the medal—1908-1909.

"I guess it embarrassed him because he said, 'This has been a long time in coming.' "

In his living room, Matt proudly exhibits his two medals, and says, "I appreciate them. Yes, I do. But, well, you can't live off them."

Henson spends his time quietly. Occasionally he goes for a long walk or down to the Explorers' Club, of which he is a lifetime member, to hear a lecture.

He doesn't think much about those days with Peary.

"I try to forget. The hardships, the bad luck. Things like that time with the 36 dogs, you try to forget. It's better that way."

Then Matthew A. Henson, only living man to reach the top of the world on foot, leaned back on the sofa, closed his eyes and sighed, "That's all there is to say, I guess."

Atlanta's First Patrol Of Negroes on Duty

Constitution - 4/4/48

By ROLFE EDMONDSON

For the first time in the history of the City of Atlanta, Negro policemen Saturday afternoon and night patroled the streets of the city.

The eight Negro patrolmen worked in the immediate vicinity of and along Auburn Avenue, where thousands of Atlanta's Negroes gather over the weekend.

First arrest by Negro policemen came five hours and 24 minutes after they went on duty. Patrolmen Claud Dixon and E. H. Lyons at 8:24 p. m. booked James Richard, 33-year-old Negro, of 73B Mason Ave., N. E., on a drunk charge. Eleven minutes later Patrolmen Robert McKibbens and John Sanders brought in Ethel Porter, 30-year-old Negro, of 322 Butler St., on a disorderly conduct-fighting charge.

Crowds of Negroes lined the sidewalks and virtually blocked traffic to watch Negro officers make their first swings over beats late in the afternoon.

Since their employment a month ago, they have been attending a police training school conducted by Police Capt. C. D. Hardeman. Though they still have four weeks to go in the training school, they were placed on the streets Saturday afternoon in order that they could obtain practical experience.

While on the streets, they were under the direct supervision of Police Capt. M. W. Weaver, Police Lt. E. G. Stevens and Sgt. E. B. Brooks.

They will spend each Saturday on patrol duties until they have completed the routine classroom work.

The Negro policemen, when assigned to regular duties in Negro districts, will be under direct supervision of Sgt. Brooks, and will work out of an office in the Atlanta Negro YMCA, located at 22 North Butler St.

Under regulations laid down by

Continued on Page 11-A, Col. 1.

Constitution Staff Photo—Ryan Sander

NEGRO POLICE BEGIN PATROL—Two of Atlanta's new Negro policemen, who began patrol in the Auburn Avenue section, are shown in full uniform as they check a driver's operating license while other Negroes look on with approval. The policemen, left to right, are E. H. Lyons and Claud Dixon.

POLICE

Continued From Page 1

Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, the Negro policemen will be permitted to wear uniforms only while on duty.

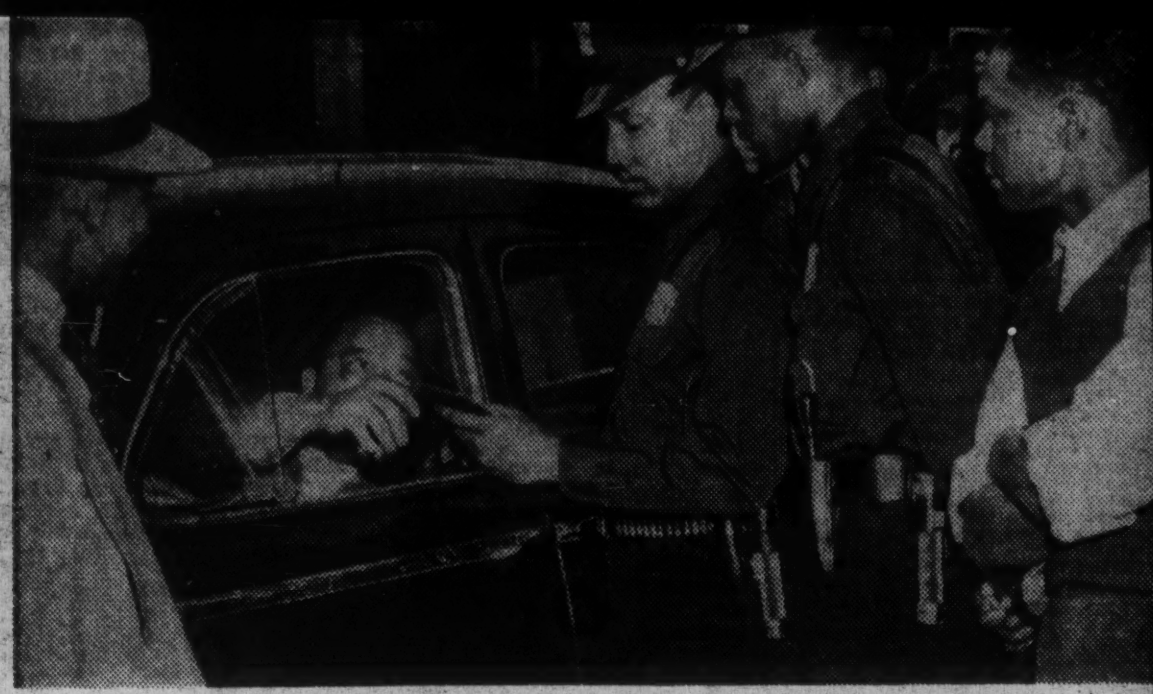
Carl Sutherland, head of the Personnel Department of the City of Atlanta, pointed out that the Negro policemen had been carefully selected.

"There were 109 applications from Negroes for positions in the department," Sutherland said. "My department eliminated exactly 101 of these Negroes through careful screening, and I believe that the eight selected to become policemen will be of value to Atlanta."

A survey of the records in Sutherland's office shows that Negro Patrolman Claud Dixon, who recently passed his twenty-first birthday, is a graduate of Booker T. Washington High School, and has had three years in Morehouse College.

Henry H. Hooks, 31, another of the Negro policemen, is a graduate of Gadsden High School, served four years in the Navy, and since discharge has been employed here as an insurance salesman.

John Paul Jones, 28, spent four years in the Army, graduated from the Booker T. Washington High School, and has been a student at Morehouse College for the past two and a half years. He also is District Commissioner for the Negro Division of Boy Scouts in the Atlanta area.



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Ernest Howell Lyons, 28, was a Staff Sergeant in the Marines, spent three and a half years in the Pacific Theater; graduated from Booker T. Washington High School, had one year in Morehouse College, and graduated from the mechanics course given by the Mergenthaler Linotype Company.

Robert McKibbens spent three and a half years in the Army and attended Booker T. Washington High School for two years.

John Sanders, Jr., spent four years in the Army, and is now employed by the city as building custodian at the Clark Howell School. He is a graduate of the Booker T. Washington High School.

Willard Strickland spent three years in the Army, being discharged as a Staff Sergeant. He is a graduate of the Grace Laboratory High School, located at Spellman University, and has also had one year at Morehouse College. While in the Army, he served as a military policeman. At the present, he is an insurance salesman.

Willie T. Elkins spent five years in the Army Coast Artillery, being discharged with the rank of Captain. He is scheduled to graduate from Morehouse College in June with a BS degree.

These are the first Negroes ever to be armed with police powers in Atlanta. A search through histories fails to show where any Negro policemen were ever before employed in Atlanta, even in Reconstruction days. Histories show that during the Carpetbag era Negro soldiers patroled the streets of Atlanta, but no mention is made of Negro policemen.

Before placing the Negro policemen on duty here, Chief Jenkins, Capt. Weaver and Sgt. Brooks toured other Southern cities where Negro policemen are employed, and patterned their work here on the system employed by the cities they visited.

Atlanta Journal 4-4-48 M Price

Negro Police Arrest Limitation Upheld by Court

The right of the chief of police to prohibit Atlanta's new Negro policemen from arresting white persons was upheld by the Georgia Supreme court Wednesday.

G. Herbert Yarn, Atlanta undertaker, attacked the assignment of Negro policemen to areas in which Negroes reside and restrictions placed upon their powers in Fulton Superior court. Judge Bond Almand dismissed the complaint and Yarn appealed.

Presiding Justice W. H. Duckworth, in the Supreme court opinion, said that the City Council of Atlanta gives the chief of police power to assign policemen and he can limit their authority to make arrests or even prohibit them from making arrests, in his discretion.

"Many valid reasons could be stated as to why such a policy would be wise, but the wisdom of the decisions of the chief of police in performing his lawful duties is not a matter for judicial review," Justice Duckworth commented.

On the complaint that there is no demarkation between areas in Atlanta occupied by different races, the Supreme court said that the chief of police could make such demarkations as he desires.

The Weather

Partly cloudy, not much change in temperature. Lowest temperature expected, 63 degrees; highest expected, 86 degrees.

(More weather information on Page 2.)

THE HOUSTON POST

World-Wide Service of Associated Press, United Press; Houston's Best Local Coverage

64th Year, No. 16

HOUSTON 1, TEXAS, TUESDAY, APRIL 20, 1948

Supreme Court Upholds Rule On Negro Votes

South Carolina Hopes Dashed As Hearing Refused

WASHINGTON, April 19. (AP) — The Supreme court Monday cut the last ground from under Southern Democratic groups which had sought to bar Negroes from their primaries by operating as private clubs outside the legally established election machinery.

THAT IS the effect of a decision not even to hear an appeal from Democratic party officials of Richland county, S. C. The decision, from which no dissents were noted, leaves in full force the following finding by the federal circuit court of appeals at Richmond, Va.:

"No election machinery can be upheld if its purpose or effect is to deny the Negro, on account of his race or color, an effective voice in the government of his country or of the state or community wherein he lives."

In 1944, after the Supreme court ruled that Negroes could vote in Democratic primaries in Texas and Louisiana, South Carolina repealed all the laws which had tied the party operations to the state election machinery. The 1946 primary then was held under party rule alone.

THE THEORY, advanced in the appeal to the high court, was that as a purely voluntary association the party could pick its own members.

George Elmore sued when he was denied a vote. He won a judgment in federal district court that he was entitled to cast a ballot. That finding has now been upheld all the way up.

In South Carolina, state Democratic leaders had no immediate comment. Negro leaders there greeted the Supreme court decision as a victory. The court ruling came on the eve of a Columbia municipal primary. However, James H. Hammond, a member of the state Democratic executive committee, said that Negroes were not eligible to take part in it, because "they were not properly enrolled as required in the 30-day period before the primary."

Cherry Gets Registration Charge

News & Observer 5/13/48

Armed with statements which they said contained evidence of widespread discrimination against Negroes by precinct registrars in North Carolina, Progressive Party Chairman Mary Price of Greensboro and Tinsley L. Spraggins, Raleigh Negro professor who is State legislative representative of the North Carolina Association for the Advancement of Colored People, yesterday asked Governor Cherry for assistance.

The Governor, after a brief conference with Miss Price and Spraggins, said that "I don't know anything I can do besides what I have already done. I have turned it over to the State Board of Elections and asked them to give it proper attention."

He did this, he explained, when Miss Price wrote him last week that Negroes were being prevented from registering in some counties by arbitrary action of registrars.

"Of course," the Governor said, "I am in favor of anybody registering who is entitled to register."

Through Channels.

Secretary Raymond Maxwell of the State Board of Elections, to whom Miss Price and Spraggins also presented their statements yesterday, said he informed them that the matter could come before the State Board of Elections only through proper channels, that is on appeal from county boards of elections.

This would take so much time, Miss Price said later, that it actually means "that there is no redress that can be had in time to get the names of applicants on the books during this registration period if the local registrar chooses not to be 'satisfied' with their qualifications."

Spraggins said the NAACP would file a court action in an effor to get the names on the registration books.

The Progressive Party now is circulating its petitions for the purpose of securing the 10,000 signers necessary to get on the ballot next November, Miss Price said. In order to sign the petition, a person must be a qualified voter and "some of those now attempting to vote intend to sign our petition," she said.

Places Named

The statements which were offered to the Governor and Maxwell yesterday asserted that qualified Negroes had been refused the right to register in Fairmont, Robeson County; Bolivia and Supply, Brunswick; Spring Hope, Nash; Oriental, Pamlico; Brevard, Transylvania; Warrenton, Warren; Vanceboro, Craven; Rocky Mount, Edgecombe; Shuford Precinct, Catawba; and Clarkton, Bladen.

In all except Catawba, Miss Price said, most of the applicants had been turned down because of literacy tests, although some were school principals, ministers, college graduates, and veterans who voted absentee ballots when they were overseas.

In Catawba, she claimed, the county elections chairman refused to permit applicants to register as "independents." Although the instance was not contained in Miss Price's report, Mrs. Vernon A. Ward, Sr., of Robersonville in Martin County complained in a letter to The News and Observer Tuesday that she also had been denied the right to register as an "independent."

Although "independents" may not vote in the primary, they still are entitled to register, according to Secretary Maxwell, who said that registrars are required to keep the general books open during the primary registration. Anyone who desires to register as an "independent" should be entered on the general election book, but not on the party primary books.

SEVERAL NEGROES REGISTER AT FAIRMONT PRECINCT

Lumberton, May 12—Accompanied by a Fayetteville Negro lawyer and a Negro newspaper reporter from Pittsburgh, Pa., 15 to 20 Negroes went into the Fairmont Chamber of Commerce office about 10:45 this morning to register.

Registrar C. B. Stafford of Fairmont No. 1 precinct instructed applicants to write out a section of the constitution from either of two books on hand at the office. He said he expected to register those who showed ability to read and write this material, as required by law.

Several Negroes were registered yesterday, Stafford said, after complying with the law, but none showed up this morning until the group came in with the lawyer and reporter.

Stafford said late in the day that nine Negroes already had registered with him and "about 15" more were awaiting a chance to register. He said he intended to keep working tonight to "register anybody who can qualify."

Registration at Fairmont Precinct No. 2, where Registrar Van Beach resigned last Saturday, was postponed until Friday. The new registrar, Wilton Lewis, stated he intended to devote his entire time Friday afternoon and Saturday to conducting the registration, but that he asked applicants to wait until then so that he could attend to business matters in the meantime.

Registrars of Robeson County voting precincts have instructions to observe election laws in registering new voters, E. P. Bond of Rowland, chairman of the county board of elections, said in Lumberton yesterday.

MAY 10 1948

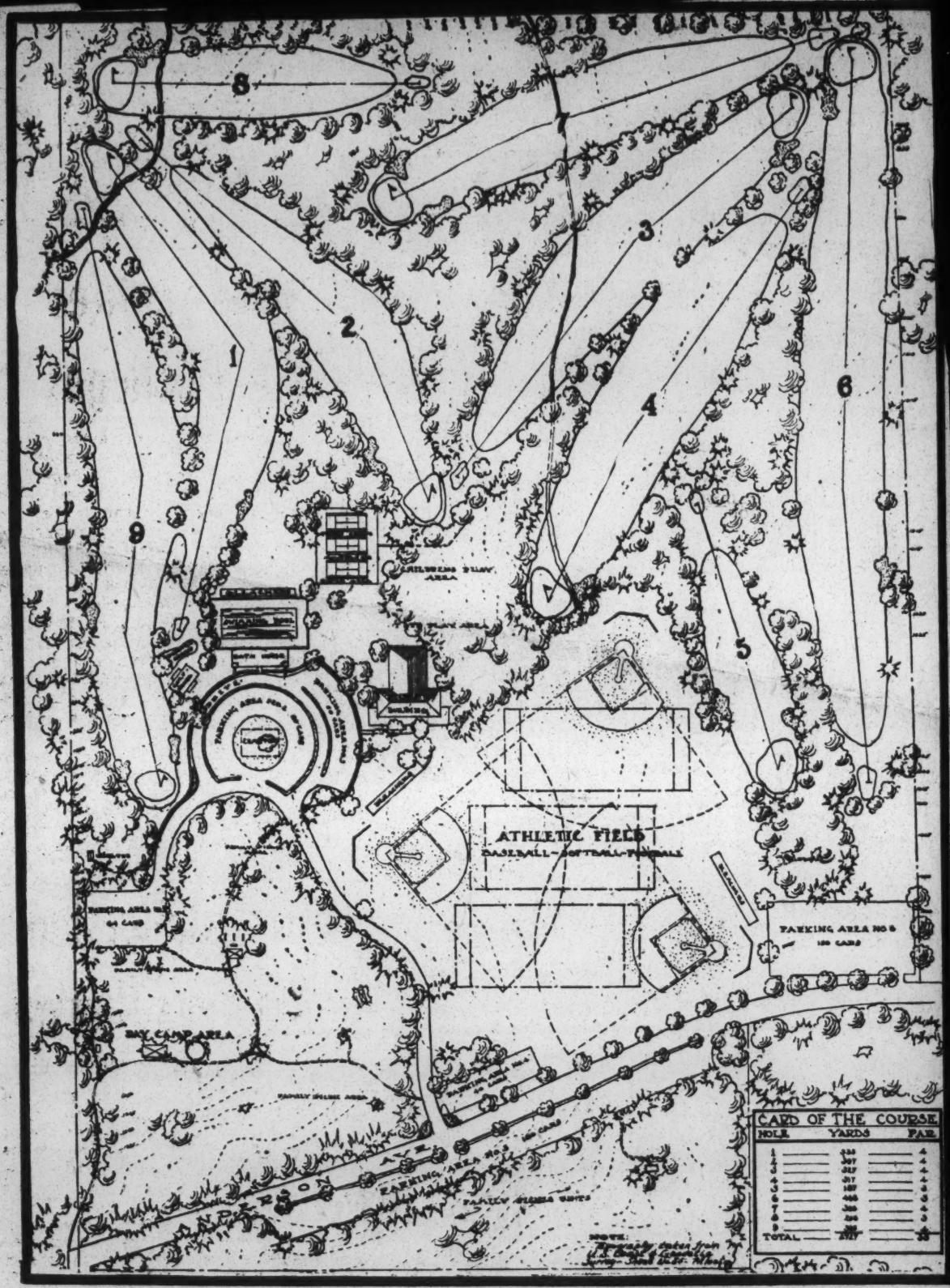
Hospital Aid Nets Award

Constitution

Atlantans who helped provide hospital facilities for Negroes will receive Community Service Awards Wednesday at the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Atlanta Urban League.

The program, geared to Wednesday's observance of National Hospital Day, will begin at 8 p. m. in the Chamber of Commerce auditorium at 33 Pryor St., N. E. Health, housing, education and veterans' service will be discussed.

Participating in a panel discussion on citizens' responsibilities will be John E. Ransom, State Director of Hospital Services; R. L. Cousins, of the State Department of Education; Q. S. Doty, Director of the Atlanta University Veterans' Guidance Center, and Arthur Shepard, of the Federal Housing Administration. Dr. Ira De A. Reid will be discussion leader.

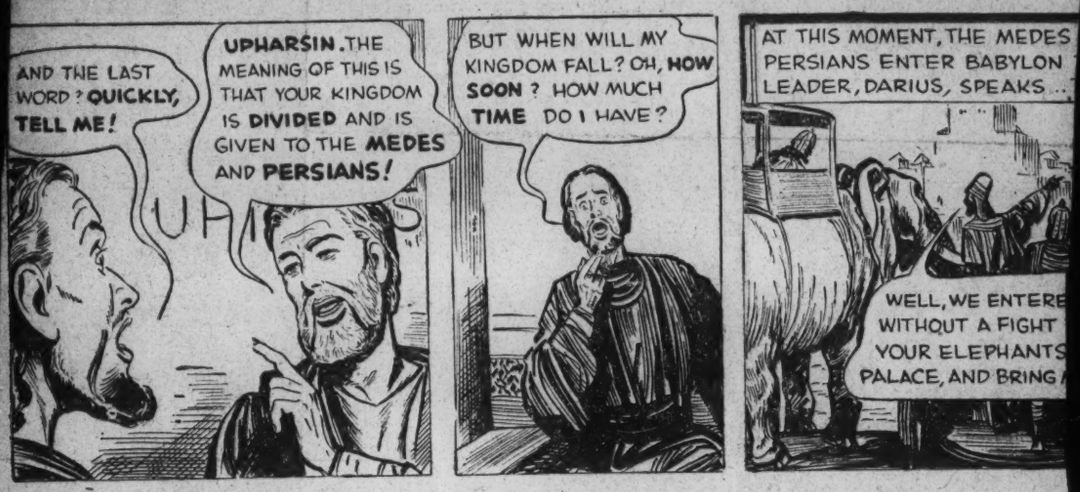


DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR ANDERSON PARK

Map prepared by Charles M. Graves, park and recreation engineer, for the commissioners of roads and revenues, Fulton county, shows the general development plan for Anderson park for Negroes. The park is to be one of the most attractive in the South when completed. Plans for it were approved recently and construction already has begun on the playgrounds, ball diamonds, and other portions which can be placed in service immediately. The park, nearly 100 acres, is located four miles from Five Points on Anderson ave., between Mozley dr. and Simpson rd. There will be a nine-hole golf course, a swimming pool and tennis courts.

P 14-C — June 6, 1948

CK AND JUDY IN BIBLELAND



ORDO

LOUIE

LEGISLATIVE MADHOUSE

Congress Becomes Hubbub As Closing Day Appr

By FREDERICK C. OTHMAN

WASHINGTON — High among the temporary rafters which keep their rusty iron roof from crashing down on the ears of the Congressmen is a tin box the size and shape of a coffin. 's painted funeral gray. This the loudspeaker designed to adcast the words of the esmen to the far corners of hamber. And, oh, oh e noise cascad- of it in nal, ays Con- ugh

the United States.

All over the vast room knots of their fellow lawgivers added to the din with conversations of their own. And there was Rep. George A. Dondero of Michigan in the chair, banging two gavels alternately and threatening and pleading in turn with the statesmen to shut their mouths. Bang, bang, bang!

I don't know what was the cause of the confusion. Maybe the boys had Spring fever. Perhaps they were thinking up new names to call President Truman.

"Will the members kindly refrain from audible conversa- tion," said the courtly Dondero

noise from the floor eddied louder than ever.

"I appeal to the members to assist me in keeping order," Dondero said. They ignored him. They also ignored Rep. John Davis Lodge of Connecticut, who hoped he could persuade them to allow the immigration of 18,000 patriotic Poles.

Rep. John Lesinski of Michigan, thought he could foil the noise by being louder still. He shouted at the top of his lungs into the machinery and what came out was concentrated decibels sounding something like a locomotive starting a coal train up a hill.

"A point of order," screamed

his gavels ano fore Rep. John sissippi, the spe man in the Hou opinion that the were full of Com ing to infiltrate i

Came his unde John Bell William sissippi, to echo the white-maned add: "Even if t Baptist preacher those displaced they ought to s rebuild their ow

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e noise cascad- of it in nal, ays Con- ugh en-

OTHMAN

heard such a on the Maid agara Falls. was bel- as a suc- rked in- views 00 dis- con- into the United States.

All over the vast room knots of their fellow lawgivers added to the din with conversations of their own. And there was Rep. George A. Dondero of Michigan in the chair, banging two gavels alternately and threatening and pleading in turn with the statesmen to shut their mouths. Bang, bang, bang!

I don't know what was the cause of the confusion. Maybe the boys had Spring fever. Perhaps they were thinking up new names to call President Truman.

"Will the members kindly refrain from audible conversation," said the courtly Dondero. He thumped one of his yellow hickory gavels on his mahogany sounding board. The members ignored him.

"THE LONGER we delay, the longer we'll be here tonight," he reminded them. They shushed slightly and a succession of lawgivers tried to introduce amendments which would let assorted varieties of Europeans into the country. The noise from the floor eddied louder than ever.

"I appeal to the members to assist me in keeping order," Dondero said. They ignored him. They also ignored Rep. John Davis Lodge of Connecticut, who hoped he could persuade them to allow the immigration of 18,000 patriotic Poles.

Rep. John Lesinski of Michigan, thought he could foil the noise by being louder still. He shouted at the top of his lungs into the machinery and what came out was concentrated decibels sounding something like a locomotive starting a coal train up a hill.

"A point of order," screamed Rep. Clare Hoffman of Michigan. "The amplifier is up so high we can't hear anything."

The engineer turned down the power; the abashed Rep. Lesinski muted his vocal cords, and still Rep. Hoffman couldn't hear because now only a whisper from the overhead coffin competed with the uproar of the gentlemen.

THE CHAIRMAN had to give his gavels ano fore Rep. John sissippi, the spe man in the Hou opinion that the were full of Con ing to infiltrate i

Came his unde John Bell William sissippi, to echo the white-maned add: "Even if t Baptist preacher those displaced they ought to s rebuild their ow

Bang, bang, went Rep. Do Please, he sa tlemen in th their convers rooms? Som didn't. The to slacken

What ha the disp know. T tirely dif There's a lot m ache a Donde

FEDERATION OF COLORED WOMEN WILL ELECT OFFICERS TODAY

As the convention of the Florida State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs winds up a three-day program today, members will hear final club reports and elect officers.

Highlighting yesterday's sessions, as the convention, attended by Negro women from all over the state, got under way, was the "Parade of Cities" at which time gifts were presented by the clubs to the organization in celebration of its 40th anniversary.

The Florida State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs was organized 40 years ago in St. Augustine, and two of the founders are at the meeting here. They are Dr. E. C. Hampton M. D., 72 of Ocala, and Miss Ertha M. White, founder and manager of the Clara White Mission in Jacksonville. The mission, for old people, was named in honor of Miss White's mother.

GIFTS PRESENTED to the state organization last night will be used for furthering scholarship loans and assisting members and groups of the Junior Federation of Colored Women in Florida.

Mrs. F. M. Walker, retired school teacher of West Palm Beach, is president of the Florida State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. Mrs. Amanda R. Howard, St. Petersburg, is president of the local group.

The convention opened Sunday afternoon with a platform meeting at Bethel Metropolitan Baptist Church with Mrs. O. M. McAdams, superintendent of the Happy Workers Kindergarten and Day Nursery, the guest speaker. Last night, the meeting, with "Parade of Cities", was held at Second Bethel Baptist Church.

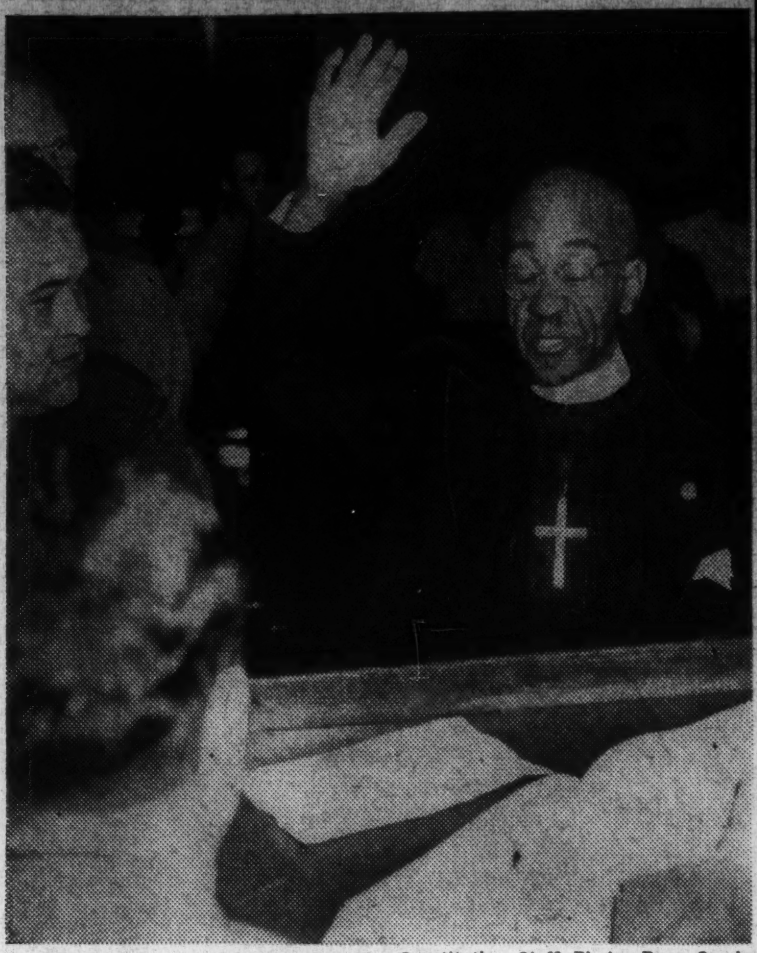
WITH EXCEPTION of the two church meetings, all sessions are held at Melrose Park Clubhouse, Melrose Avenue between Eighteenth and Nineteenth Streets. Today's meetings are at 8 a. m., 3 p. m. and 8 p. m.

At the executive board session yesterday, committees were c

MRS. M. F. WALKER

appointed and legislative matters relative to difficulties experienced by some of the cities discussed. President Walker reported at the morning session on the southeastern regional convention, National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, she attended in Montgomery, Ala.

About 150 persons are attending the meetings. They represent approximately 20 Florida cities.



Constitution Staff Photo—Ryan Sanders

FATHER DIVINE'S "Apostle Paul" protests innocence.

'APOSTLE PAUL'

Father Divine Disciple Fined $17 for Cursing

By KEELER McCARTNEY

A gaudily dressed Negro man, who declared he was "Apostle Paul" from Father Divine's flock in San Francisco, was fined $17 in Recorder's Court yesterday afternoon on charges of disorderly conduct—cursing.

Listed on police records as "Mitchell Davis," of College Park, he stood before Deputy Recorder Frank White and protested vehemently that he was not drunk and had not cursed.

Chief witness against "the Apostle Paul" was the Rev. Tom Hanspike, a legless former Negro minister who testified he summoned Patrolman C. E. Strickland to Ivy and Decatur Streets to stop an outburst of cursing by Davis.

Manspike, a familiar figure on Decatur Street, appeared in the courtroom in a wheel chair.

Resplendent in white collar, cutaway vest, frock-tailed coat, striped trousers and leaning on a cane, Davis declared:

"I wasn't drunk and I didn't curse. But I plead guilty and beg mercy of the court."

Appearing for trial only a short time after he was arrested, he protested: "I'm no more drunk than you are, your honor. I can preach as good a sermon right now as I ever could."

Davis told the court his wife and "her seven children" lived in College Park and he and his two children live in San Francisco. He added he arrived in Atlanta only yesterday on a visit.

Alternately giving his age as 67 and 76, he said he was ordained a minister in the Episcopal Church at Macon when he was 15 years of age.

Fingering a gold cross suspended about his neck he said he joined Father Divine's flock many years ago and had been stationed in California for several years. He had a silver badge bearing the words: "Apostle Paul-Universal Peace." And the date 1927.

A gold badge pinned to his lapel read: "Captain Evangelical Missionary UCW."

Note for SRC project:

When Willard Strickland was suspended from Atl police, both papers carried story. When he was rei stated the next day, and the white policeman who had pressed charges against him was fired, neither paper reported it. --source: Willie Mae.

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It's Our Business
To Help
Your Business

October 19
1948

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Division of Journalism
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Kytle:

I ran across a couple of things I thought might interest you. They are enclosed with this letter.

Sorry, but I've had no more returns from my publishers yet.

Very sincerely,

J. Russell Heitman

J. Russell Heitman,
Secretary-Manager

Const.

CHANNING COPE'S ALMANAC

Aunt Susie, No Saint, But a Fine Person

SUNDAY, NOV. 14, 1948

Well, here it is Aunt Susie's birthday and I want to pay tribute to a fine person. If you've never heard Aunt Susie Benton on our radio program at 12:45 p. m. you've missed a treat. Her cheerful, throaty greeting from Yellow River is one of those things that everyone ought to hear. It does you good.

Aunt Susie Benton is our cook. But she is lots more than our cook. She is a member of the family. We wouldn't think of making a change around the farm without talking with Susie about it. And when it comes to the daily routine at the farm she is right smack at the center of things. It's amazing how many things she does in a day and how easily she does them and how pleasant she is along with it. She feeds the old gander and gives him water twice each day, she puts out grain for the birds and fills their bath, she not only feeds four Scotties but she ministers to them a thousand times each day. She pets them and scolds them and walks them and de-fleas them and gets the beggar lice and the cockle burs off them. Then there is a little strayling which took up with us and she now has a litter of puppies under the house. Susie is bringing her along. Lee, the Beagle, gets his food and treatment.

Aunt Susie washes and irons, cooks the best food you ever ate (no one can touch her turnip greens) gathers the greens, milks the cows, pasteurizes the milk, keeps the house, washes the dishes, mends a little, and does the thousand and one things that need to be done in a farm house.

But most of all, Aunt Susie is a fine person and thoughtful friend. Our doings are her doings and our problems are her problems and our progress is her progress.

She wouldn't like for me to tell her age. She isn't old or young, she's just right. And—she's doing all right. She has her own chickens and hogs and cows and garden and radio, and all the rest.

She has a world of friends, including a large radio audience and her fellow church members. She came up the hard way, plowing a mule and all, but she's through with all that now. Today she is still busy, but she is happy. She is no saint, anybody would know this from the big grin she wears, but she is a woman of high character.

There ought to be more Aunt Susie's for the world's sake.

Our hope is that she lives forever. Certainly, we can't conceive of Yellow River without Aunt Susie's presence there.

Start the week right by tuning in WCON at 6 a. m. and 12:45 p. m. We'd like to have you with us.

Channing Cope

...day, 1 week, 35c; 1 month, $1.52; 3 months, $4.55; 6 months, $9.10; 1 year, $18.20. Daily only, 1 week, 30c; 1 month, $1.30; 3 months, $3.90; 6 months, $7.80; 1 year, $15.60. Subscription prices by mail on request. Single copies: Daily, 5c; Sunday, 15c.

NOVEMBER 12, 1948

and radicals of both races, and a great deal more of the crime of lynching.

But here is Negro of unimpeachable probity who says his lot was peaceful and even happy as a humble sharecropper's child in rural Alabama and he didn't even realize there was race or lynching.

Nowadays, an agitator who has grown wealthy crusading for the Negro, tells the world his race in the South lives in a state of terror. Is it not likely he is mistaken? Is it not likely that the great proportion of the Southern Negroes find their condition secure and with a normal quota of happiness, as did the young Joe Louis who never "got to know about race and lynchings until we got to Detroit?"

PAGE (s) MISSING

Chattanooga's Homicides Follow Sectional Pattern

THE 35TH HOMICIDE of the year occurred in Chattanooga Saturday night and the fact moved the *Chattanooga Times* to do a bit of research. The reporter ascertained from the homicide bureau of the police department the following statistics:

There have been in the city 555 homicides from Jan. 1, 1936, to Nov. 15, 1948.

Of these, 448 were killings of Negroes by other Negroes.

Of killings of whites by whites there were 68.

Of killings of whites by Negroes there were 9.

Of killings of Negroes by whites there were 9.

In the 21 other homicides the identity of the slayer was never learned.

The 12-year record, of course, is bad, though not out of line with other Southern cities. The encouraging aspect of the statistics comes from the fact that the homicide rate has been decreasing. In 1936 there were 76 homicides in the city. In 1947, with a greatly increased population, the total was 35, the same figure being reached this year with a month and a half to go.

The grave aspect is the very heavy proportion of killings of Negroes by members of their own race. The same condition obtains in all of our urban communities in the Deep South. It is fortunate, and occasion for hope, that Negro leaders are deeply concerned over the situation and are endeavoring as best they may to correct it. In many communities they are urging that the courts and juries deal sternly with Negroes guilty of crimes of violence and are giving full support to officers of the law. Their newspapers, their ministers and their educators are exerting wholesome influences which are certain to have effect.

However, the Chattanooga statistics, as will those kept in any other Southern community, make it plain that the incendiary propaganda spread by such folk as Pittsburgh's sensation-hunting Sprigle is fundamentally untrue.

The Southern Negro does not live in terror of violence by the white man, despite the occurrence here and there of crimes by whites

against blacks. That form of murder called lynching happens seldom, and the killing of a Negro by a white is comparatively rare. The Negro's greatest hazard in the South is from his own race.

19 Nov 1948 Journal

South Awaits Outcome Of Segregation Test

By FRANK ELEAZER

KING GEORGE, Va., Nov. 19 (U.P.)—The 73 Negro high school students in rural King George county are demanding "equal" school facilities, and the whole South is watching to see what happens.

The school board here has agreed to put up for the Negroes a new and modern building, with central heat and inside plumbing —something they don't have now.

It is a test case in which the demands of the students have been directed by the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People a spokesman for the association said that when the new Negro school is built, then the question will be: Does the new "equal" but segregated school plant afford equal educational opportunity? The NAACP doubts in advance that it will.

Elimination Aim

"Our eventual aim is to eliminate segregation in the schools," said Leslie Perry, NAACP Washington representative.

The white people who make up two-thirds of this low-income county's 5,400 population also are doubtful. It as with misgiving that they voted recently to borrow money for the new school building.

"The Negroes don't want a school of their own," said the Rev. Floyd Cartwright, rector of four white Episcopal churches here. "They want to get into the white school."

King George county currently is balanced precariously on a compromise under which NAACP attorneys have agreed to hold up a further court attack on the school board pending erection of the new building.

Order by Police

Federal District Judge Sterling Hutcheson on July 31 ordered the board—along with school boards in two other Virginia counties—to give Negro students the same break it gives whites. His order was issued in response to a Negro suit. It was based on a series of Supreme Court rulings that date back to 1938.

Perry said the action was an opening gun in a fight that eventually will spread over the South. NAACP attorneys thought the "upper South" was the best place to get started, he added.

Equalizing King George's schools was quite a job. When school opened this fall, the Negroes still poking fires in oil-drum stoves, and plodding to outdoor privies. So 10 students marched up to the white school, with its furnace heat and inside plumbing, and said they wanted to register.

Read Constitution

School Superintendent T. Benton Gayle was waiting at the door with a copy of the state Constitution. He read section 140: "White and colored children shall not be taught in the same school."

Replied Negro Lawyer Martin A. Martin, of Richmond: "It appears to me that the laws of Virginia in this particular are contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States."

Martin's next move was to ask Judge Hutcheson to hold the school board in contempt. The court ordered the board to "show cause" why this shouldn't be done.

In an evasive maneuver the board jerked five courses off the white high school's curriculum. Protests from parents of the white 177 students convinced board members, however, this was not the way to equalize. The courses were restored.

It was then, with some prodding by county officials, that King G[illegible]ge counians voted, 322 to 2[illegible] to sell $150,000 in bonds to [illegible] the Negroes a new school. [illegible] were cast by 49 Negroes.

[illegible]w both sides have submitted [illegible]dge Hutcheson a compromise [illegible]er which the Negroes will not [illegible]s the contempt action until at [illegible]t Sept. 1, 1949, while the board [illegible]lds the bu[illegible] considers [illegible]er [illegible]ust [illegible]udge is expe[illegible]

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But he added in a comment typical of white sentiment on farms hereabouts:

"I'd give my life if necessary to block these efforts to break down segregation. If segregation were ordered abolished, it would mean war in the South."

Most people here blame President Truman for the controversy. The county went for Dewey on Nov. 2, casting 316 Republican votes, 248 for Truman, and 152 for Thurmond.

Many believe that the President, if Congress approves his civil rights program, may issue an order to bar segregation. (Actually, ending separate schools is not among Mr. Truman's civil rights proposals. It was recommended by the President's commission on civil rights.)

Cartwright, the rector, explained local feeling this way:

"The white people here still feel they (the Negroes) are an inferior race, that they have no right to demand equalization, and that they can't use equal facilities."

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Jul

NOV. 19, 1948

North Georgia Farm Living Plane Lifted

C. of C. Judges Find Vast Improvement In Habersham and Purple Valleys of Gap

By ROBERT H. McKEE, Journal Staff Writer

TOCCOA, Nov. 19.—North Georgia since the beginning of the war has improved its general living conditions from 35 to 50 per cent.

That's the impression received by a team of judges touring this part of the state to select winners in the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce Farm club community improvement contest.

The judges moved to Toccoa Friday after the careful inspection Thursday of the Fairview section of Habersham county and the purple valleys among the hills of Rabun Gap.

In the latter they found many new houses, scores of houses repainted with landscaped surroundings and 18 organizations represented in committees whose foremost aim is improvement in living—not for a few, but for all.

There are 225 farm homes in the Rabun Gap school community, with 75 of these also being occupied in business activities. The judges found 19 new bathrooms, 50 new refrigerators, 53 new washing machines, and seven new deep freeze units. In addition they looked at more than 6,000 pounds of frozen meat and dozens of hogs that will produce 75,000 pounds of meat this winter.

European Style

Most of the farms are between 20 and 40 acres in size, but they are cultivated European style by utilization of every fence corner and small areas heretofore neglected.

Much of the activity centers about the famed Rabun Gap school which was established in 1903 by A. J. Ritchie, who now lives at Clayton.

Unlike surrounding communities, Rabun Gap is going in for commercial eggs which they market mostly at Cornelia and Gainesville. Egg routes have been established, and it is found because of the mountain weather these eggs produce more chicks in summer months than those from south and central Georgia.

The people get water from the mountains by gravity flow and have improved to a marked extent all of their post roads. Because of this new movement aimed at improvement on the grand scale, church and Sunday school attendance has increased as much as 75 per cent.

In the Fairview community just outside of Clarkesville the activity is focused on the family's living near the new consolidated school.

One of the main crops this year has been pimiento peppers which are taken to the Thomasville market in south Georgia.

Leaders in Program

R. B. Ryals, principal of the school; S. C. Gunnels, the county agent, and R. N. Holcomb, storekeeper and farmer, are taking the lead in crystallizing sentiment in a general improvement program. Houses have been painted, lawns planted in good grasses and road signs put up.

The corn crop, it is estimated in this area, has increased on the average from 20 to 40 bushels per acre. But it still doesn't equal the record of Towns county, where they have what they call the 100-Bushel Club.

Fifty-one members of this organization grew corn on small tracts and averaged from 100 to 159 bushels per acre. The proper kind of fertilizer and care of the soil is the answer.

Regional College Plan Can Become Great Future Benefit for Negroes of the South

By C. E. GREGORY

THE CONFERENCE of Southern Governors at Savannah next month will try to work out a feasible plan for the establishment of regional colleges in the Southern states.

The governors of Southern states have been working on this plan for several years, following a ruling of the United States Supreme court in 1944 that requires all states to offer equal education opportunities to members of all races. The plan was discussed at conferences in New Orleans, Mobile, Asheville and Tallahassee during the past four years.

The most tangible results were obtained at Asheville last year when Gov. James McCord, of Tennessee, offered all Southern states the facilities of Meharry college for educating Negroes from all over the South in medicine and nursing. Meharry college, established by northern capital for the education of Negroes has not been self-supporting because of the small number of students it could attract.

NO FAVORABLE REPORT

The Southern Governors approved the plan, but were advised by Attorney General Eugene Cook, of Georgia, that it is necessary for Congress to approve compacts between states for mutual and co-operative enterprises of any sort. A Congress committee refused to report favorably a resolution that would have made the compact comply with the United States Constitution.

Walter White, Negro, head of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, vigorously opposed the regional college plan and the use of Meharry college by Southern states to educate members of his own race. Some Negro leaders in Georgia followed his leadership.

United States Senator Richard B. Russell, incensed at White's opposition before Congress, commented:

"Walter White would rather force one Negro student into Georgia Tech then see 800 Negro boys and girls getting good medical educations at Meharry college."

Governor Millard Caldwell, of Florida, chairman of the educational committee of the Governors Conference, insists that the regional college plan can be put into effect without the sanction of Congress. He has been working to that end, and has made a survey of Southern states with the plan in mind. He is to make a report at the momentous meeting in Georgia Dec. 12-15.

SUBTERFUGE IS DENIED

Several Southern governors have denied that the regional college plan is a subterfuge to get by the edict of the Supreme court that every state must provide equal higher education for Negroes. They say that the plan also contemplates regional colleges for white students in forestry, veterinary medicine, and other professions which attract so few students that no single state can afford a separate college to teach them.

On the other hand a few governors say that the Supreme court edict added the words "within their own borders," to the requirement for equal education for the races. Therefore they do not believe that the regional plan can become permanent.

The white colleges in all Southern states have been jammed beyond their capacities since the war, with veterans taking GI courses. Few states anywhere now have sufficient buildings or faculties to educate their white students. The white colleges have been built up over long periods.

The South certainly cannot build and equip similar colleges for Negroes overnight. Nor will there be an end to segregation in either the common schools or colleges in the South in the foreseeable future. The state constitutions all forbid it.

If Negro leaders will cease their opposition, the regional college plan can be a great future benefit to their race. The plan contemplates graduate schools of medicine, law, engineering, dentistry, and all other professions for Negroes as soon as they can be established.

25 Nov 1948

ark Gazette
Nov 28, 46

Negro Survey Resumed By Urban League

The second survey of the Negro population of Little Rock by field representatives of the National Urban League opened this week, and is expected to be completed by December 13. Plans for the research phase, prepared by Dr. Warren M. Banner of New York, were submitted to the Advisory Board at the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA Tuesday night.

In October Dr. Banner concluded a four-week study of problems of Little Rock Negroes. His recommendations will be a guide for the second phase, during which five field directors of the National Urban League will conduct research here. Their findings will be compiled for the Community Chest and Council, sponsors of the survey, which will make the report available to social agencies.

Directors and their fields of study are: Ethel R. Clark, social groups and recreation; Reginald A. Johnson, housing; Ewell L. Newman, social case work; Dr. Paul B. Cornely, health; and Richard B. Jefferson, industry and education. An advisory committee of Little Rock citizens has been appointed to aid the field directors.

North Little Rock

Jul 2 Dec '48

Ohio Philanthropist Enters Mallard Case

Cleveland NAACP Worker Says Widow Will Swear Out Warrants If 'Protected'

By BEM PRICE

SAVANNAH, Ga., Dec. 2.—(AP)—An Ohioan who said he is dedicated to "good will and justice" all but took over the case of murdered Negro Robert Mallard today. Less than 12 hours after his arrival from Cleveland, Joseph M. Goldwasser said he had a signed statement from Mallard's widow naming two white men as the killers.

He also exhibited what he said was a witnessed statement from the widow, Amy James Mallard, giving him power of attorney.

The question is: What is Goldwasser, president of the Peerless Department Store, and the Peerless Rubber Co., going to do with the information. He was debating whether to take the widow to Lyons, Ga., near the scene of the Nov. 20 slaying, or personally present his documents to Gov. Herman Talmadge in Atlanta. He said the widow had promised to swear out warrants as soon as she was guaranteed adequate protection.

Goldwasser said he wanted it made clear "I am not in Georgia to try to tell anybody what to do."

"Not Enough Evidence"

The arrival of the Ohioan came after the Georgia Bureau of Investigation said it did not have enough evidence to swear out murder warrants and after Toombs county Sheriff R. E. Gray said he wouldn't. Both the GBI and the sheriff said they would leave the case to the February session of the Tombs county grand jury.

Mallard was killed from ambush. His widow in the statement presented by Goldwasser said:

"— and — shot and killed my husband a short distance from the Providence Baptist church (white) about 18 miles south of Lyons for no reason whatsoever."

The widow's version was that the car in which she and her husband, their two-year-old son and two youthful cousins were riding was ambushed by several hooded men, including the two she recognized.

Asked why he intervened in the case, Goldwasser said he had read an Associated Press story which quoted Governor Talmadge to the effect that he wanted the guilty persons arrested regardless of "what color they are or who they are."

Following Youthful Vow

Said Goldwasser, who is a board member of the Cleveland chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

"I made a vow when I finished law school that I was going to devote my life to helping people who need help. If this was a Hindu, or a Catholic or a Protestant, I'd still be down here to help."

Goldwasser said he was Jewish. He also said he was acting as an individual and was paying his own expenses.

The Rev. Ralph M. Gilbert of Savannah, president of the state branch of the NAACP, said he felt the investigation should be handled by regular state authorities. He said his organization has not yet taken any action in the case.

"We have confidence," the Negro minister said, "that the regular authorities will do their best to bring the perpetrators to justice."

Discouraged by Walden

In Atlanta, Austin T. Walden, legal adviser for the state NAACP, said Goldwasser was working "on his own hook."

"I told him it was ill-advised for an outsider to come into the case," Walden declared. "It will only stir up trouble. I cautioned him not to butt into the situation because it wouldn't do any good."

Charles Lucas, executive secretary of the Cleveland NAACP, also said Goldwasser was on his own, but said he felt sure he was acting in good faith. Goldwasser is a member of the Cleveland NAACP's executive board.

A spokesman for the GBI, who asked anonymity, said the arrests planned for Wednesday failed to materialize after a conference with the bureau's attorneys.

"It's just like the Walton county case," he said, "nobody will talk."

This was the case in which four Negroes were murdered out of hand by a mob. Neither the Federal Bureau of Investigation nor the GBI could obtain witnesses who would testify.

Information Insufficient For Arrest, Governor Says

Gov. Herman Talmadge said Wednesday the Georgia Bureau of Investigation has no evidence to warrant an arrest or arrests in the Toombs county, Ga., slaying of the Negro Robert Mallard 11 days ago. The governor said the GBI has no such evidence and information as apparently is in possession of the sheriff.

"When and if the FBI obtains such information as would warrant prosecution and when the solicitor general of that circuit feels that he has sufficient evidence to bring the case into court, the GBI stands ready to make all such arrests as may be indicated," he said.

The governor said he understands from George Wilson, director of public safety, and Capt. Delmar Jones, head of the GBI, that they haven't been able to get enough people willing to testify to warrant bringing the case to court. He said the citizens of the area were most reluctant to talk.

The governor was asked whether Amy Mallard had asked for police protection. He said she had not, but if she does, "it certainly will be provided."

Jones said prior to the governor's statement that "my men are going ahead with a thorough investigation of the Toombs county slaying."

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Victim's Widow Held In Toombs Slaying

SAVANNAH—The widow of Robert Mallard, Toombs County Negro whose slaying near Lyons a week ago was attributed to a band of masked men, was arrested after his funeral here yesterday and charged with his murder.

Shortly after her arrest by Lt. W. E. McDuffie, of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, on a murder warrant, Amy James Mallard screamed that her husband "was killed by hooded Ku Kluxers."

The startling new development of the woman's arrest came as Dr. Samuel Green, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, issued a statement in Atlanta, declaring that a "thorough investigation" has absolved the Klan from any blame in the killing.

Upon her arrival at the Police Station here, however, the woman was asked by a Savannah Evening Press reporter if she would like to make a statement, and she shrieked:

"I'll tell the world I do. He was killed by hooded Ku Kluxers. He worked hard for me."

Mallard was shot to death around midnight Nov. 20, and his wife said at the time that he was killed by armed and masked men from ambush near Lyons.

Although police officials were reluctant to comment on the case, the United Press said it was reported at Lyons that Amy James Mallard had been under suspicion for several days because hers and the statements of other reputed eyewitnesses to the killing failed to jibe, under questioning.

The United Press also said the slain Negro was reported to have been a heavy holder of life insurance.

Lt. McDuffie, who said the Mallard woman would be taken to Swainsboro for further questioning by Capt. Delmar Jones, GBI Chief, also disclosed that other Negroes were being held in Lyons as material witnesses.

Lt. McDuffie did not comment on the motive for the crime, but said, "I think the Ku Klux Klan has been wrongfully accused in this case. It is our belief that they are not guilty of shooting Mallard."

The GBI officer said the Negro witnesses being held are Sallie Carter, William Tim Carter, 18, and his 13-year-old sister, Emma Lean Carter.

McDuffie said Frank Brinson, a white farmer, was the first man to reach the scene of the shooting. He lived about 300 yards away.

The Lieutenant quoted Brinson as saying one of the Negroes came for him after the shooting. Brinson related, McDuffie said, that a blue-steel revolver fell from the car when the dead man's body was removed. Police said they did not find a gun. The farmer said he heard two shots and saw no evidence of automobiles present at the scene.

McDuffie said State patrolmen found a nickle-plated .32 caliber revolver in Amy Mallard's automobile at Lyons yesterday. He quoted her as saying she placed the gun in the car for protection after her husband's slaying.

McDuffie said Amy will be al-

Continued on Page 10, Column 4

Merchants Hail 2d Sales Day

Contact Eff. Nov. 24

Wants to Know Reason For Slaying of Mallard

Editor, The Journal: You have written much on the killing of this Negro, Mallard, in Toombs county, but I have not seen anything as to why he was killed. There must have been a motive and I am sure the people of Georgia would like to know what it was. Please have one of your reporters run this down for us.

WALTON SMITH.

Macon.

9 Dec 48

5 Dec 48

TION

THE SOUTH'S STANDARD NEWSPAPER
Associated Press—United Press International News Service North American Newspaper Alliance

ed Daily and Sunday, entered as second-class matter, Post Office, Atlanta, Ga.

Price Fifteen Cents.

Mallard Ambush Jails 5 in Lyons 'Inviting' Probe

LYONS—(AP)—Five white men were arrested yesterday and held under suspicion of murder in the ambush slaying of Negro Robert Mallard Nov. 20.

Mallard was slain as he neared his home, 18 miles southeast of Lyons. His widow, Amy James Mallard, said he was killed by five or six robed but unmasked white men.

The arrests were announced by Capt. Delmar Jones, of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. They came after Superior Court Judge Robert H. Humphrey called the Toombs Grand Jury into special session at 10 a. m., Friday to probe the Mallard slaying.

Capt. Jones identified those arrested as: J. Roderick Clifton, 36; William Lamar Howell, 24; James Spivey 24; Herschel Sikes, 34 and Barney Sikes 34, all of Lyons.

The five denied any connection with the Negro's death. None apparently was surprised by the investigator's action. Each, accompanied by relatives, arrived voluntarily at the courthouse during the afternoon and walked about in the corridors.

T. Ross Sharp, of Lyons, attorney retained by the accused, issued a statement declaring "we want and invite an investigation by the grand jury. We will not bring habeas corpus proceedings or ask for bail."

Mallard was shot twice. His death did not become generally known until four days later.

County officers absolved the Ku Klux Klan of the slaying in a report to Grand Dragon Samuel Green, of Atlanta.

The killing brought a Cleveland, Ohio, businessman to Georgia to investigate the case in the interest of "justice." The Ohioan, Joseph M. Goldwasser, a department store owner, said he acted on his own. He is Chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Cleveland unit.

Goldwasser obtained a statement from Amy James Mallard, the Negro's widow, naming two white men as the slayers. She has been in hiding in Savannah, declaring herself afraid to return to Lyons and swear out warrants. She said she believed she would be lynched if she returned.

The statement and other evidence obtained by Goldwasser was brought to Atlanta Friday and turned over to Gov. Talmadge. The latter forwarded the documents to Judge Humphrey in Lyons.

Prior to yesterday's action, Sheriff R. E. Gray and the GBI said they were content to turn the

Continued on Page 13, Column 1

old son of Mr. [illegible] Baskett, of Scottdale, was [illegible] an auto near Stone Mountain yesterday afternoon. He was treated at Grady for minor injuries.

MALLARD

Continued From Page 1

case over to the regular February session of the Grand Jury.

Gov. Talmadge asked Goldwasser if the widow was ready to swear out warrants against the two men she named. Goldwasser said no—that the widow feared she would be lynched.

The Governor replied he would give her "ample protection" by the Highway Patrol and even would call out the National Guard "if necessary."

Goldwasser still declined to have Mallard's widow return to the County. Talmadge then said he would forward the documents to the proper authorities.

Yesterday morning Judge Humphrey said he had summoned the jury "upon receipt of a letter from Gov. Talmadge enclosing photostatic copies of a letter purported to have been written by Amy Mallard . . . naming the two men alleged to have killed her husband."

Talmadge's letter merely outlined the promise of protection and said he was enclosing the documents "in order that you may take such action as the facts and the law in the case may warrant."

Goldwasser, meantime, had returned to Cleveland after declaring he believed Talmadge was "absolutely sincere" and a "fine Governor."

Mallard's widow is confined to her bed in Savannah under a physician's care.

Elbert Tuttle

MACON TELEGRAPH

Nov 48
Correct

Southern Justice to the Negro

It is too much to expect that the mischievous interlopers who are constantly telling the South how inhuman and unjust we are toward the colored race to pay much attention to a dispatch from Alabama which carries major significance.

It has generally been assumed that the greatest number of lynchings here in the South in years past was by way of swift reprisal in cases where a white woman had been criminally assaulted by a Negro. By the same token, it was insisted by our Northern critics that an assault upon a Negro woman was regarded as a matter of little consequence.

IT MIGHT be mentioned in passing that it is often assumed that the Negro cannot get justice from an all-white jury, whatever may be the offense for which he is tried.

Nobody will deny that Wetumpka, Ala., is in the heart of the Deep South. And yet an Associated Press dispatch from that city tells us an all-white jury sent a white man to prison for 45 years for criminal assault upon a young Negro woman.

The jurors were asked by the prosecutor to show the Negro "he can get justice in court," and 30-year-old John C. Howard, Jr., was promptly found guilty of a criminal attack upon this Negro girl.

Then, acting under the regular legal procedure of the State, the jury fixed the penalty of 45 years in prison.

SHORTLY after reporting their verdict the jury asked, through its foremen, if it could go even further, and fix it so that Howard could not get a parole or pardon.

Circuit Judge Melton advised them to the contrary, but at least the jury did its best and it was, we repeat, an all-white jury.

It is a matter of satisfaction to the people of the South that these evidences of even-handed justice is meted out to the Negro on an ever-increasing scale. It is apparently too much to expect that the intermeddlers from the North will pay any regard to this improvement in our race relations.

OCKET

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1948.

CLARK HOWELL, President and Publisher

N. H. TROTTI, Vice President and Business Manager

RALPH McGILL, Editor

EDITORIAL PAGES

JACK TARVER, Associate Editor

RALPH T. JONES, Associate Editor

WILLIAM H. FIELDS, Associate Editor

DORIS LOCKERMAN, Associate Editor

A Triumph for the South

Yesterday's late editions of The Constitution carried two significant headlines:

TOOMBS INDICTS TWO
IN MALLARD DEATH

and

RUSSELL PLEDGES FIGHT
ON CIVIL RIGHTS PLANKS

There is an inescapable connection between the two.

For it is evidence of willingness to live up to our responsibilities such as the Toombs County Grand Jury demonstrated which will most effectively bolster the position which Sen. Russell has taken.

There could be no more persuasive argument against a Federal antilynch law than such concrete indications that the South is mindful of its obligation to protect the lives of its citizens, black or white, and that it does not hesitate to indict and try those charged with such crimes regardless of the color of their skin or the degree of their political prominence.

Those Toombs County citizens who returned a true bill against two well-connected white men named by the widow and two kinspeople of the slain Negro have done much to vindicate their immediate community in the eyes of the world. And certainly it was to their interest to do so. Both Lyons and Vidalia have grown remarkably in the past several years. New industries have been added and there is every indication that more are on the way. It would have been an almost insurmountable handicap to the county in its continuing efforts at greater progress and prosperity had it not moved to allay the impression that, for all its economic development, it was a benighted area where violence is condoned as "just another nigger killing."

We are glad, for Toombs County's sake, that its Grand Jury had the conscience and the courage to take the action it did.

But considerably more important, from the State and the South's point of view, is the fact that once again a Southern community is evidencing an ability and a willingness to administer equitable justice locally, without Federal aid or interference.

RALPH McGILL

A Great Moral Victory

In a way it is a heartening thing to see a community in a winning struggle with its conscience. I have just seen that in Toombs County—where there are as many fine people—town people and farmers—as there are anywhere else in the South. Its homes, gardens, churches and its good will stamp it as a good county.

Suddenly, without warning, they awoke to find themselves in the spotlight of a racial killing. This is not a comfortable spot, as Atlanta itself knows, looking back on its riots of more than 40 years ago, and as many another town and city knows in more recent years.

Toombs County, with a grand jury whose very appearance gave confidence that they would stand by the law, no matter what the pressure from traditions and politically influential families, met the issue with two indictments. It was not easy for them. Their community had been subjected to more than ordinary criticism because of a quoted remark by one of their local newsmen that the killing was "just another nigger killing" and therefore not important enough to be published. The county had suffered, too, because of a long delay and a somewhat puzzling slowness in developing the case. (The grand jury was not in session.)

Character But the real character of the county and the people is reflected in the action by the grand jury. I was complimented in being asked to come before it. I was told by some that the subpoena was issued maliciously because of anger aroused by newspaper criticism. This I am loath to believe. That there was resentment because the case had been widely publicized, even in the Soviet Union, I could understand. The spotlight in such crimes is not comfortable and public discussion always contains enough errors to cause anger in persons already made sensitive. But it was interesting to note that everyone realized the case had attracted international attention.

The effort to rationalize, or explain it, follows a pattern. In our hearts we know what is right and wrong, but we are always eager to find some reason—outside meddling, the character of the dead man, the Northern interference, gang warfare, and so on, to explain why we are reluctant to do what we know to be our duty. And also there is almost inevitably the few who will say, of racial killings, "there wouldn't have been more than a line or two if a white man had been killed." That isn't true, of course, as the pages of any news publication will reveal. In the spotlight's glare a man tends to think it the most unfair he has known.

Answer There is an easy answer. Any killing in which the person murdered is done to death because of his color, religion, or race is vastly different from an ordinary killing. In Toombs County the man killed would not have been slain had he not been a Negro. There would have been no attempt to scare him into leaving the country if he had not been a Negro. Therefore, when the killing was done it took on a different character from that of a killing growing out of theft, a quarrel, a drunken brawl, a love affair or a desire for revenge. That is a simple rule to remember. If the person killed would not have been killed had he been of another race, religion or color, then it is a different sort of crime.

Dilemma What Toombs County was up against, with a man dead who would not have been dead had he not been a Negro, was made the more difficult by the fact the dead man was immensely unpopular with fellow Negroes and was generally distrusted and disliked. That the indictments should have been returned, on the basis of evidence given largely by Negroes, is significant. It is a great moral victory for the county.

The American dilemma, in essence, has been described as the conflict between the treatment of the Negro and the American creed, which is based upon the dignity of the individual, the equal rights of all men, and the factor in our lives we stress the most—the inalienable American right to freedom, justice and fair opportunity.

Search This dilemma has driven the nation to soul-searching and to legislation. It has given the Christian church—and continues to give it—much embarrassment and concern, and it is a hair shirt which the church must wear until some solution is reached.

No other nation has ever been confronted with such a dilemma. A few had minor dilemmas of a like nature, but nowhere, at any time, has there been a country with such as this one which we seek to resolve. And God knows the South has been given the heaviest part of the burden and still has it. And the unreasonable critics, the stupid writers of abusive letters from Northern cities, do not make it any easier. It is not easy to usher in the millenium.

This wrestle between our creed and the facts is being resolved. Again I say, Toombs County has won a great moral victory. There will be soreness left for a while. But when there is time to see it in perspective, Toombs County will see that it has done a fine thing for the State and for the South. And it will see, too, that after all, it wasn't so very hard to do.

gamble with fate.

Joe Louis' Recollections Of Alabama Boyhood

A GIFTED JOURNALIST named Meyer Berger has written the life story of Joe Louis, the champion prize fighter, for his paper, the *New York Times*. With extraordinary reportorial skill, Berger has caught the Negro pugilist's vernacular, and the story itself is, of course, an absorbing narrative. Louis' sturdy integrity, his modesty and his exceptional decency in a profession of generally low standards, shine through the account.

We found ourselves impressed with Louis' recollections of his boyhood days as one of 13 children reared in a share-cropper's cabin in a cottonfield in Chambers county, Alabama, between Lafayette and Cusseta. Here's the excerpt:

"Kids who lived down there in the back country didn't have much. The best times we had was egg-hunting around Easter and the main thing was to hang up your socks by the fire come Christmas. We knew about Santa Claus but we didn't have Christmas trees like they do up North. What you'd find in your stocking would be apples and oranges and big red peppermint candy.

"There's one other thing. In all those years in Alabama I never knew anything about race or anything like that. No one talked about it as I remember. If there was lynch talk it never got to me or my folks. Not like now. I never got to know about such things until we got to Detroit.

"In Alabama I played with the Langley twins and other white kids and we had no color talk. I knew they had things I didn't have, but I took that natural. I never hooked it in with race difference. I think I would have remembered if I had."

Joe Louis is 34 years of age. The time of which he was talking was 1920-26. If we recollect aright there was as much argumentation about the race problem then as now, as much incitation by the demagogues

School Executive Says No Negroes Enrolled at S.M.U.

The Houston Chronicle

By Associated Press.

Dallas, April 13.—There are no negroes enrolled at Southern Methodist University, Dr. Eugene B. Hawk, administrative vice-president of the school said Monday.

He commented on a statement made at Austin by Dr. George D. Kelsey, negro director of the school of religion at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., that S. M. U. had admitted about eight negro students to its school of religion and one to its school of engineering.

"For about two years we have been conducting separate afternoon classes in the school of theology for negroes. These negroes are not enrolled in S. M. U., they pay no fees, they get no college credits. Our instructors handle these classes outside their regular schedule. Most of the negroes in these separate classes have degrees and we are teaching them because we want to do something to help the leadership of the negro race.

"There is no negro in S. M. U.'s school of engineering. No negro is enrolled at S. M. U.," Hawk said.

Kelsey spoke in Austin at a five-day interracial conference sponsored by the University Baptist Church, Austin, and the Baptist state executive board.

Segregation Case Appeal Is Dismissed

Times-Dispatch 11/22

BALTIMORE, Nov. 21—(AP)—The Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals dismissed today a South Carolina appeal from a decision requiring it to accept a Negro law student at its State university unless he was given a comparable legal education elsewhere.

The three-judge tribunal ruled the appeal was "premature" and ordered it dismissed without prejudice.

South Carolina attorneys voiced no objection to the dismissal, which returns the case to the United States District Court at Charleston which held that John Wrighten, 25, was entitled either to admission to the State university or a law education on "a complete parity and equal in all respects" to that available there.

School Established

Since Wrighten filed his suit against the university, the State established a three-professor law school for Negroes at Orangeburg. It remains for District Judge J. Waites Waring to decide if this institution meets the standards set up in his order.

Judge Waring's requirement of "complete parity" and equality "in all respects" is "greatly disturbing to us," South Carolina Attorney David Robinson declared. It went beyond the guiding Supreme Court decision in the Gaines case where it ordered "substantial equality" in educational facilities for both races, he contended.

The fact that the appeal was dismissed "without prejudice" would enable the university and the State to appeal again should it wish to do so after Judge Waring's final finding, attorneys explained.

THE HOUSTON CHRONICLE

PRESIDENT OF NEGRO STATE U. IS NAMED

Dr. Raphael O'Hara Lanier, U. S. Minister to Liberia, Formerly Houston College Dean, Accepts Post.

The Texas State University for Negroes' long hunt for a permanent president ended Saturday when Dr. Raphael O'Hara Lanier, United States minister to Liberia, cabled his acceptance of the position.

Announcement of Doctor Lanier's acceptance was made by Craig F. Cullinan, Houston oilman and chairman of the university's board of directors. Mr. Cullinan said Doctor Lanier is expected to assume his duties about June 1.

Doctor Lanier from the fall of 1933 until 1938 was dean of the Houston College for Negroes. The college formed the nucleus of the present university, when the state accepted transfer of the 53-acre campus from the University of Houston operators of the college.

The board of directors had been negotiating with Doctor Lanier since last August it was learned.

Since last August Allen E. Norton, Jr., had served as acting president of the university. He resigned the latter part of March to return to the Houston Independent School District as director of curriculum for negro schools. Since then a faculty committee has been administering affairs of the school.

Doctor Lanier long has been considered an outstanding educator and administrator.

He has tendered his resignation as minister to Liberia to accept the presidency of the university.

In addition to being dean of the Houston College for Negroes, Doctor Lanier served as dean of Florida A. and M. College for Negroes from 1925 until 1933.

After resigning as dean of the Houston college, he served as assistant director of the division of negro affairs of the National Youth Administration in Washington, acting president and dean of the college at Hampton Institute; special assistant in the bureau of services of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and since March 1, 1946, as minister to Liberia.

He is a member of a number of leading national associations, and has gained prominence as a contributor to educational journals and other publications.

Doctor Lanier received a bachelor of arts degree cum laude from Lincoln University in 1922, his master of arts degree from Stanford University in 1928, and his doctorate of pedagogy from Lincoln University in 1941. During 1931-32, he held the Rosenwald Fellowship at Harvard University.

Mr. Cullinan said the outstanding worth of Doctor Lanier is shown by the fact that he is listed in the 1948 Who's Who in America.

"It is the feeling of the board of directors that no better man could be found for the presidency of the university," Mr. Cullinan said. "Under his direction, the university will rapidly become a university of the first class as directed by the legislature in creating it."

The Houston Post

Negro Church To Be Erected

A new $100,000 church will be built by the Trinity Methodist-Episcopal congregation.

Rev. C. M. Luster, minister of the Negro church, now at 1408 Travis, announced that the congregation had purchased the southeast corner of Holman and Live Oak for $23,000 from A. C. Teal and will erect the church building there.

The old church property will be abandoned as soon as it is sold, the minister said. The frame building now housing the church was built about 1900. It replaced a small church building built there in 1873.

The church's new site is 125 feet by 100 feet, fronting on Holman.

The Houston Chronicle

s Today

50 OFFICERS TO JOIN POLICE FORCE FRIDAY

All Will Be Put in Uniform Division, Half to Work on Traffic, Others on Radio Patrol.

Police officials were optimistic Tuesday as they arranged the working schedules of the 50 new officers who will be added to the force Friday.

Plans formulated by Police Chief B. W. Payne and Chief Inspector W. P. Haley call for the entire group to go to the uniformed division, with half to work on traffic during the late shifts and the remainder to be assigned to radio patrol duty.

Inspector Haley said 10 white officers will work traffic from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m., bringing that shift's strength to 18 men. Ten others will be assigned to traffic duty from 3 p.m. to 11 p.m., swelling that shift's total to 19.

The remaining 20 white officers will be split between the 3 p.m. to 11 p.m. shift and the 11 p.m. to 7 a.m. shift on radio patrol duty. Total strength for the early shift will be 38 men and the late shift will have 33 men.

Inspector Haley said the 10 new negro officers also will be divided between two late shifts and will work on traffic and patrol duty. The addition of the 10 negroes will make a total of 16 negro officers now employed.

The acquisition of the 50 new officers brings the total strength of the uniformed division to 300 men, Inspector Haley said.

The men were announced fit and ready for duty Tuesday by Inspector L. D. Morrison, who has been in charge of their training.

Chief Payne said the new men will be teamed with older officers until more experience is obtained.

Officers' Statements Deny Klan Had Hand in Slaying

Negro Disturbed Worship at White Church Before He Was Slain, Resident Declares

Special to The Atlanta Journal

VIDALIA, Ga., Nov. 27.—Five "statements" exonerating the Ku Klux Klan of any part in the slaying of a Negro on a road near Lyons last Saturday night were turned in to a county Klan official here Friday to be forwarded to Dr. Samuel Green, grand dragon, in Atlanta.

The statements were prepared by Toombs County Sheriff R. E. Gray, Sgt. J. W. Robertson, M. S. Osborne, who lives near Providence church (white), and the chief of police of Lyons and a member of the force.

All five were given to the local kleagle. Robertson, connected with the investigation for several days, particularly emphasized that Klansmen were not involved.

Mr. Osborne said that preceding his death, Robert Mallard went to the Providence church door, knocked on it so loudly as to disturb services and demanded that the men inside come outside and move their cars so that he could drive by. Mr. Osborne said that Mallard "did not belong" in this section and that his character and habits were bad.

Highway patrolmen, sheriff's deputies, GBI investigators and Vidalia and Lyons police were cooperating in seeking to solve the mystery surrounding the slaying, but no arrests had been made late Friday.

Sheriff's Statement

Sheriff Gray's statement said:

"With reference to the case of Robert Mallard, who was shot in the lower part of the county, which happened between 11 and 12 o'clock p. m. on November 20th, Saturday night.

"I do not know who the killers were, but I do know there were no robed men and the Klan had nothing to do with this job. This Negro was disturbing church services at Providence White church. With information I have, this Negro was a bad Negro, as I have had dealings with him. I further know that this Negro was hated by all who knew him.

"R. E. Gray,
"Sheriff of Toombs County."

"Mean Negro," Says Osborne

Mr. Osborne's statement read:

"This is to certify that Robert Mallard was a Northern Negro, who married a Southern school teacher. He was a mean Negro. Everybody in the community hated him.

"Last Saturday night, while the white people were having services, the Negro went to the church door and interrupted the services, and told the church people to come outside and move their cars so he could get by while there was plenty room for him to drive past the cars.

"I do not believe the Ku Klux Klan had any part in killing this mean Negro.

"M. S. Osborne,
"Lyons, Ga., RFD No. 1"

Mystery, Says Chief

The Lyons police chief wrote:

"This case still remains a mystery to me of Robert Mallard getting killed Saturday night or early Sunday morning, November 20th or 21st. I understand the Negro was a mean, bad man, I wish I had more information on the case. I do not believe the killers were Klansmen. Signed

"T. L. GRAHAM,
"Chief of Police, Lyons, Ga."

Policeman W. M. Bowen said:

"The case of Robert Mallard being found dead near the church and schoolhouse 20 miles south of Lyons, Ga., on Saturday night or early Sunday morning.

"As the killers wore a handkerchief over their faces, I do not believe the Klan had any part in this killing. The road was not blocked, the men walked up to the Negro's car and shot him, there were no hoods or robes worn. Signed

"W. M. Bowen,
"Policeman of Lyons, Ga."

Robertson's View

The following telegram was sent by the local Kleagle:

"The investigation of Robert Mallard telephone conversation Friday morning, Nov. 26, Sgt. Robertson, state patrolman at Reidsville.

"Sgt. Robertson stated that when Negro's car was stopped, the mysterious men said 'hands up' as though they attempted robbery. Then the Negro was shot.

"Sgt. Robertson further stated that in his opinion the Ku Klux Klan had nothing to do with this killing. He said he was cantinuing his investigation, and hoped to uncover the mystery killer as soon as possible."

Negro Body Asks Election Probe

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27.—(U.P.). The Senate election subcommittee was asked Friday to hold public hearings in five Southern cities on allegedly anti-Negro acts in this year's elections.

The request was made by Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council. He said he represented 100,000 members of the council and 1,000,000 petitions of the National Council on Civil Rights.

Hearings were requested in Birmingham, Ala.; Jackson, Miss.; New Orleans, La.; Atlanta, and Columbia, S. C.

The subcommittee was not expected to act upon the request until after Jan. 3, when Democrats will take over control.

Brown charged that speeches on white supremacy and denial of civil rights to Negroes at the "so-called Dixiecrats" convention in Birmingham last summer were "prima facie evidence" of an organized plan in five Southern states to disfranchise 2,000,000 Negroes. He meant the states in which he had asked public hearings.

SATURDAY'S DRAMATIC HIGHLIGHTS

Motive Mystery In Negro Slaying

Special to The Atlanta Journal

LYONS, Ga., Nov. 25.—A mass of conflicting statements and rumors puzzled Toombs County Sheriff R. E. Gray and State patrolmen as they investigated the slaying of a Negro near here.

Robert Mallard, according to reports, was shot as he returned with his wife, child and two other Negroes from a meeting at a church. It was near 11 p. m. when, it was said, the Negro's car was blocked in the road. He died shortly afterwards from a bullet wound in the breast, death being ascribed to loss of blood. It was understood the bullet was to be given a ballistics test.

Earlier reports that Mallard had been shot by a group of white robed men were denied. Investigating officers, including Sergeant Robertson, of the Reidsville station of the State patrol, said they could not establish a motive. It was intimated that the Negroes of the community considered Mallard, originally from the north, a "trouble maker." Mallard's widow teaches in a Negro school.

Atl Const 28 Nov 48

THE WEATHER
(Airport Readings)
Yesterday: High, 60. Low, 40.
Today: Warmer; continued cloudy.

THE ATLANTA CONS
For 80 Years an Independent Georgia Newspaper, Georgia Owne

VOL. LXXX, No. 256. ATLANTA (2), GA., THURSDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 26, 19

Eight Negroes Elected to Posts In City's Police Department

Active Dut Effective March 8

By HERMAN HANCOCK

City Council's Police Committee Wednesday night elected eigh Negroes to Atlanta's police forc and authorized Police Chief Jen kins to assign them to active duty effective March 8, when they wil enter a training school.

Names of those elected are: Willard Strickland, Willie T. Elkins, Johnnie P. Jones, Robert McKibbens, Ernest H. Lyons, John Sanders, Jr., Henry Hudson Hooks and Claude Dixon, II.

Jenkins also was authorized to take officers of the Department on a survey of Negro police operations at Savannah or another city where he believes Atlanta officers can best ascertain the proper use of Negro officers.

The Chief said he will take Capt. C. D. Hardeman, one of the Police Training School instructors. He added he has not decided on others who will assist in making the survey.

City Council Monday will be asked to authorize Mayor Hartsfield to sign a lease agreement with Steve Arthur, Jr., owner of a building at 147 Butler St., N. E. which will be used as the Negro precinct headquarters.

Arthur has offered the structure to the City for $1 a year, with the understanding that Atlanta will maintain the building.

Jenkins said the Negro force will be under the command of a white sergeant who will be assigned to the precinct. When the new branch is first started, all eight will be assigned on a special watch from 4 p. m. until midnight. Afterwards, the force will be split to conform to the three watches maintained by the Department.

The Negro policemen will be the first in Atlanta since Reconstruction Days.

Decision to [illegible] policemen followed appeals from religious and civic leaders who contended that a preponderance of crime in Atlanta stems from Negroes. They insisted Negro policemen would be in a better position to handle problems of their own race and expressed the belief a reduction in violations would result.

The Council action authorizing eight Negroes as an experiment was taken after Jenkins expressed the belief they would be valuable law enforcement adjuncts.

Of the 91 homicides recorded in Atlanta in 1947, Jenkins said 82 were Negroes. He predicts a drop when the Negro complement begins functioning.

City Administration leaders agreed to put the Negroes to work on a trial basis after a public hearing by the Police Committee. Proponents and opponents appeared at the meeting and the matter was aired thoroughly.

The Houston Post

New Negro High May Honor Carver

The new Negro senior high school planned for the Wheatley school area by the board of education may be named the George Washington Carver high school.

BOARD MEMBERS indicated Monday they would like to name the new $2,500,000 school after the famed Negro scientist.

The new school will replace the present Wheatley school and will be built between Market Street road and Providence, north of Finnigan park. The present Wheatley school will be used as a junior school.

The board has asked Superintendent W. E. Moreland to canvass citizens of the Wheatley area on their feelings toward naming the new senior high Carver.

PRELIMINARY PLANS for the building have been completed by Architects MacKie and Kamrath and approved by the board. The architectural firm is working on final plans. Bids will be taken as soon as the board approves final architectural plans.

Toombs Slaying Warrants Await Jury Indictments

Special Call Seen Possible If Mallard Widow Refuses to Act Against Suspects

By RICHARD C. GLASS

LYONS, Ga., Dec. 1.—(U.P.)—Sheriff R. E. Gray Wednesday was prepared to ask a grand jury for indictments aginst a number of white men believed responsible for the midnight murder of Negro Robert Mallard.

Gray said, however, that he still hoped Mallard's widow, in hiding miles from the scene of her husband's slaying, would swear out warrants against the alleged killers.

The next grand jury is scheduled for February but it was possible that a special session would be called.

Mallard's death was termed the first positive case of lynching this year by Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. The widespread opinion here, however, was that the murder may not have been premeditated.

There was no immediate prospect of arrests Wednesday as two young Negroes were released after being held four days as material witnesses and for their own protection.

Children in Car

Gray returned Mallard's two cousins, aged 13 and 18, to their home near the scene of the Nov. 19 shooting, confident that there would be no danger to them. The two were in the rear seat of Mallard's car when he was shot through the windshield.

"If a special grand jury session is called I am prepared to present all the available evidence and request the grand jury to return indictments as it sees fit," Gray said.

"However, I hope that members of the family will swear out warrants for the men they identified as connected with the killing."

In Savannah, Aaron Kravitch, attorney retained by the widow, said she would not initiate action but would appear as a state witness if prosecution actually began.

Under Medical Care

The 40-year-old schoolteacher is under medical care for hysteria.

Investigators have been unable to learn of any particular act laid to Mallard which might have brought down the wrath of white residents of the Providence church community in the swamps of the Altamaha river.

A dozen incidents of "freshness" by the 37-year-old 200-pound casket salesman were reported unofficially. But it seemed unlikely that they alone would have stirred up a planned lynching.

One theory current here is that the theme of the group of perhaps 10 men was "teach him a lesson" rather than "kill him."

Supporters of that theory thought that a flogging group, recently more frequent than lynch mobs in the South, might have set out to beat Mallard and frighten him into leaving the area.

Gun Theory Considered

For some reason, they thought, Mallard might possibly have flashed a gun he was known to carry and one of the group might have fired hastily and killed him.

The white men disappeared within a minute, without making any attempt to harm Mallard's wife or the three children in the car, even though they were witnesses.

Sheriff Gray said that without warrants or indictments against the three men linked by the widow to the shooting, he was powerless to extend his probe to the point of actual arrests. Lacking warrants, he said, he has not questioned the trio.

The Georgia Bureau of Investigation continued active in the case, but agents, under instructions from Gov. Herman Talmadge, kept quiet on progress.

Toombs Sheriff Expects Arrest In Negro Slaying

Special to The Atlanta Journal

LYONS, Ga., Nov. 26.—State patrolmen, GBI representatives, sheriff's deputies and police of Lyons and Vidalia combined forces Friday in the investigation of the mysterious slaying on a lonely road of a Negro as he and his wife, children and two friends were returning from a meeting at a church Saturday night.

Sheriff R. E. Gray, of Toombs county, said that he expected to make an arrest, possibly within a few hours. He and other investigators were inclined to believe that the 35-year-old farmer, Robert Mallard, was killed by a Negro or Negroes. He was slain, according to his wife, as the party was removing a road barricade. She said that the men, in two or more cars, had sheets or similar material thrown over them, but no masks. A bullet fired through the windshield struck Mallard in the chest, and he died from loss of blood.

Neighborhood opinion is that Mallard, generally considered a "biggety" Negro from the North, somehow had incurred the enmity of others of his race. It was reported that this feeling had increased when he recently acquired a new automobile in the $2,000 class. His wife, a widow with children before he married her, owns a farm. She also is a schoolteacher. He also was reputed to carry heavy insurance, and it is thought that an "angle" may develop from this circumstance. Use of the white coverings was thought to indicate the group involved in the killing, whether white or black, was trying to throw suspicion on a robed organization.

Gov. Herman Talmadge ordered the Georgia Bureau of Investigation to assist Sheriff Gray in the case.

(Meanwhile, in Atlanta, a "believer in white supremacy" posted with an Atlanta newspaper a reward of $500 for the arrest and conviction of Mallard's slayer or slayers.)

Outlaw Ku Klux Klan, Thompson Asks Talmadg

Former Gov. M. E. Thompson Friday called upon his successor in office to outlaw the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia as a result of the Toombs county slaying of a Negro.

The former governor also called upon Grand Dragon Sam Green to disband the Klan to save the good reputation of Georgia.

In a statement telephoned to The Atlanta Journal from his home in Valdosta, Mr. Thompson said:

"On Thanksgiving Day in Georgia the newspapers carried headlines telling of the murder of a defenseless Negro in Toombs county by a band of robed and masked white men.

"On a day when Georgians should have been lowering their heads with prayers of Thanksgiving for many blessings, they were compelled to hang their heads in shame over another masked outrage.

"As a citizen of Georgia, I call upon Dr. Sam Green to immediately disband his organization and to repudiate its principles of lawlessness and hatred.

"As a citizen of Georgia, I call upon Gov. Herman Talmadge to give the people of Georgia his assurance that in his first message to the Georgia General Assembly in January, 1949, he will ask the legislators to outlaw the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia."

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'Startling' Development Hinted by Governor

By The Associated Press

Gov. Herman Talmadge said Friday there might be a "startling" development shortly in the slaying last Saturday of a Toombs county Negro, Robert Mallard.

Talmadge would not elaborate, and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation charged with the investigation, W. E. McDuffie, at Swainsboro, radioed his office he would not talk to newsmen.

Capt. Delmar Jones, new GBI head, also declined to give out additional information on the case.

'Appears' to Be Lynching, Tuskegee Institute Says

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Nov. 26.—(AP)—Tuskegee institute said Friday the slaying of Robert Mallard, 42-year-old Negro, near Lyons, Ga., "appears" to be a lynching.

Mrs. J. L. Guzman, director of records and research at Tuskegee institute, who compiles records of mob violence each year, said "on the face of it, and on the evidence we have, it certainly appears to be a lynching. We don't have too many details, but we are studying the case."

Unless evidence is found to the contrary by Dec. 31, she said, the shooting will be recorded as a lynching.

Mrs. Guzman also said "there may have been other lynchings" in the United States during the year, but no final decision has been reached.

Toombs Jurors Hear Witnesses In Killing Probe

Journal

LYONS, Ga., Dec. 10.—(AP)—A special grand jury investigation into the Nov. 20 ambush killing of Negro Robert Mallard got under way here Friday.

The jury convened just a few minutes after Mallard's widow, Amy James Mallard, and two other Negro witnesses to the slaying, Angeline Carter, 13, and William Tim Carter, 18, arrived, accompanied by two Georgia Bureau of Investigation agents.

Just prior to their arrival Ralph McGill, Atlanta Constitution editor, made public an anonymous letter charging that three Negro houses were burned down about 15 days after Mallard's murder.

Mallard's widow asserted that five or six white men, robed but unmasked slew her husband from ambush "for no reason whatsoever."

The widow, McGill, and Joseph M. Goldwasser, Cleveland, Ohio, businessman, had been subpoenaed to apepar before the jury.

Toombs county Sheriff R. E. Gray said an investigation showed the two houses which burned the same night were destroyed by fire which started from defective wiring. The cause of the fire in the third place, said the sheriff, was unknown.

Journal

Toombs Widow Goes To Sign Warrants

Armed Trooper, Officer Guard Teacher; Curious Crowd Watches Departure

LYONS, Ga., Dec. 6.—(AP)—William L. Howell, 32, today was charged with the murder of Negro Robert Mallard, slain on the night of Nov. 20, allegedly by robed white men.

LYONS, Ga., Dec. 6.—(UP)—Amy Mallard, widow of a Negro she claims was lynched, came out of seclusion Monday to return to the scene of the crime and swear out warrants for the white men she charged with the murder.

The 40-year-old school teacher, who had been in virtual hiding since the slaying of her husband, left Savannah Monday morning under protection of Lieut. W. E. McDuffie of the state police and an armed trooper.

Aaron Kravitch, Amy's attorney, hustled her into a state car outside his office as the woman nervously watched a curious crowd that had gathered to watch the departure.

Amy returned to Lyons, near where her husband was ambushed and shot to death, after the promise of Gov. Herman Talmadge that she would be protected.

Three young white farmers were lodged in the Toombs county jail Saturday night to await the formality of warrants. They said they were willing to remain in custody until investigation of Robert Mallard's death is completed.

A special session of the grand jury has been set for Friday to look into the case and if it returns indictments, a Superior court term will begin Monday.

Roderick L. Clifton, 32; William L. (Sud) Howell, 24, and James W. (Buck) Spivey, 27, gave themselves up voluntarily, Sheriff R. E. Gray said. All are residents of the lower part of the county, where Mallard, 37-year-old casket salesman, was halted at a roadblock and slain on the night of Nov. 20.

Gray refused to lodge charges against them until warrants were signed by the widow, but their attorney said the trio will not attempt to gain freedom under bond or through court action if the legal wheels move on schedule.

Amy Mallard, who has been hysterical and under a physician's care in Savannah, was in the automobile with her husband, their 2-year-old son and two young cousins when he was shot in the chest.

The cousins are also in jail here, as material witnesses.

In a statement turned over to Talmadge last week by Joseph M. Goldwasser, Cleveland businessman who interested himself as "a humanitarian," she named two men as the killers. Action was swift after Talmadge sent copies of the document to Toombs authorities.

Sunday Gray questioned another resident of the area and released him, as he had two others on Saturday.

Klan Blocking Justice, Anti-Nazi League Says

NEW YORK, Dec. 6.—(UP)—Charges that the Ku-Klux Klan is blocking prosecution of the slayers of Negro Robert Mallard were made to the Department of Justice Monday by the nonsectarian anti-Nazi league.

Demanding that the Justice department intervene to secure the arrest and punishment of the killers, the league said in a telegram to Attorney General Tom C. Clark:

"An urgent federal question has been created by the outright capture of all local law-enforcement agencies by the Ku-Klux Klan, resulting in refusal or failure to apprehend wrongdoers and flagrant denial of civil rights and due process of law."

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEWSPAPERS AND NEGRO SERVICE MEN

The following is a partial list of Southern newspapers which carry news about Negro service men and women. A check in column (1) means that the paper prints news stories; a check in column (2) indicates that it uses photographs; and a check in column (3) means that the paper uses the courtesy titles of "Mr." and Mrs." in referring to parents or other relatives of the service men and women.

Our information is derived from newspaper clippings and our clipping service gives us only partial coverage. The list includes only those papers which have come to our attention during the past six months and which publish news or pictures of Negro service personnel. Omission of a particular paper from the list may mean either that we have had no clippings from that paper or that it does not use such stories or pictures. We hope to prepare a comprehensive list showing which papers do or do not follow certain practices. You can help us by sending us notes on the practices of newspapers which you read regularly.

NEWSPAPER	(1) NEWS STORY	(2) PICTURE WITH NEWS	(3) COURTESY TITLE *
ALABAMA			
Birmingham Age Herald	X		
Birmingham News	X	X	X
Livingston Home		X	
Mobile Register	X		
FLORIDA			
Crestview News Journal	X		
Mount Dora Topic		X	
St. Petersburg Times	X	X	
Tampa Tribune	X		
Jacksonville Daily Papers	X	X	X ("Negro News")

* Some newspapers have special pages or sections of "News of the Negro Community." Some papers confine the use of courtesy titles to these special sections and some do not. This list does not attempt to distinguish between these two types of practices.

NEWSPAPER	NEWS STORY	PICTURE WITH NEWS	COURTESY TYPE
GEORGIA			
Atlanta *Constitution*	X		
Atlanta *Journal*	X		
Augusta *Herald*		X	
Hiawassee *Herald*		X	
Louisville *News and Farmer*		X	
Pearson *Tribune*		X	X
Sandersville *Progress*		X	
Savannah *News*		X	
Warrenton *Clipper*		X	X
LOUISIANA			
New Orleans *Times-Picayune*		X	
MISSISSIPPI			
Holly Springs *Reporter*		X	
Jackson *News*	X		
Marks *Democrat*		X	
Pontotoc *Progress*		X	
NORTH CAROLINA			
Aheskie *Herald*		X	X
Albemarle *News and Press*		X	X
Ashboro *Courier*		X	X
Brevard *Transylvania Times*		X	X
Carthage *News*		X	
Charlotte *News*	X		

NEWSPAPER	NEWS STORY	PICTURE WITH NEWS	COURTESY TITLE
Durham Herald		X	X
Laurinburg Exchange		X	X
Lexington Dispatch		X	X
Morganton News Herald		X	X
Mount Airy Times		X	X
Newton News Enterprise		X	
Oxford Ledger		X	
Raleigh News and Observer	X	X	X
Reidsville Review		X	X
Roanoke Rapids Herald		X	
Rutherfordton News		X	
Shelby Star		X	X
Smithfield Herald		X	X
Wadesboro Intelligencer		X	X
Wilson Times		X	
Winston-Salem Sentinel		X	X
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Charleston News Courier	X		
Gaffney Ledger		X	
Myrtle Beach News		X	
Sumter Daily Item	X		
TENNESSEE			
Chattanooga Daily Times		X	X
Cleveland Banner		X	
Johnson City Chronicle		X	X

NEWSPAPER	NEWS STORY	PICTURE WITH NEWS	COURTESY TITLE
Knoxville Journal		X	X
Manchester Times		X	
Nashville Banner		X	X
Newport Plain Talk		X	X
TEXAS			
Austin American	X		
Austin Statesman	X		
Beaumont Journal	X		
Beeville Bee Picayune	X		
Bonham Favorite	X		
Bonham Herald	X		
Fort Worth Press	X	X	
Guero Record		X	
Fort Worth Star telegram	X		
Galveston News	X		
Greenville Banner	X		
Houston Post	X		
Marlin Democrat	X		
Pecos Enterprise	X		
San Antonio Express	X		
Waco News Tribune		X	
VIRGINIA			
Amherst Progress	X		
Appomattox Times-Virginian		X	X
Emporia Independent-Messenger		X	
Hopewell News		X	X
Norfolk Pilot	X		

NEWSPAPER	NEWS STORY	PICTURE WITH NEWS	COURTESY TITLE
Portsmouth *Star*		X	X
Radford *News Journal*		X	X
Richmond *Times-Dispatch*	X		
Roanoke *Times*		X	
South Boston *News*		X	X

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT:

Proposals for Corrective Action

Notre Dame Conference

February 8-11, 1963

January, 1963

Daniel H. Pollitt
Professor of Law
University of North
Carolina

I.

INTRODUCTION

Item. In 1946 Jackie Robinson broke the color-bar in organized baseball and became the idol and inspiration of athletic-minded Negro youth. By 1962, eight of the top ten batters in the National League were members of the Negro race.

Item. On the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, Governor Terry Sanford announced the formation of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council with a two-fold mission: (1) to encourage merit employment without regard to race, and (2) to urge youth to become better trained and qualified for employment. The Governor stated that "Reluctance to accept the Negro in employment is the greatest single block to his continued progress and to the full use of the human potential of the Nation and its States".[1]

Item. The R. J. Reynolds tobacco company recently integrated its modern $32,000,000 Winston-Salem plant. Negro forewomen supervise the work of white employees, and the only signs of segregation are the rest rooms, still kept separate under North Carolina law. Officials report that the workers at the 115-acre industrial complex "responded well to desegregation," and this comment is borne out by the remarks of white and Negro employees who work side by side on the same machine, share the cafeteria line "like salt and pepper," but generally, though not always, tend to segregate at the tables.[2]

Item. Negroes Step Up Use of Boycotts to Back Drive for Better Jobs. A & P Is Hit in Philadelphia; Campaigns Start in Detroit, Baltimore and New York. So reads the headline to an article summarizing the "selective patronage" technique originated by the Philadelphia Negro clergy nearly three years ago.[3] A & P is the twentieth company directly affected by the Philadelphia program, all of whom ultimately have met the Negro demands. Some concede that in retrospect

they are not entirely unhappy. An oil company reports that prior to the boycott there were few if any Negro job applicants because "No intelligent Negro will apply to a lily-white company because he doesn't want to get turned down. Since the boycott," continued the spokesman, "we're now getting some crackerjack Negro salesman" and sales have been stronger. One Negro minister commented in explanation that "The Negro community speaks with its dollars to show it has no resentment."

Item. Discrimination in Cook County (Chicago) can be conservatively computed to cost $70 million per year. So testified the Director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid. This is the amount spent for the Aid to Dependent Children program, one designed to take care of children whose mothers have been deserted by their fathers. Almost all the recipients of the aid program in Chicago are Negro women who came to Chicago from the South some 15 or so years earlier, and who remain on the program for an average time of between two and three years. The director of the program testified to a Congressional Committee that the principal reason for this was the unavailability of employment for Negro girls and women:

> The white woman whose husband dies or disappears usually finds work; the Negro woman in the same predicament is denied work; she has one and only one job possibility available and that is day-work -- the dismal, grinding drudgery of finding, not one, but five or six different jobs, then accommodating herself to the diverse personalities of five or six different employers, and then dragging herself home with one of the lowest wages being paid in today's market. In addition, even before she considers the bleak prospect of day-work, she must contrive to make suitable arrangements for the care of her children.[4]

Item. Mayor Stan R. Brookshire of Charlotte, North Carolina recently called upon the business community to help the Negro help himself by providing better employment opportunities. "Second-class citizens," he said, "are a liability and a drain upon the resources of the community. Because of them our per capita income is low and our governmental and

welfare costs are high." The Raleigh News and Observer editorialized favorably upon this call for action with the comment that "second-class citizens mean a second-class South for everybody in it."[5]

The above random-selected items illustrate the tragic waste of Negro potential, the community burden of job discrimination, the growing unrest within the Negro community, and a determination by thoughtful political and industrial leaders to rid America of its "second-class" heritage.

Despite encouraging but isolated "break-throughs"[6] the Negro remains at the bottom of the economic pyramid. Used to the run-around, fearing rebuff, lacking incentive, denied fair union representation, closed from job and training opportunities, his is the job with the broom and shovel, with pay approximately half that of the white.[7] The johnny-come-lately in most industries, he is the first to be fired and he is the victim of every cyclical, seasonal, residual, technological, ethnic, and economic maladjustment of the economy.[8] Moreover, his prospects are worsening, not getting better. Factory "automation" has resulted in one white man with a machine doing the work done a few years back by twenty, thirty, or forty blue-jeaned Negroes.[9] Changes in working conditions have denied the Negro jobs which were once his exclusive province. The locomotive fireman that once shoveled coal was Negro; the fireman that now tends the diesel engine is usually white. Changes in social customs have also adversely hit the Negro. The Negro artisan once had a near monopoly in the Southern building trades, but more and more he is relegated to work in the "Negro" community. Census reports for ten Southern states reveal that from 1920 to 1950 Negro carpenters declined from 23% to 10% of the total; painters, from 25% to 13%; bricklayers, from 54% to 37%; and plasterers, from 66% to 57%.[10] And the decline is accentuating with the decrease in apprenticeship opportunities.

The employment problem is not confined to any one region. In North Carolina, over 90% of all Negroes (but less than 30% of all whites) employed through the State Employment Security Commission in 1959 were placed in "service" or "unskilled" jobs.[11]

In California, a Congressional Committee received undisputed testimony that Negroes were virtually excluded from all jobs as bellboys in Los Angeles and San Francisco hotels, from jobs as waiters, from the San Francisco bottling industry (except as strikebreakers), from all but the most menial jobs on the railroads, from the maritime industry (except in the "stewards department"), among the longshoremen, from the white-collar and craft jobs in the movie industry, from the printing, building and construction trades industries, from the petroleum industry (with few exceptions), from white-collar positions in the retail stores, and even from the better paying jobs in agriculture.[12]

Similar testimony was made about job discrimination in Illinois. William Karp, chairman of the Committee on Merit Employment in the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, testified that a study of over 100,000 job orders for white collar jobs showed that 98% of them were "restricted" as to race.[13] He further testified that top representatives of the Meat Packing Industry denied "pen" jobs to Negroes on the theory that they "laugh, sing, and dance and distrub the cattle."[14] N.A.A.C.P. representatives cited job discrimination in Illinois by chapter and verse. The following typifies the testimony of Dr. Lucien H. Holman, State President of the Illinois Conference of the N.A.A.C.P.: "In Aurora a few manufacturing plants under UAW and other union contracts hire Negroes on a generally fair basis... On the other hand, there are a number of companies that do not hire qualified Negroes. They are Richard-Wilcox Manufacturing Co., the National Brush Co., Sears, Roebuck & Co., ...and Thor Equipment Co. The Aurora Chamber of Commerce has passed the following resolution... "Resolved, that the Board of Directors...

declare it to be a policy that all members are encouraged to voluntarily maintain merit employment practices..."[15]

The situation in New York is not much better. Professor Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University testified that the big employment opportunities for Negroes since 1940 have been in the semiskilled industrial jobs, the jobs hardest hit by automation.[16] Representatives of the N.A.A.C.P. cited the specifics of job discrimination, for example: "In the city of New York, the major industry, as a matter of fact, the basic source of manufacturing in this city, is the garment industry. Negroes still work here on the lowest economic levels, unskilled jobs and the lowest paid jobs."[17] Otis E. Finley, Jr., of the National Urban League, told of a survey in a slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, where a sampling of the youth population showed that roughly 70% of the boys and girls aged 16 to 21 were out of school and unemployed. "Too many of these young people are able but frustrated In other cases, the spark of ambition has been all but snuffed out."[18]

II.
PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

This mass betrayal of the American Dream, the national denial of the individual's right to be, has been condemned from many a rostrum[19] and pulpit,[20] from street-corners[21] and from national political conventions.[22] Remedial proposals have come to us from the city hall,[23] state houses,[24] and from the White House in Washington, D. C.[25] The national problem of racial job discrimination has been particularized, and the current situation in the various areas of racial discrimination are discussed below.

A. Federal Employment.

The federal government maintains the nation's largest payroll, employing approximately 2.3 million civilian

employees.[26] Since 1940 the appropriate Congressional statutes have mandated merit employment without regard to race, creed, or color,[27] and Negroes, denied private employment, have flocked to the government in disproportionate number. They are found, again in disproportionate number, clustered in the lower grades of the civil service. For example, in Los Angeles approximately 14% of the total population, but over 55% of the Postal employees, are Negro. The explanation given for this is simple: "Most of the Negroes come to the Post Office because it is hard for them to get employment anywhere else."[28]

Yet only 14% of the supervisors in the Los Angeles Post Office are Negro (generally found in "Negro" sections of the city) and there are many complaints of discrimination in up-grading and promotion, viz: "There is the case of a clerk of Japanese extraction who bid on the position of general clerk, foreign records unit, airport mail facility, a level 5 position. Placed No. 2 on the list according to the specifications of the job, and seniority, Clerk Tsukahira did not receive the courtesy of an interview. The No. 4 man was selected.[29]

There is no question but that much remains to be done if the theory of "merit" employment is to become an everyday fact of governmental operation. The United States Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1961 that "patterns of Federal employment...do not differ significantly from local employment patterns," and further stated that recent improvements in the federal employment situation were paralleled by similar improvements in the private employment situation.[30]

Under the personal leadership of President Kennedy,[31] the top governmental officials have made a determined effort to stamp out discrimination in federal employment.

All agencies made a survey of their own employment patterns to (1) spot discriminatory practices, and (2) serve as a bench-mark for future surveys.[32] Each agency appointed a Deputy Employment Policy Officer with the fixed obligation to concern himself with minority employment problems.[33] A complaint procedure has been strengthened, and those complaining of job discrimination are sometimes provided with counsel from the Department's legal staff.[34] The Civil Service Commission and many of the agencies have sent high-ranking representatives to "sell" federal employment to the graduates of leading Negro colleges.[35] The agencies have barred discrimination in agency-sponsored recreational programs, and some of

the agencies (Post Office and Veteran's Administration) have notified all field stations that management will not deal with employee unions maintaining segregated locals or which practice any other form of discrimination.[36] The Treasury Department appointed the first Negro professor at the Coast Guard Academy.[37] All agencies have made progress reports to the President's Committee, thereby ensuring that some action will be taken to further the President's Executive Order. The report of the Department of Justice, briefer than most, is representative of them all:

> "Shortly after taking office, the Attorney General reviewed the numbers of minority personnel employed by the Department. The statistics showed that a very small number of Negro lawyers had been employed by the Department in responsible positions.
>
> "Mr. Kennedy directed that a study be made to determine the causes. This disclosed that at least one major cause was a lack of applications particularly from qualified Negro lawyers.
>
> "In May 1961 the Attorney General wrote letters to the deans of approximately 50 leading law schools asking for the names of qualified Negro lawyers of their acquaintance, and of qualified Negro law students who would be interested in a career in the Department. The letter stated that the Department did not employ on the basis of race but was seeking lawyers of ability to serve in it particularly as career employees; that the Attorney General was anxious to take some steps to break down the race barrier which had apparently existed...
>
> "Affirmative steps were also taken with respect to the field offices of the United States Attorneys.... Two Negro United States Attorneys were appointed and

a substantial number of Assistant United States Attorneys and Deputy Marshals who were Negroes.

"...In early 1962 Maceo Hubbard, a career lawyer in the Department, was appointed as Employment Policy Officer....

"A new complaints procedure was recently instituted...."[38]

The big problem lies in transmitting the spirit of Washington to the field offices. Within some areas of Government employment "racial discrimination is deeply entrenched and widely practiced."[39] Moreover, even a conscientious field director, especially one policing a statute--such as the minimum wage law or the National Labor Relations Act--unpopular with the vested community interests, might hesitate to risk the effectuation of his program by hiring Negroes to positions where they deal with the outside public.[40]

Those who would resist the desegregation of federal employment find a handy justification in the "rule of three." Appropriate statutes require that the Civil Service Commission maintain a roster of eligible employees (resulting from an open examination) and that federal agencies fill their vacancies from among the highest three persons on this roster.[41] An illustrative abuse of the "rule of three" was recently presented to a Congressional Committee:

"In California, Negroes are discriminated against in civil service employment. One Negro female, after passing the test for clerk-stenographer, in San Francisco, with scores above 90 in shorthand, typing, and general clerical aptitude, was called in by nine different agencies for interviews and each time the job was given to another one of the 'top three names' on the roster. The applicant had prior civil service

experience and some 7 years of secretarial experience.

"Several of the interviewers told the applicant that she was 'over-qualified' for the job, inasmuch as she had a college degree in secretarial science. In one case the interviewers told applicant, 'I just don't feel you would be happy in this job.'"[42]

Discretion in employment, especially at high levels, is undoubtedly required when job efficiency demands an intense and intimate interchange of ideas, which interchange may be dammed by personality difficulties. It is doubtful that the "rule of three" provides this necessary discretion. In any event, the necessity for a "rule of three" is dubious when the job effectuation does not require continued intimacy of intellectual exchange. Most federal employees can and do dictate a memo to anyone sent from the secretarial "pool," regardless of a potential personality conflict. Similiarly, most federal employees can and do work in harmony, office-to-office or desk-to-desk, with persons they choose not to see after office hours.

It follows that there is much to commend in legislative action abolishing the "rule of three," the device which makes discriminatory employment practices possible. Lacking such legislative action, the Civil Service Commission could minimize its harmful potential by giving less weight to the "oral," as contrasted with the written, examination. Or, additionally, the Civil Service Commission could require a written explanation of why the agency selected the second or third person, rather than the applicant first on the list.

Recent innovations requiring only administrative determination--a periodic head count of minority group employees, the addition of Employment Policy Officers to look for trouble spots, an expedited complaint procedure, the permeation of a spirit from on high to make progress in this area--may make the Congressional mandate of "merit employ-

ment" a felt reality.

The United States Civil Rights Commission has recommended, in line with the 1960 Republican Party platform,[43] that "Congress grant statutory authority to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity."[44]

B. Federal Contract Employment.

The United States government is the world's largest purchaser. It contracts with mines for the purchase of metals; with manufacturers for the fabrication of airplanes, missiles, ships, clothing, shoes, and other munitions of war; with farmers for the food set before the soldiers, the patients in the Veterans' Administration Hospitals, the school children who receive "hot lunches"; with universities for the supply of knowledge and skills; with utilities for the service of electric energy; and so on, almost infinitum. Lightbulbs, ink, books, automobiles, desks, new buildings, maintenance and repair services, telephones, radios, pocket knives, candy, chewing gum, and entertainment services, all are purchased in sizeable quantities by the federal government. In fiscal 1961 between $25 and $30 billions were expended for federal contracts; and ten million persons were employed by the 100 largest defense contractors and subcontractors alone.[45]

Anxious that the money it spends not be utilized to perpetuate racial job discrimination, the federal government has, since 1941, adhered to a "fair employment" policy. In that year, President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Committee, with its initial assignment being to ensure "merit" employment in the "defense" industries.[46] The FEPC came under Congressional fire, and in 1944 an amendment offered by Georgia's Senator Russell was tacked on to the annual Independent Offices Appropriation Act, providing that no appropriation could be allotted to any agency established by executive order and in existence for more than one year "if the Congress has not appropriated any money specifically for such agency...or specifically authorized the expenditure of funds by it."[47] The next day, the FEPC was granted a specific appropriation for the current fiscal year, but in the following year, 1945, it was told to liquidate its affairs. It issued its final report and went out of business on June 28, 1946.[48]

In 1951, following the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, President Truman issued a series of Executive Orders directing certain government agencies to include non-discrimination clauses in their procurement contracts. Truman also established a Committee on Government Contract Compliance, whose primary duty was to study and assess the effectiveness of the existing program. This committee began operations in April, 1952 and issued a report the following January with the change in administration. It noted that the "non-discrimination" clause was "almost forgotten, dead and buried under thousands of words of standard legal and technical language in government procurement contracts."[49]

President Eisenhower, on August 13, 1953 declared the public policy to be one of promoting "equal employment opportunity for all qualified persons employed or entitled to employment on government contracts." He established a Committee on Government Contracts under the leadership of Vice President Nixon to keep an overall eye on the program operation. The committee concerned itself primarily with education and persuasion, and not much was achieved. A survey of representative cities in 1961 by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights disclosed that "in most industries studied, patterns of Negro employment by federal contractors conformed to local industrial employment patterns... In Atlanta, the two automobile assembly plants contacted employed no Negroes in assembly operations. Except for one driver of an inside power truck, all Negro employees observed were engaged in janitorial work -- sweeping, mopping, or carrying away trash."[50] No company was ever placed on an "ineligible" list, or denied a contract, on the basis of its employment policies, no matter how flagrant the violation of the "non-discrimination" contractual provision. At times, there was outright defiance. Some public utility companies flatly refused to furnish the government with necessary services rather than adopt a policy of non-discriminatory employment. The government backed away from this challenge by "waiving" the non-discriminatory

requirement. Similarly, in some industries, such as textile, where the percentage of government contract business is not large, the management would rather forego this business than change longstanding employment practices. Thus, shortly after the announcement of the new Kennedy executive order, the Wall Street Journal reported that "textile manufacturers have practically stopped bidding on military contracts for the past few weeks."[52] It is ironic, and almost unbelievable, that public utilities, monopolies chartered by the public and regulated by the state, and the textile industry, hard hit and seeking additional tariff protection, should be able to defy an important government policy.

On March 6, 1961, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 designed, like its predecessors, "to promote and ensure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race...employed or seeking employment with the federal government and on government contracts."[53] The standard non-discrimination clause now requires all contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and the employees are treated...without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." The "affirmative action" contemplates, as a minimal, that all "want ads" must specify that all qualified applicants will be considered without regard to race.[54] The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under the leadership of Vice President Johnson, was established to monitor this program and given authority to enforce the program by use of these sanctions, some of which were denied its predecessors:

1. conference, conciliation, mediation, or persuasion;
2. publicizing the names of contractors or unions which have either complied, or failed to comply;
3. recommending action by the Department of Justice, including injunctions against individuals or groups interferring with compliance and criminal proceedings against those furnishing false information;

4. terminating all or part of any contract for failure of the contractor to comply; and
5. requiring that contracting agencies of the government refrain from entering into new contracts with any non-complying contractor until he complies.[55]

The Johnson Committee has entered into a "Plans For Progress" program with many of the top industrial concerns of the nation. Typically, the ten point plan for progress initiated in the case of Lockheed Aircraft Co. binds the employer to:

1. provide all management levels with an up-to-date statement of its non-discrimination policy;
2. "aggressively seek out more qualified minority group candidates" for many job categories, including engineering, technical, administrative and clerical positions, and factory operatives;
3. instruct State Employment Officers and other recruitment sources that job applicants are to be referred irrespective of race, creed, color or national origin;
4. re-analyze its available salaried jobs to be certain that all eligible minority group employees have been considered for placement and upgrading;
5. re-examine personnel records of minority group employees to determine whether those qualified and eligible can be used for filling job openings;
6. institute a program of familiarizing universities with employment needs and opportunities, to include hiring teachers who are members of minority groups for summer work and arranging plant tours for teachers and student counselors;
7. support the inclusion of minority group members in all its apprenticeship and other training programs including supervisory and pre-supervisory training classes;

8. encourage the establishment of vocational training programs and the participation of minority group employees in such programs;
9. maintaining eating facilities, rest rooms, and recreational facilities on a nonsegregated basis; and
10. institute periodic checks to insure that the policies and objectives of the plan are being carried out.

How well is the Kennedy program functioning? A study of North Carolina federal contractors, issued six months after the Kennedy program was initiated, indicates that the program got off to a very slow start indeed.[56] The survey concerned the recruitment, the employment, the promotion, the on-the-job training, and other personnel practices of 262 North Carolina firms holding government contracts. In essence, the employment patterns in these government-contract firms paralleled those in firms without government contracts. This is how the survey summarized its findings:

> There appears to be a significant under utilization of Negro manpower in North Carolina firms holding contracts with the federal government. The patterns of under utilization are reflected in the significant number of firms that hire no Negroes, in the occupational levels at which Negroes are hired, in the narrow and limited representation of Negroes in white-collar positions, in the upgrading patterns, and in the use of Negro female resources.[57]

The almost uniform refusal of North Carolina federal contractors to utilize Negro manpower, either at all or at a level above the menial job, is significant for these reasons: (1) firms hiring Negroes reported in overwhelming number (77%) that their Negro employees were as efficient or better than their white employees; (2) those companies which utilized Negroes reported in overwhelming number (90%) that they had no difficulty because of this;[58] and (3) the largest proportion of firms indicated that they have no minimum educational requirement for hiring in the lower occupational categories, so the extent to which Negroes are wholly excluded is not a reflection on the lack of qualifica-

tions on the part of Negroes. Probably the most significant disclosure for present purposes is the following:

> Twenty-one of the 22 firms without Negro employees indicated that they have never discussed the matter of employing Negroes with any federal agency. Eighty-seven of the 100 responding firms that do employ Negroes indicated that they had never discussed the problem with any federal agency.[59]

Thus it would appear that six months after the Kennedy program was launched in Washington, it still remained a dead letter in North Carolina.

It is not fair to place all the blame on management. Unions must take the onus of sharing in and even initiating racial discrimination. Numerous unions have denied Negro employees a right to union membership, and thereby deprived them a voice and a vote in the policy decisions which affect their wages, their hours, and other conditions of employment.[60] Many other unions have established separate and segregated locals for Negro employees where they have scant more voice than if totally excluded, and still others have negotiated contracts wherein Negro employees were relegated, as a class, to unskilled and unpromotable positions. These separate racial seniority lines in collective bargaining agreements are especially galling. Negroes are hired in classifications designated as "common laborer," or "yard labor," or "non-operating department," or "maintenance department," and limited to promotion within the departments. Thus, a Negro with 20 years seniority can look forward to being promoted from "toilet attendant" to "sweeper."[61]

These union practices violate the Supreme Court's requirement that unions represent <u>all</u> employees "without hostile discrimination, fairly, impartially, and in good faith."[62]

These union practices have been recently condemned by the AFL-CIO Executive Council: "Resolved, That racially segregated local unions be eliminated by national and international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO";[63] and by the 1961 AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention: "We welcome the nationwide agreements

entered into by the Bricklayers...the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and other unions with respective national contractors' associations, to make non-discrimination on account of race, creed, color and national origin a standard to be observed in all apprenticeship training programs. Many of the major industrial unions have adopted "Plans for Progress to eliminate these practices."[64]

The National Labor Relations Board, which has original jurisdiction over these practices, recently indicated that it would countenance them no longer. Denying a discriminating union the normal protection against the necessity of participating in a representation election during a reasonable contractual period, the Labor Board, citing the Supreme Court school decision,[65] made this comment:

> Consistent with clear court decisions in other contexts which condemn governmental sanctioning of racially separate groupings as inherently discriminatory, the Board will not permit its contract bar rules to be utilized to shield contracts such as those here involved from challenge or otherwise appropriate election petitions. We therefore hold that, where the bargaining representative of employees in an appropriate unit executes separate contracts, or even a single contract, discriminating between Negro and white employees on racial lines, the Board will not deem such contracts as a bar to an election.
>
> We are not confronted in this proceeding with any attack on the validity of the Intervenor's (discriminating union's) outstanding certification in consequence of the separate contracts which it executed on the basis of race. Although the execution of such contracts is in patent derogation of the certification and would warrant revocation of the certification, we deem it unnecessary to take such action at this time in view of the impending election which we here direct.[66]

In short, union discrimination in industrial employment opportunities seems on the wane. "It is unfair and inaccurate to leave the impression that President Kennedy's Committee has not made progress," Duane Greathouse, a vice president of the United Auto Workers, testified to a Congressional Committee.

> Through the work of the Committee in these few months there are Negroes in technical skills in the oil industry in the St. Louis, Mo. area where there had been none before. There are minority group members now employed as seamstresses in a South Carolina textile plant for the first time. There are Negro tobacco workers in integrated production operations in North Carolina. Government contract facilities in Nashville, Tenn., and in Nevada, are employing integrated work forces because of the Committee's efforts. Negroes are now employed in skilled jobs on electronics in Dallas, Texas--jobs previously closed tight against them. The Committee opened government contract jobs for Negro carpenters in Miami, Fla.[67]

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity now has the "tools."[68] If it can get the money and the staff, all it needs is determination to get the job done.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights correctly points out that the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, established only by executive action, is necessarily limited in budget and legal authority. Its jurisdiction over labor unions is indirect and tenuous. Therefore, the Commission recommends:

> That Congress grant statutory authority to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity or establish a similar agency to encourage and enforce a policy of equal employment opportunity in all federal employment and all employment created or supported by government contracts and federal grant funds."[69]

C. Federal Grant-in-Aid Employment

Grants-in-aid to state and local government, to public institutions, and to private nonprofit institutions are a method of federal subsidization of employment second in importance only to government contracts. In fiscal 1961 the federal grant-in-aid programs cost the taxpayers (white and Negro alike) some 7.5 billion dollars.[70] The largest expeditures went for the construction of hospitals ($154 million), schools ($63.3 million), public airports ($83.3 million), highways ($2.7 billion), and public housing, slum clearance, and urban redevelopment (over $300 million).[71]

Thousands upon thousands of skilled construction jobs were thereby created, and by and large they were denied to Negroes. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights made a field study of

employment created by these grants-in-aid programs in the cities of Detroit, Baltimore, and Atlanta. The results of this study showed: (1) Negro employment was greatest at the unskilled level, in every case outnumbering white employment at that level on these jobs. (2) As the skill level increased, the percentage of Negro employment decreased. (3) There was little difference in Negro employment patterns among the three cities surveyed; although in Atlanta almost all the skilled Negroes worked in the trowel trades (cement finishers, bricklayers) while in Detroit and Baltimore skilled Negroes were working as carpenters, operating engineers, and labor foremen as well.[72]

During the 1930's, the New Deal "pump-priming" make-work programs--the WPA, the PWA, the NYA, etc.--contained non-discriminatory clauses. The Unemployment Relief Act of 1933, for example, provided that "in employing citizens for the purpose of this Act no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color or creed;"[73] and the Hatch Act of 1939 contained a proviso making it unlawful to deprive any persons of employment or other benefit made possible "by any Act of Congress appropriating funds for work relief or relief purposes, on account of race, creed, color, or any political activity."[74] When Congress failed to ban discriminatory hiring practices, as in the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, those administering the public works program issued regulations designed to end job discrimination, and punished the violators.[75]

During the 1960's, we find no such general governmental policy in grant-in-aid employment. The Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent agencies which administer the Low Rent Housing and the Urban Redevelopment programs, construe grant project agreements to be government contracts within the meaning of Executive Order 10925 and accordingly require a "non-discriminatory" clause in all contracts.[76] The Urban Redevelopment Program has three steps: first, the local government, with federal financial assistance, acquires and clears slum areas; second, the local government, without

federal assistance, then improves the site; and third, the cleared land is then sold to private contractors for redevelopment. The non-discriminatory clause applies only in the first process, i.e., acquiring and clearing the land.

The Federal Aviation Agency has, since April 1961, required non-discrimination in employment created by airport grant projects,[77] but due to staff limitations leaves enforcement to the local sponsors.[78]

The Bureau of Public Roads, within the Department of Commerce, which administers grants for highway construction has, since 1941, inserted a "short-form" non-discriminatory clause in all contracts. The Bureau has not adopted the more meaningful provisions of the Kennedy Executive Order "for fear that any change in the clause would call attention to it."[79] There is no machinery for its enforcement.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which administers the hospital and impact-school construction programs, makes no requirement that employment on these projects be non-discriminatory.

The federal grants-in-aid are conditioned upon compliance with specified standards, and certainly for purposes of equal protection have no different standing than the ordinary government contract.[81]

In 1961, Congressman William Fitts Ryan introduced a bill, H.R. 7143, to establish the Civil Rights Commission as a permanent agency with broad powers to end employment discrimination on federal grants-in-aid programs. The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that:

> the President issue an Executive Order making clear that employment supported by federal grant funds is subject to the same non-discrimination policy and the same requirements as those set forth in Executive Order 10925 applicable to employment by government contractors

and that both the "federal contract" and "federal grant-in-aid" anti-discrimination programs be given congressional sanction and approval.[82]

D. The State Employment Services.

A special grant-in-aid program, created by the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933[83] is the Federally subsidized "national system of public employment offices." The function of these offices is (1) to assist unemployed workers in finding jobs, and (2) to assist employers in securing qualified workers. In fiscal 1961, approximately $107 million in Federal grants were spent for this purpose.[84]

The persons in these local offices man the gates: they can open the door to "merit" employment, or, alternatively, they can bar Negro access to the better paying jobs. Indications are that they do the latter.

The North Carolina Employment Security Commission operated in 1960 on a budget of $5,555,960.00, entirely paid for by the Federal government. The headquarters agency in Raleigh employed a total of 10 Negroes: one maid, two elevator operators, five janitors, and two janitor messengers. Some thirty-nine Negroes (and 681 whites) were employed in a professional capacity throughout the state to serve the Negro applicants for employment. When a job order is received, it is sent to the offices manned by whites if the order specifies white employees. If the order specifies Negro employees, it is handled by the Negro-manned divisional offices. If the order does not specify race, it is sent to either the white or Negro office according to "local knowledge of customary hiring requirements." In case of doubt, the employer is requested to indicate a preference. The result of this system is that in 1960, 95,576 whites were directed to employment, largely in professional, clerical, sales, skilled and semi-skilled jobs; and 73,473 Negroes were placed, largely in service and unskilled positions. By this system, the employer is denied both the opportunity and the responsibility to hire on the basis of merit.[85]

The experience in North Carolina is not unique. "If a known Government contractor insists on a discriminatory job order in Atlanta, it will be honored, as will a discriminatory request from a Federal agency."[86] An employee of the Michigan

Employment Security Commission explains: "I get rated by the number of people I place. If I don't place enough, I get called upstairs. Therefore, I send people to places where I think they will be employed, and this means that I send them by race."[87]

When Secretary Goldberg assumed office, the Department of Labor "determined that one objective in its relationship with state employment services, in line with the President's national policy, would be the making available of equal employment opportunities through the 1800 local employment offices. It therefore set about encouraging the states to review their staffs, giving greater understanding toward the national policy of equal employment opportunity." Additionally, the Department of Labor prohibited the processing of "discriminatory" job orders -- not only from Federal agencies and Federal contractors as was formerly the rule -- but from private employers as well.[88] But the basic cause for racial job assignment, i. e., basing promotions and allocations of funds according to the number of job placements, has not been changed.

A basic policy of the United States Employment Service is to promote employment for all applicants "on the basis of their skills, abilities and job qualifications."[89] This policy would be better effectuated if promotions and the allocation of funds were based, at least in part, according to the number of Negro job applicants placed in "non-traditional" positions. This is one of the recommendations of the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

"Recommendation. 7.--That steps be taken, either by executive or congressional action, to reaffirm and strengthen the Bureau of Employment Security policy, in rendering recruitment and placement services, of encouraging merit employment and assisting minority group members in overcoming obstacles to employment and in obtaining equal job opportunities. In this connection, consideration should be given to changing the method utilized to determine Federal appropriations to State employment offices, presently keyed

primarily to the number of job placements made, to reflect other factors (such as the greater degree of difficulty and time involved in placing qualified minority group workers), so that the budgetary formula used will encourage rather than discourage referral on a nondiscriminatory basis. In addition, regulations and statements of policy with respect to the operation of State employment offices should be reexamined to insure that such regulations and statements conform to the overall USES policy of discouraging employment discrimination and encouraging merit employment.

"Recommendation 8.--That the President direct the Secretary of Labor to grant funds for the operation of State employment offices only to those offices which offer their services to all, on a nonsegregated basis, and which refuse to accept and/or process discriminatory job orders."[90]

E. Apprenticeship Programs.

A skilled trade is a must in today's job market. Technological changes and the replacement of new industries for old have been largely responsible for increased unemployment. But even in a "depressed" area like Detroit, "jobs... are going begging for lack of skilled workers to fill them." [91] The demand for skilled workers will continue to grow. It is estimated that for every 100 skilled workers the nation had in 1955, it will need 122 in 1965, and 145 in 1975: "The New York State Department of Labor indicates, in a survey of jobs in 1960 to 1970, that 46,000 additional craftsmen will be needed annually if the State's needs for skilled workers in the 1960's are to be satisfied."[92] Yet today the apprenticeship training programs are not even producing enough skilled workers to replace those who retire, and Negroes are experiencing "a major crisis in unemployment because it is almost impossible as a result of discrimination for them to make the jump from unskilled jobs being wiped out by automation to the skilled ones that the new technology creates."[93]

1. Discrimination In Building Trade Apprentice Programs.

Uncontradicted testimony bears this out. "Open access to

plumbing and pipe-fitting apprenticeship controlled by the Plumbers Union is a very rare experience for young Negroes in the North as well as in the South ....

"Among the most important of the building trades craft unions is the Carpenters Union which has severely limited the opportunities of colored craftsmen by organizing segregated Negro locals (in those instances where Negroes are permitted to join) and giving them jurisdiction over areas where there was little or no construction....

"A recent study made by the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco revealed that Negroes are not participating in the electrical, plumbing, and carpentry apprenticeship training programs in that city and that only one Negro served as an apprentice in the metal trades.

"A report made by the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission indicates the exclusion of Negro youth in the structural steel, sheet metal, lathers, and tile setters apprenticeship programs in Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, and Muskegon.

"The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights has published a study which concludes that a similar condition exists in virtually the entire State of Connecticut.

"In a study entitled 'Negro Employment Practices in the Chattanooga Area' it is found that there was an absolute ban on apprenticeship opportunities for Negroes in the building trades.....

"In Newark, N. J., where there are 3,523 apprentices currently participating, not a single Negro apprentice is to be found in electrical installation, plumbing, painting, and other building trades apprenticeship programs....

"An examination of available data makes evident that less than 1 per cent of the apprentices in the building and construction industry throughout the United States are Negro."[94]

The absence of Negroes from the construction crafts is not, as one offical of an electrical union would have it, due to the fact that "Negroes fear electricity."[95] At the end of the Civil War, 100,000 of the 1230 artisans in the South were Negroes.[96] In 1920, in 10 states of the old South, 23 per cent of the carpenters, 25 per cent of the painters, 54 per cent of the bricklayers, and 66 per cent of the plasterers were Negro.[97] Today, Negroes have a hard time getting a toehold in the apprentice programs. The reason for the total absence of Negro plumbers was explained by a Plumbers Union official, who said that the apprenticeship program -- jointly administered by the union and management -- gave priority to the sons and relatives of those in the trade:

Mr. Rhodes (Business Manager of Local No. 4 of the Plumbers Union): It is true our local union favors, gives preference to sons, employees' sons and members' sons, and the like of that, you know, kinfolks....

Congressman Pucinski: What is the reasoning ---

Mr. Rhodes. What is the reason? Well, No. 1, your membership. You have got an 800-man membership. They all have boys that want to become plumbers. And they insist that the apprenticeship committee take care of their people, their own people... After all, how could a committee tell a member that we are going to take somebody else other than his son before we take his son?

Congressman Roosevelt: Will the gentleman yield? What you are saying, though, is that a plumbers' local is the same thing as a private club or a private school ... is it right to be able to make that union into what in essence tends to become pretty much a private club?

Mr. Rhodes: That is not what we are attempting to do, or not what we are doing. We take boys other than plumbers' sons. However, we give plumbers' sons preference.

Congressman Roosevelt: But only when you don't have enough sons?

Mr. Rhodes. Well, that has happened. There were a few years back when there were not enough plumbers' sons....

Congressman Roosevelt. If a Negro did apply, and was qualified, can you tell me honestly that you think he would be given a fair chance to enter the apprenticeship training?

Mr. Rhodes. He would be processed the same as any other candidate.

Congressman Roosevelt. What is the total membership of your union?

Mr. Rhodes. 824.

Congressman Roosevelt. Is this a mixed racial union, or are they all white?

Mr. Rhodes. As far as I know, they are all white."[98]

President George Meany of the AFL-CIO testified that: "There is racial discrimination in apprenticeship and vocational training programs, and we in the AFL-CIO have opposed and do oppose it. We want it ended."[99] J. C. Haggerty, President of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, testified that "It would be fruitless to deny that discrimination exists in the building and construction industry."[100] Both gentlemen urged the enactment of H. R. 8219, introduced by Congressman Powell, which is designed to bar the Secretary of Labor from fostering discriminatory apprenticeship training programs. The proposed legislation has several facets.

First. The Davis-Bacon and the Walsh-Healy Act require government contractors to pay "prevailing," and the Fair Labor Standards Act requires all employers in interstate commerce to pay "minimum," wages to their employees. Each statute, however, permits the Secretary of Labor to authorize "exemptions" from the wage requirements in the case of apprentices. The proposed legislation would prohibit the Secretary of Labor from "exempting" any apprenticeship program where discrimination is practiced. This proposal would

have limited impact, as only sixty-six exemptions were issued in the United States last year;[101] and in any event, former Secretary of Labor Goldberg announced that "exemptions" will not be granted to apprentice programs that discriminate.[102]

Second. The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor currently "certifies" apprenticeship programs which meet agreed-upon standards. The purpose is to upgrade the programs and assure uniformity of training. Certificates are awarded those graduating from these programs. Approximately half (160,000) the current apprentices are in a "certified" program.[103] The proposed legislation would bar the Secretary of Labor from certifying a program if it discriminates. The Secretary of Labor, by administrative action, has already taken this course.

Third. Most apprenticeship programs involve both on-the-job training and class-room work. The class-room work is supported by federal funds; and the legislative proposal is to withhold these funds from the apprenticeship programs which discriminate. There is a question as to how effective this would be in achieving its objective. Prior to 1954, when Washington, D. C. schools were segregated, most of the major craft unions utilized public schools for the class-room aspects of their apprentice programs. Subsequent to the desegregation of the schools, "many of the unions set up their own separate training facilities,"[104] and this is a trend that is nationwide, "more so where the unions have the resources to do it."[105]

A more direct approach has been taken to the problem of racial discrimination in on-the-job apprenticeship programs. The union, whose membership is closed to Negroes, is not permitted by the Courts to restrict employment opportunities to its members.[106] The Supreme Court has ruled that a union representing a majority of the employees in an appropriate craft or unit may not use its bargaining power to the detriment of minority Negro employees within the craft,[107] or to the detriment of Negro employees in a sister craft or unit. "Bargaining

agents who enjoy the advantages of the Railway Labor Act's provisions must execute their trust without lawless invasion of the rights of other workers."[108] All these decisions concerned job restrictions by unions against Negroes then on the job. However, the National Labor Relations Act requires unions to give "fair representation" to "employees"; job applicants have come within the meaning of the term "employees" in other contexts; and a good case has been made for the proposition that it is an unfair labor practice for a union, controlling job access, to discriminate against job applicants on the basis of race.[109] The issue, however, has not yet been decided, although it is now pending before the National Labor Relations Board.[110] Should the Labor Board deny statutory authority to rectify the situation, federal legislation modeled on the Ohio Code (making it unlawful for any labor organization to discriminate against any person, <u>or limit his employment opportunities</u>, on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry)[111] seems appropriate.

The Civil Rights Commission does not go this far. It recommends only that "Congress amend the Labor-Management and Disclosure Act of 1959 to include in title 1 thereof a provision that no labor organization shall refuse membership to, segregate, or expel any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin."[112]

2. <u>Discrimination in Industrial Apprenticeship Programs</u>. Thus far, the discussion has concerned discrimination in the building craft apprenticeship programs administered (at least jointly) by the craft unions. But an equally invidious type of discrimination is found in the industrial apprenticeship programs administered by management.

"In industrial apprenticeship training programs the opportunities for Negroes appear to be no greater than in the construction crafts."[113] Thus, a study of the auto industry's apprenticeship training program reveals that "Chrysler Corp. had 350 apprentices in its Detroit area plants, not one of

whom was a Negro. General Motors Corp. showed a slight improvement in that they had one Negro apprentice out of the 289 apprentices in training in its Detroit area plants. However, at the General Motors Institute in Flint which enrolls 2,400 students in a five-year work and training program, there is not a single Negro student."[114] "In the apprenticeship training program conducted jointly by the Automotive Tool & Die Manufacturers Association and the UAW, there are approximately 370 apprentices, all white. Only one Negro has ever participated in this program."[115]

Private employers who discriminate in industrial apprenticeship programs can be reached by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity if they have Government contract employment. The typical "Plan for Progress" requires the employer to "support the inclusion of minority group members in all its apprenticeship and other training programs."[116] If the private employer does not have a government program, his discriminatory practices can be curbed only by enactment of a Fair Employment Practices Law.

F. Vocational Education.

The greatest resources of any nation are the skill and know-how of its people. This philosophy has been embedded in federal law for many years. A subsidized program of vocational education was instituted in 1914 with the Smith-Hughes Act with the stated purposes: "To conserve and develop our national resources, to permit a productive and more prosperous agriculture, to prevent waste of human labor, to provide a supplement to apprenticeship; to increase wage earning power; to meet the increasing demand for trained workmen; to offset the increased cost of living; to serve as a wise business investment; and to promote our national security and economy."[117]

The import of vocational education as it relates to the need for highly skilled and technically trained manpower for the space age, has been underscored by the enactment of title

VIII of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 which makes provisions for area vocational educational programs "to train highly skilled technicians in fields necessary for national defense." [118]

The vocational education programs operate in the following manner: states willing to match federal funds and accept federal supervision receive grants from the federal government to help pay "the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects, and teachers of trade, home economics, and insustrial subjects."[119]

The Office of Education within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare administers the programs. The long-time policy of the Office of Education was "to fit persons for useful employment and, hence, training would be offered only when it was evident that those trained could reasonably expect to find employment locally. Since Negroes were denied employment in certain occupations, ... there was no use to train a Negro for an occupation in which he could not find employment; i. e., to train Negroes as electricians in most States would have been a waste of money and the time of the persons so trained."[120] Since 1948, the Office of Education has adopted the policy that "in the administration of federally aided programs of vocational education there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color." However, the present position of the Office of Education is that "the Commissioner does not have the power to withhold funds because schools are segregated."[121] The result of this approach is as may be expected: Negroes are excluded, segregated, and usually placed in training for "Negro" jobs.

"In Louisiana, there are twenty-seven state supported trade and technical schools -- twenty-three for whites -- four for Negroes.... Recently I visited two trade schools in New Orleans, one for Negroes and the other for whites. The Orleans Area Vocational and Technical School, which is for Negroes, offers only seven courses. The other school... offers forty-seven."[122]

In Atlanta, "the use of segregated public schools for vocational training produces a marked difference in the types of programs available to different racial groups... At Carver School, Negroes are trained for 'jobs traditionally open to them'. These are the most menial, requiring the lowest level of skills. They are precisely the ones for which the national economy has less and less need."[123]

In North Carolina, the situation is not so extreme. A survey of nine Industrial Education Centers reveals racial segregation in some: "in at least three this includes separate courses of study."[124] Instruction is available on the basis of job opportunities, and in some instances this is construed to mean job opportunities within the community. Thus, "if it was known not to be the custom for Negroes to be employed as upholsterers in the area served by the Center" then there was not job opportunity for Negroes and they were denied the training unless a "specific job" was assured.[125] Generally, however, the stated admission policy was to exclude race as a factor. The preponderance of white students (over 90 per cent) was explained by the lack of Negro interest and qualifications. One administrator stated that he had "recently shown forty-seven Negro men through the school and invited them to take courses; that only four applied, and of these only one completed the necessary examinations and he did so poorly that he was not admitted."[126]

Lack of motivation and ability, of course, is itself the product of long-suffered discrimination. The vicious circle of discrimination in employment opportunities is clear; the Negro is denied, or fails to apply for training for jobs in which employment opportunities have traditionally been denied him; when jobs do become available, there are consequently few, if any, qualified Negroes available to fill them; and often, because of lack of knowledge of such newly opened opportunities, even the few who are qualified fail to apply.

The United States Civil Rights Commission has recommended that Congress and the President take appropriate measures to meet the manpower needs of the coming years by:

(1) Providing that, as a condition of federal assiatance, all such programs be administered on a nondiscriminatory, nonsegregated basis; and

(2) Amending present regulations regarding admission to vocational classes;to provide that admission be based on present and probable future national occupational needs, rather than, as presently interpreted, on traditional and local needs and opportunities.

Additionally, of a more positive nature, the Commission recommended action:

(3) Expanding and supplementing existing programs of federal assistance to vocational education;

(4) Providing for retraining as well as training and for funds to enable jobless workers to move to areas where jobs are available and their skills in demand; and that Congress enact legislation to provide equality of training and employment opportunities for youths (aged 16 to 21), and particularly minority group youths, to assist them in obtaining employment and completing their education;

(5) Through a system of federally subsidized employment and training made available on a nondiscriminatory basis; and

(6) Through the provision of funds for special placement services in the schools in connection with part-time and cooperative vocational education programs.

Finally, the Commission recommended "That the President direct that appropriate measure be taken for the conduct, on a continuing basis, of an affirmative program of dissemination of information:

(7) To make known the availability on a non-discriminatory basis of jobs in the Federal Government and with Government contractors; and

(8) To encourage all individuals to train for and apply for such jobs, and particularly those jobs where there is currently a shortage of qualified applicants."[127]

G. Private Employment.

All the above programs and proposals have no immediate and only indirect impact on private discriminatory employment practices. A national program--prohibiting discriminatory employment practices by employer and union alike -- is needed. Federal legislation on this score has been introduced in each Congress since the 78th and supported by religious leaders of all persuasions, constitutional authorities, sociologists, economists, businessmen, and leaders of organized labor. Every report that has issued from a House or Senate Committee has recommended the enactment of fair employment legislation.

In the absence of final Congressional action, the states have moved in. New York first, under the leadership of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, next New Jersey, and today some twenty-four of the most populous states in the North, in the North Central, and in the West have enacted some type of fair employment practice legislation.[128] This, however, is not adequate to the occasion. First, there is some doubt that the Constitution permits the application of these state laws to "Interstate Commerce."[129]

Second, these state laws have no applicability in the area of the country where the need for such laws is the greatest. Finally, the problem is national in scope as populations migrate from one section of the country to another.

National legislation is a must. As one witness put it: "FEPC is a workable, sound, tested instrumentality that is good for 110 million people in twenty states; surely, gentlemen, it is good for 180 million people in fifty states."[130] Or, to quote George Meany:

> I could speak at length about the physical loss of good brains and strong bodies we suffer because of those who judge a man by other standards than his abilities. That would be tragic enough in an era when we need every ounce of our strength, and the fullest development of our resources, to secure our nation against attack.
>
> But the greatest loss to America is moral and spiritual. If a citizen of this country finds his way blocked, if he cannot achieve his highest degree of usefulness, only because he is a Negro or a Jew, a Catholic or an Asiatic; because he is an Italian or a Pole; because he is thirty-five or forty or forty-five, those who are responsible for blocking him are betraying the American ideal in the eyes of the world."[131]

III

Summary and Conclusion

Is this, the year of the Emancipation Proclamation, the year for an FEPC? The defeat of those who sought to amend Senate Rule 22 and thereby avert the threat of a filibuster is not a happy harbinger of civil rights legislation. But ours is a rapidly changing world. Six years ago, there was no sputnik, and the word "Astronaut" was unknown. Five years ago Governor Faubus was an obscure southern Governor, and a liberal one to boot. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a young and obscure southern minister, with no particular mark for greatness. Three years ago, the first Negro youth had yet to walk into a white lunch counter and ask for a cup of coffee. Three months ago, no governor of South Carolina had ever asked for the peaceful acceptance of an integrated state university. One month ago, no governor of North Carolina had ever asked for a Good Neighbor Council to end employment discrimination. The segregationist may think he is fighting John Kennedy, Earl Warren, and the NAACP. Actually, he is fighting Marconi, macadam, and Henry Ford -- in short, the Twentieth Century. The outcome of this unequal struggle is not for a moment in doubt. If FEPC legislation comes not this year, it comes soon. But much remains to be done, and on many fronts.

Within the federal civil service there are pockets of racism; aided and abetted by the use and abuse of the "rule of three." Energetic transmission of the Washington spirit to the field offices is necessary if federal employment and employment opportunities are to be based solely on factors of "merit." Periodic "headcounts," the addition of "minority specialists" to employment staffs, good communication, and Congressional approval and ratification of the guiding agency -- the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity -- will keep this program on sound footing.

The "fair and equal employment" clause in the standard government contract has for too long been forgotten, "dead

and buried under thousands of words of standard legal and technical language." President Kennedy has unearthed this provision and appointed a Committee under Vice-President Johnson to enforce it. Sanctions are available, and the Plans for Progress, if implemented, give great hope of progress. The entire program would be strengthened by Congressional authorization, support, and appropriations.

The anti-discrimination clauses contained (and enforced) in the 1930 grant-in-aid programs are not present in today's programs. The consequence is that thousands of Negroes are denied good jobs on projects created by Federal funds. There is no valid Constitutional reason why Federally created job opportunities under grant-in-aid programs should be treated differently from Federally created job opportunities under Federal procurement contract programs. The Civil Rights Commission recommends that the grant-in-aid program be brought within the protection and requirements of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

The United States Government finances the world's largest employment agency; and this agency in turn often stands as a barrier between the Negro and better job opportunities. Operating through segregated offices, the state employment services, at least until lately, processed discriminatory job requests under the federal spurt which based promotion and appropriations on the number of unemployed persons put back to work. The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that (1) consideration should be given to changing the method utilized to determine federal appropriations, presently keyed to the number of job placements made, to reflect other factors (such as the greater degree of difficulty and time involved in placing qualified minority group workers) so that the budgetary formula will encourage, rather than discourage, referral on a nondiscriminatory basis; and (2) that the President direct the Secretary of Labor to grant funds only to state employment

services which offer their services on a non-segregated basis and which refuse to accept and/or process discriminatory job offers.

America suffers from a surplus of unskilled and a dearth of skilled employees. And thousands of youths, age 16 to 21, are out of school, out of work, on the streets headed for trouble, petty crimes, and ultimately to public relief. The federal government seeks to give skills, work, and hope to these citizens by training in federally sponsored apprenticeship programs and federally financed industrial training centers. Yet these programs are not only woefully inadequate in size and number; they also discriminate against the Negro entirely, or at best train him for "traditional" jobs which are rapidly passing from the industrial scene. The Civil Rights Commission recommends corrective action in the federally supported apprenticeship programs by withholding federal aid and support from those which discriminate. It recommends corrective action against federally supported industrial training programs through similar techniques. And it recommends a positive approach to the total problem of creating skills needed in the coming years, of rekindling belief in the sceptical youth, through a program of guidance counseling, making the youth aware of federal and federal contract employment opportunities; through a program of extensive training in useful and challenging skills; and through a program of mass training and retraining akin to that of the Civil Conservation Corps during the 1930s -- a domestic Peace Corps if you will, permitting a simultaneous experience of education, skill gaining, and helping others to help themselves.

We find ourselves at another frontier. Do we retreat, vacillate, or press on? The problem is grave, the challenge a thrill, and the promise of solution a reward without measure.

On to Appomattox.

Footnotes

1. The initial reaction was very favorable. Only five of the first hundred letters were hostile, and three of these came from outside the state. Raleigh News and Observer, Jan. 21, 1963, p. 1, col. 3.

2. New York Times, Oct 15, 1962, p. 1, col. 1.

3. Wall Street Journal, Jan. 8, 1963, p. 1, col. 6.

4. Testimony of Raymond M. Hilliard, Equal Employment Opportunity, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee On Labor, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87 Cong., 1st Sess. (1961), pp 10, 13.

5. Jan. 8, 1963, p. 4, col. 2.

6. The State Department now has 35 Negroes in responsible posts and has named Carl T. Rowan, present deputy assistant Secretary of State, as ambassador to Finland. Mr. Rowan will be our third Negro ambassador. The National Observer, Jan. 15, 1963, p. 3, col. 1.

There are now 81,000 Chicago Negroes employed in professional, managerial, sales, and craft positions, up from 50,000 a decade earlier. New York Times, Dec. 8, 1962, p. 25, col. 1.

7. The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States, Bulletin s-3, U. S. Department of Labor (1960), pp. 5-17.

8. In August, 1962, Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed 11.4 per cent of the Negro work force unemployed as compared with 4.6 per cent of white workers. In Detroit, 60 per cent of the workers currently unemployed are Negroes, although Negroes constitute only 20 per cent of the population. A. Philip Randolph, "The Unfinished Revolution," The Progressive, Dec., 1962, p. 24.

9. "The extent to which the Negro unemployment rate is traceable to automation is suggested in the statistics on chronic unemployment, most of which involves victims of technological displacement. At present, among those unemployed for more than fifteen weeks, 23.8 per cent are non-white." Ibid.

10. Statement of A. Philip Randolph, Equal Opportunity In Apprenticeship Programs, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Labor, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87th Cong., 1st Sess. (1961), p. 121.

11. Operation of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, Report by the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Dec. 27, 1960, p. 2.

12. Statement of William E. Pollard, Chairman, Labor and Industry Committee, West Coast Region, NAACP. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra. pp. 389, 392-394.

13. Id. at p. 77.

14. Id. at p. 78.

15. Id. at p. 138.

16. Id. at p. 611.

17. Id. at p. 635.

18. Id. at p. 713.

19. The AFL-CIO Fourth Constitutional Convention in 1961 proclaimed that: "A real democracy has no room for second-class citizenship....When we as trade unionists seek equal opportunity for all Americans in employment, training, education, services and housing, we do so because we believe that America's good neighbor policy begins at home."

20. Representatives of the National Council of Churches of Christ, U. S. A., of the American Jewish Congress, and of the National Catholic Welfare Conference testified in January of 1962 on behalf of a fair employment practices law.

21. The Black Muslim movement makes capital out of the inability of Negro youth to secure suitable employment. "If our Government and the leaders of our communities will not give us the democratic tools to deal with these young people, and deal with them fairly, and honorably, I think the only thing that is left is Elijah Mohammed for them to go to...." Statement of Edwin C. Berry, Executive Director, Chicago Urban League, Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 178.

22. The Democratic Party platform of 1960 expressly pledged: "The new Democratic administration will support Federal legislation establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission to secure effectively for everyone the right to equal opportunity for employment."

The Republican Party platform of 1960 promised: "Continued support for legislation to establish a commission on equal job opportunity to make permanent and to expand with legislative backing the excellent work being performed by the President's Committee on Government Contracts."

23. See e.g. the testimony of New York City's Mayor Wagner: "We have established a city contract compliance policy under which all companies doing business with the city must adhere to our anti-discrimination laws...." Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra. at p. 624.

24. A description of state fair employment practices laws is appended hereto.

25. Over twenty years ago President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Commission. See text at note 46 infra.

26. An additional 2.48 million persons are employed in the Armed Forces. Employment, a Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1961), p. 19.

27. Congressman Ramspeck of Georgia fathered this bill. 54 Stat. 1211 (1940), 5 U. S. C. sec. 631(a) (1958).

28. Testimony of Perry C. Parks, Jr., Vice President, 10th District, National Alliance of Postal Employees, Equal Employment Opportunities, note 4 supra., p. 381

29. Id. at p. 373.

30. Employment, note 26 supra. at p. 38.

31. On March 6, 1961, shortly after inauguration, the President issued Executive Order No. 10925 establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, with jurisdiction "to promote and insure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, employed or seeking employment with the Federal Government and on Government contracts. 26 Fed. Reg. 1977 (1961).

32. The First Nine Months, Report of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (1962), p. 1.

33. Ibid.

34. This is true, at least, within the Department of Labor. Id. at p. 25.

35. Id. at p. 16.

36. Id. at pp. 27, 31.

37. Id. at p. 29. There is no indication that the Departments of Army, Navy or Air Force have followed suit at their respective academies.

38. Id. at p. 32.

39. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 177-178.

40. Secretary Goldberg announced that the Department of Labor hired its first Negro employee south of the Potomac River: a Wage and Hour Investigator working in Miami. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., p. 25.

41. 58 Stat. 389 (1944), 5 U. S. C. sec. 857 (1958).

42. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 391.

43. See note 22, supra.

44. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 161.

45. Id. at p. 55.

46. Executive Order No. 8802, 6 Fed. Reg. 3109 (1941).

47. 58 Stat. 387 (1944), 31 U. S. C. sec. 696 (1958).

48. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 12.

49. Id. at p. 56.

50. Id. at p. 65.

51. Id. at p. 59.

52. Apr. 28, 1961, p. 1, col. 1.

53. 26 Fed. Reg. 1977 (1961).

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Equal Protection of The Laws in Employment by Federal Contractors, Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Sept. 23, 1961.

57. Id. at p. 8.

58. Only three firms reported difficulty arising from the refusal of their white employees to accept Negroes as fellow workers. Only three others indicated that their relationships with labor unions had an adverse effect on the utilization of Negro manpower.

59. Id. at pp. 25-26.

60. There is legislative history to support the conclusion that the Taft-Hartley Act intended to permit Negro exclusion from union membership, with the caveat that unions which take this course cannot then require their dismissal from employment pursuant to a "union security" agreement which requires all employees to join the union within 30 days of employment. See sec. 8(a)(3) of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947.

The Courts, to date, have accepted this construction of the statute. See e.g., Oliphant v. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, 262F. 2d359 (6th Cir., 1958), cert. den. 359 U. S. 935 (1958).

61. Statement of Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the NAACP, before the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Jan. 15, 1962.

62. This doctrine was announced in Steele v. Louisville & N. R. R. Co., 323 U. S. 192, 204 (1944) and given further amplification in Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen v. Howard, 343 U. S. 768 (1952); Conley v. Gibson, 355 U. S. 41 (1957); and Syres v. Oil Workers, 350 U. S. 892 (1956).

63. Statement of George Meany, Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., p. 11.

64. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., p. 62.

65. Brown v. Board of Education, 359 U. S. 294 (1954).

66. Pioneer Bus Company, Inc., 140 NLRB No. 18 (1963).

67. Equal Employment Opportunities, note 4 supra, p. 156.

68. See text at note 55, supra.

69. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 161-162.

70. Id. at p. 55.

71. Id. at pp. 84-88.

72. Id. at p. 92.

73. 48 Stat. 22. No longer in existence.

74. 58 Stat. 1148 (1939), 18 U. S. C. sec. 601 (1948).

75. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 8.

76. Id. at p. 78.

77. 26 Fed. Reg. 3144 (1961).

78. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 86.

79. Id. at p. 87.

80. Both the Hill-Burton hospital construction program, and the impact-school construction program, contain "nonintervention" provisions, i.e. no Federal official shall exercise "...any direction, supervision, or control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction of any school or school system of any local or state educational agency," but these prohibitions against intervention in "operation" seem to have no bearing on control over the composition of the work force used in construction. Id. at pp. 58-59.

81. In a related context, the Supreme Court announced almost 100 years ago that "It is not doubted that the grant by the United States to the state upon conditions, and the acceptance of the grant by the State, constituted a contract." McGee v. Mathis, 71 U. S. 143, 155 (1866).

82. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 162.

83. 29 U. S. C. sec. 49 (1958).

84. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 115.

85. Operation of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Dec. 27, 1960.

86. Employment, note 26, supra., p. 117.

87. Id. at pp. 118-119.

88. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., pp. 57-58.

89. 20 C. F. R. sec. 604.1(b) (1961).

90. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 163-164.

91. Time, Mar. 10, 1961, p. 90.

92. Statement of A. Philip Randolph, Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10, supra., p. 123.

93. New York Times, Oct. 17, 1962, p. 22, col. 1, quoting Herbert Hill, the NAACP's Labor Secretary.

94. Statement of Herbert Hill, Equal Opportunity in

Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., pp. 89-91.

95. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 130.

96. The Unfinished Revolution, note 8 supra., p. 21.

97. See text at note 10, supra.

98. Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., pp. 139 ff.

99. Id. at p. 4.

100. Id. at p. 127.

101. Statement of Assistant Secretary of Labor Jerry R. Holleman, Id. at p. 28.

102. Ibid.

103. Id. at p. 43.

104. Id. at p. 158.

105. Id. at p. 113.

106. James v. Marinship Corp., 25 Cal. 2d 731, 155 P. 2d 329 (1944).

107. Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., 323 U. S. 192.

108. Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen v. Howard, 343 U. S. 768, 774 (1952).

109. See Sovern, The National Labor Relations Act and Racial Discrimination, 62 Col. 1. Rev. 563, 584-587 (1962).

110. New York Times, Oct. 17, 1962, p. 22, col. 1.

111. Sec. 4112.02 of the Ohio Revised Code (1959). Section 1777.6 of the Labor Code of California makes it unlawful "for an employer or a labor union to refuse to accept otherwise qualified employees as indentured apprentices on any public works, solely on the ground of the race, creed, or color of such employee."

112. Employment, note 26 supra. at p. 164.

113. Id. at p. 109.

114. Statement of Horace L. Sheffield, Vice President,

Trade Union Leadership Council, Detroit, Michigan. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 218.

115. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 107.

116. See text following fn. 15, supra.

117. Statement of Francis A. Gregory, Assistant Superintendent of Education, Washington, D. C. Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., p. 111.

118. Integration in Public Education Programs, Report of the Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Public Education Programs of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87th Cong., 2d Sess. (1962), p. 92.

119. 20 U. S. C. sec. 11 (1958).

120. Integration in Public Education Programs, note 118 supra., p. 94.

121. Ibid.

122. Statement of Clarence A. Laws, Southwest Regional Secretary of the NAACP before the Special Subcommittee on Labor, U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 16, 1962.

123. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 97.

124. Operation of Industrial Education Centers of North Carolina, Report of the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, May 3, 1962, p. 7.

125. Id. at p. 4.

126. Id. at p. 6.

127. Employment, note 26 supra, pp. 162-163.

128. The various laws, taken from the testimony of AFL-CIO President George Meany, are set forth in the appendix.

129. See, e.g., Colorado Anti-Discrimination Comm. v. Continental Air Lines, __Colo.__, cert. granted, __U. S. __, 31 Law Week 3116 (1962).

130. Statement of Edward Howden, Executive Officer and Chief, California FEPC, Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra., p. 302.

131. Statement before the Special Labor Subcommittee

of the House Committee on Education and Labor on Equality of Employment Opportunity, Jan. 15, 1962.

APPENDIX

STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LAWS

Key: (Kind of Discrimination Outlawed)

RA = race AN = ancestry
RE = religious creed
CO = color NO = national origin

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Alaska	Alaska Comp. Laws Ann., sec. 43-5-1 (Supp. 1958)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 1 or more; labor organizations, employ. agencies	Non-profit enterprises Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by courts	Commissioner of Labor
California	Cal.Lab.Code sec. 1412	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 5 or more; Labor Organizations Employment agencies The State and its political subdivisions	Non-profit, social, fraternal, charitable, educational or religious associations or corporations. Persons employed by family Domestic servants Agricultural workers residing on farms where employed	By the Courts	Division of Fair Employment Practices
Colorado	Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann., sec. 80-24-1 (1953)	RA, RE, CC, AN, NO	Employers of 6 or more Labor Organizations Employment Agencies The State and its political subdivisions	Persons employed by family Domestic servants Educational Institutions and school districts	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission

APPENDIX (continued) (2)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Connecticut	Conn. Gen. Stat. Rev., sec. 31-122 (1958)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	All enterprises, including charitable and non-profit, employing 5 or more Labor organizations Employment agencies The State and its political subdivisions	None	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Commission on Civil Rights
Delaware	Laws of Delaware ch. 337, Vol.52, 1960	RA, RE, CO NO, AGE	All employers Employment agencies Labor organizations	(By Commission ruling) religious, fraternal, sectarian or charitable association, corporation or society, in re occupational qualifications as to race and creed	By courts: fine and imprisonment	Division Against Discrimination Labor Commission
District of Columbia	Commissioners' policy orders: Nov. 25, 1953 April 9, 1958 Amended: May 9, 1961	RA, RE, CO, NO	District of Columbia government employment Employers holding D.C. contracts On complaint, may investigate discrimination by private employers		Contract Cancellation in case of contractors	D. C. Commissioners' Council on Human Relations

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Idaho	Idaho Sess. Laws (1961) Ch. 309	RA, RE, CO, NO (including AN)	"Every person"	Not specified	Misdemeanor No enforcement machinery	No agency
Illinois	S.B. 609 (1961)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	1961-64: Employers of 100 or more 1965 on: Employers of 50 or more Labor organizations Employment agencies	Not specified	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Fair Employment Practices Commission
Indiana	Indiana Ann. Stat., sec. 40-2307 (1956)	RA, RE, CO,	All enterprises conducted for profit, employing 6 or more; Labor organizations, Employment agencies	Non-profit enterprises Persons employed by family Domestic servants Employers of less than 6	Agency has subpoena power but no other enforcement power	Division of Labor
Kansas	Kan. Gen. Stat., Ann., sec. 44-1001 (supp. 1959) Amended, April 14, 1961 Effective July 1, 1961	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; All departments of state, county & municipal governments; Persons acting as employers; Employment agencies; Labor organizations	Non-profit, religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, sectarian associations or corporations	Cease and desist orders enforceable by courts	Anti-Discrimination Commission

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DIS-CRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSICN FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Kentucky	Laws of 1960, ch.76 (Also, July, 1961)	RA, Ethnic Group or members	"Any discrimination" State employment		None	Commission on Human Rights
Massachu-setts	Mass. Ann. Laws, ch. 151B, sec. 1-10 (1957)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	Employers of 6 or more in all enterprises con-ducted for profit: Employment agencies; Labor organizations; The State and its political subdivisions	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family: Domestic servants	By the courts	Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimina-tion
Michigan	Mich. Stat. Ann., sec. 17.458 (1) (1960)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; Employment agencies; Labor Organizations; The State and its political subdivisions; Contractors and sub-contractors with the State or its political subdivisions.	Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission
Minnesota	Minn. Laws 1961, Ch. 428	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 8 or more; Employment agencies; Labor organizations; The State and its political subdivisions	Persons employed by family Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Minn. Fair Employment Practices Commission

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Missouri	S.B. 257 (1961)	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 50 or more; Employers holding state contracts: State agencies, Labor Unions, Employment agencies	Corporations & associations owned and operated by religious or sectarian groups	Commission orders, enforceable in the courts	Commission on Human Rights
New Jersey	N.J. Stat. Ann. sec. 18: 25-4 (supp. 1960)	RA, RE, CO, NA, Liability for military service	Employers in all enterprises employing 6 or more. The State and its political subdivisions Labor organizations Employment agencies	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Division Against Discrimination, N.J. Department of Education
New Mexico	N.M. Stat. Ann., sec. 59-4-1 (supp. 1961)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 4 or more The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Religious corporations or associations; Non-profit social or fraternal clubs; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	None	Fair Employment Practice Commission
New York	N.Y. Executive Law, sec. 290	RA, RE, CO, NO, AGE	Employers in all enterprises conducted for profit and employing 6 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies; Licensing agencies with respect to age qualifications.	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Ohio	Ohio Rev. Code Ann., Sec. 4112.01 (Page supp. 1959)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 4 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Religious, educational & charitable organizations; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Ohio Civil Rights Commission
Oregon	Ore. Rev. Stat., sec. 659.010 (1959)	RA, RE, CO, NO, AGE	Employers of 6 or more; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit social, fraternal, charitable, educational or religious associations or corporations; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Civil Rights Division Oregon Bureau of Labor
Pennsylvania	Penna Human Relations Act, Pa. Laws	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	Employers of 12 or more; The state and its political subdivisions; Employment agencies; Labor organizations	Religious, fraternal, charitable or sectarian corporations or associations unless supported in whole or in part by public appropriation	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Pa. Fair Employment Practice Commission
Rhode Island	R.I. Gen. Laws, Ann., sec. 28-5-1 (1956)	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 4 or more; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, sectarian	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	R.I. Commission Against Discrimination
Washington	Wash. Rev. Code, sec. 49.60.030 (1959)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit religious or sectarian organizations; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Washington State Board Against Discrimination

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
WISCONSIN	Wis. Stat. Ann. sec. 111.31 (1957)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	All employers; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit social clubs, fraternal or religious associations. Persons employed by family	Cease and desist order enforceable by the courts	Wisconsin Fair Employment Practices Division, Industrial Commission

Radio

October 18, 1945

Mrs. Luella S. Laudin, Chairman
Citizens' Radio Anniversary Committee
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Laudin:

Your letter of October 8 which is addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has come to our attention. The Commission was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council which was organized in February, 1944.

I am enclosing a letter of congratulation addressed to Dr. Justin Miller. We shall be glad for you to list the Southern Regional Council as one of the sponsors of the Citizens' Radio Anniversary Luncheon. I regret that we will not be able to send a delegate to the luncheon on November 10 as we shall be very busy with preparations for our annual meeting which is to be held on November 14th.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

Radio

October 18, 1945

Dr. Justin Miller, President
National Association of Broadcasters
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Miller:

In behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I take pleasure in sending this note of appreciation and congratulation to the radio industry on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of radio broadcasting in the United States.

In its first twenty-five years of service radio has already become the greatest single force for enlightening American public opinion and molding the American spirit. The Southern Regional Council, as an organization which is devoted to the promotion of tolerance and understanding between races in the South, is particularly aware of the tremendous good which radio has done and can do in behalf of interracial good will and understanding.

And so, through you we cheerfully salute the radio industry on its twenty-fifty birthday!

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

[1920-1945]

CITIZENS' RADIO *Anniversary* COMMITTEE

Room 905
501 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Telephone PLaza 9-4870

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1945
Southern Regional Council

Chairman:
Luella S. Laudin

Sponsoring Organizations:
American Legion Auxiliary
American Women's Voluntary Services, Inc.
Association of Junior Leagues of America
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Girl Scouts
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations
National Council of Women of the U. S., Inc.
National Council of Y. M. C. A.'s
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.

Secretary-Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

October 8, 1945

Dear Sir:

Early in 1945, a small organizing committee of radio chairmen decided to sponsor a project which would honor the radio industry on the 25th anniversary of broadcasting in the United States. The original plan was to compile tributes from organizations which have used the facilities of broadcasting in their respective operations, written on letterheads of uniform size, so that the statements could be handsomely bound and presented to the industry as a permanent record.

Now that restrictions against holding meetings have been lifted, the organizing committee has developed a broader program of which the presentation of organization testimonials is but one phase. We plan to hold a luncheon on November 10, 1945, in the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, at which distinguished speakers, each representing some great faction of American life, will act as ambassadors of goodwill in behalf of the vast radio audience of this country. This citizens day will wind up National Radio Week, which opens November 4, and will be the sole event in which the industry will participate as guests of honor.

I am writing to you as chairman of the Citizens Radio Anniversary Committee to invite your cooperation in these specific ways:

1. To have your organization send me a tribute or message as quickly as possible, on official stationery, the size of the letterhead on which this letter is written. Your statement will be included in the bound volume which will be presented to the President of the National Association of Broadcasters at the luncheon.

2. To obtain permission to list your organization as one of the sponsors of the Citizens Radio Anniversary Luncheon.

3. To ask that you attend the luncheon, if possible, or to designate an official representative of your organization to be present. Tickets will be $5.00 each.

The details of the program will be available later. This is an advance notice of the general plans which the original organizing committee has developed.

Sincerely yours,

Luella S. Laudin

(Mrs.) Luella S. Laudin,
Chairman

CITIZENS' RADIO ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

With further reference to our previous letter, in which we invited you to send a congratulatory message to the radio industry from your organization, may we ask that this be in our hands no later than October 25. The letter should be addressed to: Dr. Justin Miller, President of the National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C. but should be sent to: Citizens' Radio Anniversary Committee, Room 905, 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1945
Southern Regional Council

Sincerely yours,

Luella S. Laudin,
Chairman

Radio

October 18, 1945

Mrs. Nathan C. Starr
945 Lakeview Drive
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Mrs. Starr:

I deeply appreciate your letter of October 12. Your suggestions are splendid.

Mr. Warwick and I have been thinking along the lines you have suggested. The main obstacle, of course, is the cost, but as you have pointed out, that need not be insurmountable. I certainly like your idea about Mr. Ford as a possible source of financial aid.

The Council is very much in need of a person who can devote full time to the cultivation of financial contributions, large and small. The right person is hard to find. Do you have any suggestions?

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

945 Lakeview Drive
Winter Park, Florida

October 12 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr Johnson,

The appointment of Mr. Warwick as Director of Public Relations by SRC will surely prove a productive and progressive step. Why not consider radio, rather than pamphlets for the popularizing of the Council's material? It would be far more ambitious, far more effective, be a greater public service (in putting consistently high class educational programs on the air), and of course more expensive.

A huge audience is already assembled, and an even greater audience is just waiting for programs worthy of its attention. The service would be incalculable. I think of the experience recently when I called at the homes of a number of Negroes here in Winter Park. Everywhere I went the members of the household all seemed to be resting, and most were listening to the radio, to soap operas. Few of this group would read pamphlets. Yet I believe you could win them from soap operas, to the gain of themselves, the community, and the South. I think also of the comment of the wife of a Colonel, who has been busy during the war just keeping a home for her family in strange houses. She said that when she considered the thousands of intelligent women occupied daily in repetitive household tasks which required only a small part of their mental capacities, it seemed inexcusable that radio programs worthy of the balance of their attention were not available to them. To read a pamphlet one must take "time out", while listening to the radio may enhance rather than interrupt much of the day's schedule of many thousands of persons.

I have in mind an independent broadcasting station with a full time program, and local stations too, as necessary. The plan would aim at unity of purpose (already affirmed by the SRC), through a variety of forms: lectures, news (especially news not handled by most papers and broadcasters), drama, readings, concerts, religious services, discussions, debates, etc.. I have listened to The American School of the Air for several years, and commend it for successful pionnering in diversified educational programs. It might serve as an intial model or guide. The material that could be used is limitless, much of it available now, and already meagerly distributed by the many committees and foundations whose aims are closely related to those of SRC. Many authors, educators, artists, and public servants and office holders could offer splendid contributions, and be very glad of the opportunity to do so.

The cost would be very great, but so is the need. Time is on the side of the forces and the inertia we wish to counteract. To depend on pamphlets is a bit horse and buggy-ish in the face of the urgency of issues and stakes. I would suggest, for initial financing at least, application to one or several of the rich foundations dedicated to

educational service. I heard recently that the Ford Foundation, established for furthering education, had very large funds as yet unemployed. After reading in LIFE that Henry Ford 2nd was strongly influenced while at Yale by Albert Keller, the sociologist, one might expect him to be free of any racial prejudice his grandfather may ever have harbored, and ready to understand the great service the SRC could perform through a radio outlet. But support need not come only from big foundations. I believe a radio educational program of this kind could raise large sums, and possibly its entire support through subsriptions solicited over the air periodically. A range of memberships of from one to one hundred dollars ought to be well subscribed. Of course no effort would be made to limit the audience to subscribers. The more listeners the better. Another plan for financing might resemble the one described in the enclosed news notice from THE NEW YORK TIMES on the radio plans of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

My own concern for some large scale educational program for the promotion of increasing application of democratic thought and practice in our country has been growing for some time. I know of no organization that could undertake such a program to greater effect than the Southern Regional Council.

Very sincerely,

Nina Howell Starr

Mrs. Nathan C. Starr

ILGWU FILES WITH FCC FOR FOUR FM STATIONS

Oct. 9 1945

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8—The International Ladies Garment Workers Union applied to the Federal Communications Commission today for licenses to operate frequency modulation radio stations in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chattanooga.

The program calls for the incorporation of a special company for each of the stations, to be managed by local representatives.

Fred F. Umhey, executive secretary of the union, emphasized that while the ILGWU was starting the project it would expect that after preliminary financing the local communities would undertake to carry on the station on their own as community projects, not as labor propaganda agencies.

The ILGWU, Mr. Umhey added, had set aside more than $250,000 to begin the ventures.

"These ILGWU-sponsored stations," he pointed out, "are not to be maintained through union subsidies. They will sell time to an extent that will make them self-sustaining. From that point on, however, they will cease to be profit-making enterprises and will devote most of their time to social, cultural and spiritual programs."

Radio

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS

1760 N STREET, NORTHWEST

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JUSTIN MILLER
PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JAN 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

December 20, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

On behalf of the radio industry, I want to express sincere appreciation for your letter of tribute to radio's achievements in the past twenty-five years. You will be interested to know that it with others has been handsomely bound, and will be placed in the archives of the National Association of Broadcasters.

We accept these tributes from the vast listening audience in a spirit of humility. We shall strive to utilize this potent medium of communication for even greater public service and for the perpetuation of our democratic way of life.

East and West, North and South are no longer boundaries, thanks to radio.

Sincerely yours,

Justin Miller

JM:JK

Justin Miller

Radio

October 4, 1946

Mr. Roby Robinson
Radio Atlanta Inc.
1425 C. & S. Bank Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I am very enthusiastic over the idea of the sort of radio station which you are trying to obtain for Atlanta. I hope very much that you and the group of men associated with you are successful in obtaining a permit.

As you know, the Southern Regional Council is a voluntary agency which is interested in educational work and constructive action on the problems which confront the South. One of our special interests is the problem of bringing about a better understanding and adjustment between the races in the South. I believe that a radio station which would offer opportunities for honest discussion of this and other Southern problems would be doing a very constructive service. The Southern Regional Council is certainly interested in cooperating with you and in availing itself of the opportunity to use the proposed station for educational purposes.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Copy to Mr. Jesse Draper.

Encl. Aug. New South in Mr. Robinson's + Mr. Draper's letter.

DRAPER-OWENS CO.
REALTORS
REAL ESTATE - INSURANCE - LOANS
GRANT BUILDING
ATLANTA

JESSE DRAPER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

October 2. 1946

Dr. Guy Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Johnson:

This is a form letter, your reply to which will be of considerable importance to the following gentlemen and myself:

Mr. Harry Sommers
Mr. Jackson Dick
Mr. Harry Woodward
Mr. Baxter Maddox
Mr. Roby Robinson

We are going to apply for a permit to build a radio station in Atlanta. It will be a station without chain affiliation, that is, it will be devoted to programs of a local character.

In addition to the usual staff of such a station, we plan to employ a public service expert whose work it will be to assist organizations such as yours in the preparation of programs that will attract an important audience.

In other words, in addition to hereby offering your organization free time as available on the new station, we will assist you to obtain maximum benefit from that free time by expertly aiding in your program preparation.

What you can do to assist us is to write a letter in behalf of your organization stating your acceptance of this offer of free time and in what manner it could be of aid in promoting the program of your organization.

This letter is going to a select group of organizations devoted to the interest of Atlanta and her citizens.

You may be personally acquainted with one or even all of us who are interested. However, we would appreciate it if you would address your letter to the person with whom you are best acquainted, addressing it, for example, to:

Mr. Roby Robinson
Radio Atlanta Inc.
1425 C.& S. Bank Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

In replying I would appreciate it if you would consider this letter as a personal visit from one of us. I am inclosing several typical letters to indicate the manner in which your letter, to be of assistance to us, should be prepared.

Sincerely,

Jesse Draper

Jesse Draper

per:RR

EDWARD C. DESAUSSURE POST NO. 9

LEGION HOME
221 West Church St.
Jacksonville 2,Florida

June 8, 1946

Mr. Thompson S. Baker
President, RADIO SOUTH INC.
403 Atlantic Bank Building
Jacksonville 2, Fla.

Dear Tom:

This new radio station you are applying for sounds like an excellent thing for Jacksonville, and so far as the American Legion goes, you may be sure that the Edward C. DeSaussure Post No. 9 will work with you in every way possible, after you are established.

Not that the other stations have not been cooperating with us. They have. But of course they are pretty well tied up on time, and I think all of them would agree that there is room here for a full-time local station.

As you say, it might be premature at this point to go into actual program plans, but your offer of free time is gratefully acknowledged, and you may rest assured that the Legion here will cooperate with your public service man on programs of general interest as soon as you are ready to operate.

Thanking you for the courtesy of your visit in this regard, I am,

Very truly yours,

JOHN M. DESAUSSURE, (Signed)
Commander

JMDeS/f

JACKSONVILLE BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMAN'S CLUB

P.O. Box 358
Jacksonville, Florida

June 5, 1946

Mr. Walter H. Marshall,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Radio South, Inc.
Atlantic National Bank Bldg.
Jacksonville, 2, Fla.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Thank you very much for your recent visit and for your kind offer to the Jacksonville Business and Professional Woman's Club of free time on the new station when it is established.

We would be interested in making use of the new facility and appreciate very much your offering us this valuable service.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) CORINNE C. WILLIAMS, President

CCW:s.

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

George W. Simons, Jr.,Pres.
G. L. Rosborough, Vice-Pres.
Mrs. George Mueller, Vice Pres.
S. H. Smith, Secretary
Joseph F. Marron, Treasurer

118 East Bay Street
Jacksonville 2, Florida

May 27, 1946

Mr. Angus Rosborough,
Radio South,Incorporated,
1609 Barnett Building,
Jacksonville 2, Florida.

Dear Angus:

I was glad you came to see me a few days ago about the use of radio time by the Council of Social Agencies. Your offer is appreciated.

As you know the Council of Social Agencies is comprised of a number of welfare agencies operating in the city and county, each of which would appreciate radio time occasionally. Currently the hours given to such broadcasts are useless.

In behalf of the Council therefore I would say we would give a big welcome to the facilities you expect to make available.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE W. SIMONS, JR. (Signed)

GWS:EBB

CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY OF FLORIDA
F L O R I D A'S G R E A T E S T C H A R I T Y

State Headquarters: 403 Consolidated Bldg.
Jacksonville 2, Florida

June 5, 1946

Mr. Harold S. Cohn
Administrative Vice-President
Radio South, Inc.
Atlantic National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Harold Cohn:

I am very much interested to learn that there is a possibility of another, and independent radio station being established in Jacksonville, which will specialize in rendering public service.

I have learned of the perfectly wonderful group of business men who are to be associated with you in this enterprise, and want to wish for all of you every possible success.

We are particularly pleased to learn that if your application is approved and granted that there will be free time provided for our Society, and similar welfare agencies in this area.

Trusting your efforts will meet with success and with kind personal regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

MARCUS C. FAGG, (Signed)
State Superintendent

MCF:jw

November 27, 1946

Mr. Justin Miller, President
National Association of Broadcasters
1771 N St., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Miller:

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of "The People Look at Radio". I think it is a splendid piece of work and the National Association of Broadcasters deserves much praise for making it available to the public.

We expect to run a brief note about the book in our monthly magazine New South, probably in the January issue.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS

1771 N STREET, NORTHWEST

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JUSTIN MILLER
PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
NOV 25 1946
Southern Regional Council

November 22, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver has made a comprehensive and objective survey of listeners' attitudes to radio. Edited and interpreted by Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld, Director of Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, this study has now been published by the University of North Carolina Press.

It gives me great pleasure to send you, under separate cover, a copy of this informative and authoritative work, with the compliments of the National Association of Broadcasters.

Sincerely,

Justin Miller

Justin Miller
President

VIA AIR MAIL

October 28, 1957

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
122 N. Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Edwin Randall:

I was glad to get your recent letter and to learn of the new independent radio agency that you have established. My apologies for this delay in replying, but the flu and travel have combined to put me in miserable arrears with my correspondence. I did know of your new operation and of the possibility of your coming to Atlanta through Tartt Bell, who wrote me most warmly about your work.

This is a rather unpredictable time for us, but as far as I know, I will be in Atlanta on November 16th. I will be glad to see you if you can make it here then. At that time, we could go over a rather extensive list of possible interviewees whose views on tape might be helpfully distributed.

It also occurs to me that there are promising possibilities of a tie-in with your work by a number of agencies concerned with human relat ons that are meeting together both at the national and at the Southern level. We can discuss this further when we get together.

Let me know when to expect you. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Call in Phila.

RECEIVED OCT 16 1957

EDWIN T. RANDALL
122 N. ~~22~~ PROVIDENCE RD.
WALLINGFORD, PENNA.

October 13, 1957

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

In pursuance of an idea which, as I recall, originated with yourself, we are setting up an independent radio agency which we are calling "Friendly World Broadcasting." We are continuing to work very closely with people in the American Friends Service Committee, as you will see from our most recent listing, a copy of which I am enclosing. We're also working very closely with the Committee on World Betterment and World Disarmament, on whose behalf we recorded Norman Thomas. One of the most helpful Quakers is Tartt Bell, with whom we recorded people in Greensboro on the integration issue. We found it necessary because of the attitude of the people involved not to identify the AFSC, but it is quite definitely their tape, nevertheless. We also expect to continue to operate with the FCNL. We are being invited to do some recording for the American Committee for the United Nations. I don't know how far we ~~wei~~ will go, but we go, but we will have to draw a rather careful line, because I don't want to change the general outlines or proportions of material we've been sending out. I don't want the broadcasters to feel any jolt.

You know something of my very deep concern over the integration issue, on which we had some difficulties because of the headquarters' policy of the AFSC. As I recall our conversation, you and I saw pretty much eye to eye as to what might be possible, and I would like very much, in our present more flexible situation, to be able to work with you closely on this matter. It would help if you had some money available, but this isn't by any means necessary to carrying forward some operation, as my wife and I are continuing to provide the support for the enterprise, and have now the advantage of a Grant-in-Aid from the Educational TV & Radio Center.

If this makes sense to you, let me have your suggestions about where we might start. I'm planning to return to Greensboro for some follow-up recordings there about the 15th of November. I could spend the 17th & 18th in Atlanta, if this might be advantageous, or any place else you might suggest within reach of Greensboro, or we might make an adjustment with Tartt so that I could be with you

on Friday and Saturday, and in Greensboro Sunday and Monday. I have to be back in Philadelphia Tuesday, and can't leave before Thursday night.

It seems to me more important than ever that we try to get as much good sense as possible broadcast over southern stations. James Dabbs will continue to cooperate with us, I am sure, and Dr. Miller of the Southern Baptist Commission on Social Action has promised cooperation. I'd still like to record the president of Atlanta University, and I am sure you will have some other good ideas too. Most of all, I'd like to locate some southern white people, either parents or children, whose point of view has improved recently.

Let me hear from you and we'll start from there.

Sincerely,

Edwin

Edwin Randall

ER/emr

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations

1957 - List F

F1 WILLIAM EDGERTON
Just returned from summer in Poland. Professor of Russian language and literature at Columbia University, speaks fluently, made excellent reports two years ago with us and on networks of visit to Russia. Now reports on important seminar and on careful and expert observation of people in Poland.

F2 SIDNEY BAILEY
Attended same seminar in Poland and also spent some time in Moscow. An English Quaker who represents AFSC at the United Nations, he speaks with an unusual understanding of world affairs.

F3 GEORGE MOHLENHOFF
Observer at youth meeting in Moscow; heads work of AFSC among college people in U.S. Speaks with deep understanding of problems of youth and of world at large, reports on truly expert observation of what went on at the meeting that almost backfired on the Russians.

F4 EARLE EDWARDS
Spent summer in Poland in direct contact with Polish people and representative visitors from elsewhere in Europe and Asia. In charge of AFSC regional offices throughout the U.S., he understands thoroughly what people want to know about "iron curtain" countries.

F5 NORMAN THOMAS
This attractive and well known figure in political life tells the story of some of the policies he once advocated which were then considered radical and now accepted almost universally and then offers his present day suggestions, which he considers even more important. You have heard him on all the networks and know how refreshingly he discusses important issues. You should give this tape a listen!

F6 SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN NORTH CAROLINA
This is a first hand report from school board head, parents and one of the Negro children involved, and the president of the ministerial association of one of the three cities in which integration in the schools is going forward by their own choice and without serious incident. It is enlightening.

F7 VOICES OF THE WORLD
Continuing this series which has been well received with several members of the UNICEF (Children's Fund) executive board which recently met in New York; Mrs. A. Matsuoka of Japan, Dr. M. Shoib of Egypt, Mr. Ivan Pierret of Iran, and others, give an excellent report on what the UN is accomplishing in terms of health and child welfare throughout the world.

F8 OUR FRIEND IN WASHINGTON
RAYMOND WILSON, Executive Secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation -- actually the originator of this series -- has just returned from a year in Japan and reports on his experiences and observations there

with keen discernment. N.B. This tape was sent to all who asked for Our Friend in Washington from List E because it was made after the list was compiled but in time to send out with the others that were included. So don't ask for this if you asked for F.I.W. from List E.

F9 RALPH VICTOR
Physician, home in Seattle, has been in charge of health work for AFSC for three years in Barpali, India, reporting on his work and on the people and conditions in that part of the world's most populous democracy. His reports have been received previously and have always been most interesting.

JUST MARK ON THE ENCLOSED CARD THE NUMBERS YOU'D LIKE to have for a listen and mail. There's no obligation, of course, beyond listening to decide if you want to use them and returning the tapes. You may, but you need not, acknowledge "Friendly World Broadcasting" which will not appear on any of the tapes (some of which are credited to AFSC). There is no cost to you except postage for return.

We are continuing "THIS IS A FRIENDLY WORLD" (our fifteen minute once-a-week program) with 29 currently completed, so if you want to take this up again or begin at the beginning, let us know. It is now on more than a hundred stations.

Bell Wiley
M.A. Wright
Mrs. (Congregationalist)

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 N. Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania 27932

RECEIVED DEC - 9 1957

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

December 6, 1957

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

This is to confirm our arrangement over the phone that I will be in Atlanta on Friday the 13th, which should be a lucky day for us.

We can at least make plans for future cooperation, explore the financial possibilities, and, if it seems practicable, do some recording. I would particularly like to record somebody who can speak for the preachers who made their recent statement, which I understand has now been made the pronouncement of the whole group of Protestant clergy. It would be good also to have the presidents of Atlanta, and Morehouse. These are just by way of suggestions, since I'm sure you're in much better position than I to know who would be at the same time able to speak and willingly heard.

I look forward eagerly to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Edwin T. Randall

Edwin T. Randall

ETR/emr

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

Ans. 9/29/58

September 24, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was certainly stimulating to have a chance to talk to you. In fact you provided the bright spot in a day which, in retrospect, doesn't look too good. I simply cannot understand how people can know as much about what we're doing as David Freeman and Halleck Hoffman, and have as much money to spend as they have to spend, and as much interest as they have in our common purposes, and still give us no help.

Of course this may very well be just a technique. I was particularly suspicious of that with Freeman, who gave me the names of two people as a kind of follow-up. I am writing to them, and will see what happens. Meanwhile, I hope you get some inspiration.

I am enclosing a copy of the statement I prepared for Hoffman and Freeman, and in addition, copies of some of our recent listings, to give you a better idea of the scope of our activities, and a list of stations which have used some of our material within the last couple of years. Also a current list of stations using our weekly 15 minute program. This should give you a very fair picture of the operation.

I haven't heard from Nat Griswold yet, but I surely hope I will, since some recording from VanBuren ought to be very useful right now.

I might add to everything else the suggestion that it is virtually impossible for anybody, including us, to realize the magnitude of the opportunity. What we have actually accomplished with no money and limited prestige is simply incredible and can hardly be exaggerated in description. What we could do with a little money would, I am absolutely certain, astound the most optimistic, and it does seem to me as if right now is the moment when we ought to be getting to work in the south, where it's clear something strange is going on.

Thanks a lot for everything.

Sincerely,

Ed

ETR/emr

parv... myself to ... that we m

original letter returned to HCF

September 30, 1958

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your letter and enclosures. With the benefit of this material, I will use every opportunity that comes my way to promote interest in your fine program.

I know how discouraging it is to encounter the stone wall of resistance that our philanthropic friends know so well how to erect. But I think you are wise to regard it as more a matter of habit and technique than a judgment on your particular project. I have encountered it enough myself to feel that this is true. Let's hope that we can break through.

I, too, enjoyed our conversation and will expect to be in touch with you again soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NOTE: This ltr. was sent to Mr. Stephens at The National Arts Club 15 Gramercy Park, New York, N.Y., clearly marked "PLEASE HOLD" as requested in P.S. of his ltr.

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY November 19, 1958

Mr. Donald Stephens
2313 Woodland Lane
Arden, Delaware

Dear Mr. Stephens:

Your letter and Ed Randall's arrived while we were in the throes of our annual meeting; so I am delayed in replying. I haven't been inactive, however. In order to expedite matters, after auditing the tapes, I called Barbara Moffett and gave her my reaction -- favorable, of course.

As I'm sure you already know, the prospect of financial aid from the AFSC is pretty dim. On the more hopeful side, I had a chance to tell Vernon Eagle of the New World Foundation that the project is useful and deserving of help. Ed should by all means follow through there. If I understand the nature of Vernon's interest, it reflects a somewhat more positive view on the part of Dave Freeman than he has shown heretofore. Obviously, Dave and Frank Loescher are key people in securing foundation interest.

As to Ed's further request for respectable approaches to the radio stations themselves, I will do what I can through interagency channels to stimulate this. If he can send me a supply of the mimeographed prospectus which was sent to the stations, this will facilitate the process of involving others.

As you will see, this letter is really aimed at both of you; please so regard it, and keep me posted on the progress you make.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: To Ed Randall

ARDENCROFT ASSOCIATION

ARDEN, DELAWARE • TELEPHONE • ~~HOLLY OAK 3016~~ SYcamore 8-2645

DONALD STEPHENS: President • WILLIAM PRICE: Vice President • HAMILTON D. WARE: Secretary-Treasurer

2313 Woodland Lane
Arden, Delaware
11 November 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

You have already heard from our good friend Edwin T. Randall of the project to have the important story of the Norfolk, Virginia school situation growing out of the df the closing of the high schools there and the appeal of two thousand citizens to the governor that he open the schools, which Ed has put on tape.

He has sent you copies of this recording, as well as one from recordings of two other excellent talks by Clarence E. Pickett and James McBride Dabbs on other phases of the integration problem.

After hearing these, we would appreciate your writing your opinion of the value of the project as an educational medium for southern listeners. I spent considerable time with Colin Bell of American Friends Service Committee yesterday going over the project, and he later took the matter up with Barnara Moffet, in charge of Community Relations. Before deciding if it might be possible for AFSC to participate in the financiing of this pilot project, she said she would like to get your reactions ot it.

Please adress your letter to Colin Bell, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., since he is in charge during the absence in India of Lewis Hoskins. And please send copies to me at above address, and to Ed Randall.

I am off to New York to see some of the larger foundations to acquaint them with the project and to inform them of our intention of making application for grants of considerable size, if this pilot project brings the responce we feel confident it will. We feel that results will justify making this a permanent educational medium which will greatly help all organizations and

". . every man is entitled to the full results of his own labor or enterprise in producing goods, erecting buildings, improving lands, or otherwise contributing to the satisfaction of his own wants or the wants of others, but that value which attaches to land by reason of the increased competition for its use, and which is due to growth of population and advance of public improvements, belongs justly to the whole community. Therefore the public should take by taxation for the common use and benefit the full rental value of land." from the Charter of the Ardencroft Association.

individuals working for the lessening of tension and fostering better understanding between the races, not only in the south but in the north as well, where there is indeed much to be done in this field.

Cordially yours,

Donald Stephens

Donald Stephens

P.S. On second thought I think you had better write me to The National Arts Club, 15 Gramercy Park, New York 3, N.Y. Marking your letter "Please Hold".

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

November 10, 1958.

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am sending you copies of my Norfolk tape, also of James Dabbs (which I consider the best he has done to date), and Clarence Pickett.

The Norfolk tape seems to have started a kind of brush fire. First the Presbyterians - USA - got interested and then they got Dr. Miller of the Southern Baptists interested and now, with the encouragement of Frank Loescher, I am trying to get some of the other denominations interested.

We have sent a copy of the enclosed material to every station in the south - about 1500 of them, except for a few FM independents. The Presbs and Baps are making contact with people in the various states to prod stations, asking if they intend to use and asking if so when so they can notify people interested and if not WHY? I think the big problem is that we are now writing to a lot of people who don't know us and they are suspicious - we've had several indications of this. So denominational or any other respectable help would be indicated. Any ideas you have will be gratefully received.

Dombrowsky is interested, in fact suggested program originally, but Frank thinks we have better not get entangled.

We don't have any assurance of money to cover this except some general expressions of good intentions and Don Stevens (on account of Domb., incidentally) is deeply interested and scratching like everything. When Clarence Pickett heard it he agreed to send copy to Mrs. Roosevelt and got me date to see her on Nov. 21., which may help. Dabbs thought he could help with some foundation big shot. Everybody knows you are a financial genius. It would be nice if we could do this thing well enough to get some more lasting support. OR, we could fall flat on our faces. It is going to cost us about $2,500 if it goes well and about half that anyhow.

Let me know how you like it and if you have any ideas for getting it used more widely.

We can get you a list of stations, but you could be safe in approaching any station - Program Director where there is one, otherwise manager or reasonable facsimile.

As ever,

Ed

THE NEWS ABOUT THE

FRIENDLY WORLD BROADCASTERS

WE BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE WHO HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY on the radio are under an even greater obligation to make their vehicle attractive, entertaining, and audience-building than are the people who use radio to sell something. It is our objective, therefore, to provide material equal in quality and broadcast value to the best commercial program material. We don't always hit the bull's eye, but we don't often completely miss the target, either.

SHORT (5 - 7 minute) SPOTS OF CONVERSATION make up most of our material. We also provide a fifteen minute program weekly called "This is a Friendly World."

WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO SAY is that people are people wherever you find them and that if we understood each other better we could find ways of getting along. If we don't find ways of living together we'll all of us just have to quit living.

WE HAVE BEEN EXPANDING. It is our purpose rather to provide a service for organizations working for world understanding than to become a kind of voice on our own, so we have made recordings recently for the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, The American Association for the United Nations, The U.S. Committee for UNICEF, the United Presbyterian Church of the U.S. of A, the American Friends Service Committee, World Federalists, and several similar groups. We hope to continue to widen this kind of coverage so as to provide for radio stations the very most interesting people.

OUR SHORT SPOTS usually come five to the tape with one significant person. Sometimes for some special reason there is an odd number and occasionally when circumstances seem to justify it we make two tapes with the same person. There is no charge whatever for the use of this, or any of our material, and no cost except for return postage. We have a list of three hundred stations, all of which have used some of our material relatively recently, but limitations of budget are probably going to require us to cut this to around two hundred. We expect to offer these lists of six to eight tapes every two or three months.

WE ALSO PROVIDE a weekly series called "This is a Friendly World," now used on sixty to seventy-five stations (educational and commercial). If a bicycling plan we have in mind works out we may be able to increase this to a hundred, since we have many requests.

WE HAVE GIVEN UP THE EFFORT to distinguish between "educational" and "commercial" programs. The short spots were originally intended for commercial stations and the fifteen minute programs for educational stations. But people on both sides of the fence kept disregarding the distinction and I would say that both types are now used indiscriminately. This I like, because I think good education ought to say something and good commercial copy ought to be more than just to hold the customer still until the commercial comes.

(OVER)

WE WELCOME HELP in securing better people to record and in improving our service in every possible way. Because of limitations in budget and personnel, we are unable to provide a wider range of material. We have many requests for shorter spots -- 3 to 5 minutes. But we have tried to do what meets the widest acceptance with the most economical use of our time and energy. You are at liberty to shorten our spots, or take off heads and tails and make your own fifteen minutes out of any of them. We sometimes use the short material as part of the "Friendly World," and have had no complaint on this up to now.

I AM ON WCAU with two programs daily, Monday thru Friday, which is doubtless a help in understanding what makes good copy for commercial broadcasters. It also helps us to keep the operation "operating" in other ways. I believe also it has helped me to understand the range of material that is acceptable. We occasionally use people who might be considered in fields outside the usual radio programming. Of course we are more concerned than any radio station not to stir up the animals with controversy. But I think there are ways of treating the listener like a mature human being without being offensive. We consider that this is an important part of our audience-building usefulness. We do not attempt to disturb people with argument but to present to them interesting and intriguing personalities. Incidentally, I never offer anybody else an idea I haven't already tried out myself, for reaction.

WE HAVE PLANS for working with people representing the organizations with which we work in various parts of the U.S. These people will, I believe, be useful to encourage listeners to our programs and have notices of them published in letters, bulletins, etc. We hope this would improve our service to stations.

WE HAVE BEEN WORKING this year under a grant-in-aid from the Educational Television and Radio Center which enabled us to collect considerable excellent material from all around the world. We are expanding this type of source very hopefully, finding a growing number of agencies making material available to us, establishing regular sources at important overseas spots. The future looks bright.

OF COURSE WE DO NOT NEED to remark upon the importance we attach to the development of better understanding across all the barriers which now divide the world and threaten its destruction. We appreciate more than it would be possible to say the opportunity to work with radio people in such an enterprise.

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasters
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

SOME OF THE RADIO STATIONS THAT HAVE REQUESTED RADIO TAPES

Programs for Friendly World Broadcasters
by Edwin Randall

WBAM	Montgomery, Alabama
KFRE	Fresno, California
KFI	Los Angeles, California
KEBX	Sacramento, California
KNBC	San Francisco, California
KCBS	San Francisco, California
WJJD	Chicago, Illinois
WOWO	Ft. Wayne, Indiana
WIBC	Indianapolis, Indiana
WHO	Des Moines, Iowa
KXEL	Waterloo, Iowa
WHAS	Louisville, Kentucky
WWL	New Orleans, Louisiana
KWKH	Shreveport, Louisiana
WBAL	Baltimore, Maryland
WBZ	Boston, Massachusetts
CKLW	Detroit, Michigan
WCCO	Minneapolis, Minnesota
KSTP	Minneapolis, Minnesota
KOB	Albuquerque, New Mexico
WKBW	Albany, New York
WPTR	Albany, New York
WINS	New York, New York
WOR	New York, New York
WRCA	New York, New York
WGY	Schenectady, New York
WBT	Charlotte, North Carolina
WLW	Cincinnati, Ohio
WCKY	Cincinnati, Ohio
KVOO	Tulsa, Oklahoma
WCAU	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
WRCV	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
KDKA	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
WDIA	Memphis, Tennessee
WSM	Nashville, Tennessee
WBAD	Ft. Worth, Texas
KWBU	Corpus Christi, Texas
KTRH	Houston, Texas
WOAI	San Antonio, Texas
KSL	Salt Lake City, Utah
WRVA	Richmond, Virginia
KOMO	Seattle, Washington
WTOP	Washington, D.C.
KRVN	Lexington, Nebraska
KLRA	Little Rock, Arkansas
KXOC	Chico, California
KTRB	Modesto, California
KIOA	Des Moines, Iowa
KOAM	Pittsburg, Kansas
KTBS	Shreveport, Louisiana
WCBM	Baltimore, Maryland
KSOO	Sioux Falls, South Dakota
KEPO	El Paso, Texas
WNOX	Knoxville, Tennessee
WCYB	Bristol, Virginia
WOAY	Oak Hill, West Virginia
WKOW	Madison, Wisconsin
WBRC	Birmingham, Alabama
KCLS	Flagstaff, Arizona
KARK	Little Rock, Arkansas
KARM	Fresno, California
KMJ	Fresno, California
KABC	Los Angeles, California
KFSC	San Diego, California
KGHF	Pueblo, Colorado
WBRY	Waterbury, Connecticut
WDEL	Wilmington, Delaware
WDBO	Orlando, Florida
WORZ	Orlando, Florida
WTSP	St. Petersburg, Florida
WIRK	West Palm Beach, Florida
WGST	Atlanta, Georgia
WGAC	Augusta, Georgia
WRBL	Columbus, Georgia
KFXD	Nampa, Idaho
KIDO	Boise, Idaho
WMBD	Peoria, Illinois
WJPS	Evansville, Indiana
WKJG	Ft. Wayne, Indiana
WGBM	Indianapolis, Indiana
WSBT	South Bend, Indiana
WBAA	West Lafayette, Indiana
WMT	Cedar Rapids, Iowa
KGLO	Mason City, Iowa
KMA	Shenandoah, Iowa
KXXX	Colby, Kansas
WWEZ	New Orleans, Louisiana
WABI	Bangor, Maine
WGAN	Portland, Maine
WCAO	Baltimore, Maryland
WCBM	Baltimore, Maryland
WTAG	Worcester, Massachusetts
KTOE	Mankato, Minnesota
WJDX	Jackson, Mississippi
WRBC	Jackson, Mississippi
KFSB	Joplin, Missouri
KFEQ	St. Joseph, Missouri
KRES	St. Joseph, Missouri
KWTO	Springfield, Missouri
KGHL	Billings, Montana
WOW	Omaha, Nebraska
KOLT	Scottsbluff, Nebraska
WFEA	Manchester, New Hampshire
WWNH	Rochester, New Hampshire
WOKO	Albany, New York
WROW	Albany, New York
WEBR	Buffalo, New York
WEVD	New York, New York
WIBX	Utica, New York
WSJS	Winston-Salem, North Carolina
WDNC	Durham, North Carolina
WFNC	Fayetteville, North Carolina
WFTC	Kingston, North Carolina
WDAY	Fargo, North Dakota

KSJB	Jamestown, North Dakota
KLPM	Minot, North Dakota
WERE	Cleveland, Ohio
WHK	Cleveland, Ohio
WNXT	Portsmouth, Ohio
WSPD	Toledo, Ohio
WRFD	Worthington, Ohio
WFMJ	Youngstown, Ohio
WKY	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
KGW	Portland, Oregon
WCMB	Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
WFIL	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
WWPA	Williamsport, Pennsylvania
WORK	York, Pennsylvania
WEAN	Providence, Rhode Island
WJAR	Providence, Rhode Island
WIS	Columbia, South Carolina
WSPA	Spartanburg, South Carolina
WNAX	Yankton, South Dakota
WAPO	Chattanooga, Tennessee
WDEF	Chattanooga, Tennessee
WDOD	Chattanooga, Tennessee
WROL	Knoxville, Tennessee
KFDM	Beaumont, Texas
WFAA	Dallas, Texas
KROD	El Paso, Texas
KLBS	Houston, Texas
KPRC	Houston, Texas
KFYO	Lubbock, Texas
KONO	San Antonio, Texas
KRGV	Weslaco, Texas
KOVO	Provo, Utah
WCAX	Burlington, Vermont
WTAR	Norfolk, Virginia
WAVY	Portsmouth, Virginia
WRNL	Richmond, Virginia
KNEW	Spokane, Washington
KPQ	Wenatchee, Washington
KHQ	Spokane, Washington
WHIS	Bluefield, West Virginia
WCHS	Charleston, West Virginia
WSAZ	Huntington, West Virginia
WBAY	Green Bay, Wisconsin
WKBH	LaCrosse, Wisconsin
WISN	Milwaukee, Wisconsin
WAVU	Albertville, Alabama
WZOB	Ft. Payne, Alabama
KATV	Pine Bluff, Arkansas
KIBS	Bishop, California
KCHJ	Delano, California
KMYC	Marysville, California
KIRE	Palo Alto, California
KFKA	Greeley, Colorado
WDOV	Dover, Delaware
WERD	Atlanta, Georgia
WCAZ	Carthage, Illinois
WDS	Decatur, Illinois
WDQN	Dequoit, Illinois
WFRL	Freeport, Illinois
WPRC	Lincoln, Illinois
WSMI	Litchfield, Illinois
WFRX	West Frankfort, Illinois
WJOB	Hammond, Indiana
WIOU	Kokomo, Indiana
KWDM	Des Moines, Iowa
KBIZ	Ottumwa, Iowa
WLAP	Lexington, Kentucky
WFMD	Frederick, Maryland
WHAI	Greenfield, Massachusetts
WABJ	Adrian, Michigan
WHFB	Benton Harbor, Michigan
WBCM	Bay City, Michigan
WFUR	Grand Rapids, Michigan
WMUS	Muskegon, Michigan
WCEN	Mt. Pleasant, Michigan
KSUM	Fairmont, Minnesota
KDHL	Fairbault, Minnesota
KGDE	Fergus Falls, Minnesota
KNUJ	New Ulm, Minnesota
KAAA	Red Wing, Minnesota
KWOA	Worthington, Minnesota
KMMO	Marshall, Missouri
KTTS	Springfield, Missouri
KRGI	Grand Island, Nebraska
WJAG	Norfolk, Nebraska
KLMX	Clayton, New Mexico
WWIT	Canton, North Carolina
WKMT	Kings Mountain, North Carolina
WTRX	Bellaire, Ohio
WFIN	Findlay, Ohio
WLMJ	Jackson, Ohio
WIMA	Lima, Ohio
WMRN	Marion, Ohio
WIZE	Springfield, Ohio
WAVI	Springfield, Ohio
WTOD	Toledo, Ohio
KVSO	Ardmore, Oklahoma
KUIN	Grants Pass, Oregon
KGAL	Lebanon, Oregon
KRCO	Prineville, Oregon
KSLM	Salem, Oregon
WNCC	Barnesboro, Pennsylvania
WCNR	Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania
WLOA	Braddock, Pennsylvania
WESB	Bradford, Pennsylvania
WBUT	Butler, Pennsylvania
WCDL	Carbondale, Pennsylvania
WGET	Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
WARD	Jamestown, Pennsylvania
WPTS	Pittston, Pennsylvania
KIHO	Sioux Falls, South Dakota
WGAP	Maryville, Tennessee
KDET	Center, Texas
KEYS	Corpus Christi, Texas
KSEL	Lubbock, Texas
KTRE	Lufkin, Texas
KSUB	Cedar City, Utah
KVNU	Logan, Utah
KGDN	Seattle, Washington
KYAK	Yakima, Washington
WBEV	Beaver Dam, Wisconsin
WDLB	Marshfield, Wisconsin
WPDR	Portage, Wisconsin

VIA AIR MAIL

February 25, 1959

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

I was glad to have your recent letters and to learn that you are getting such good cooperation from the church groups. A program on Atlanta would be very timely. I expect to be here March 12 through 14 and will be looking forward to seeing you then.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

February 21, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have been compelled to change my date for Atlanta to March 12, 13, and 14. I hope you can manage this all right.

We are really rolling. I have been invited to the meeting of National Council of Churches leaders in Connecticut, as well as to the meeting of Presbyterian Field men. I made a recording with Brooks Hays yesterday, which I consider unusually good, and I think this assures us of the wholehearted cooperation of Dr. Miller and the rest ofthe Baptists.

Sincerely,

Ed

ETR/emr

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

In spite of the fact that we haven't been able to raise money except in relatively inconsiderable chunks and haven't enough on hand at present to carry through the project, we've made up our minds to try to duplicate what we did on Norfolk by a program made in and about Atlanta. Does this meet with your approval? I don't know how we could do it without your help, and I hope you will be free to give us your cooperation. I would like to come to the city in about two weeks and can spend as much time as seems necessary from Thursday morning to Sunday night on the job.
It seems to me we ought to make up the program from three sources, first the group of preachers who have apparently been the most outspoken of anybody, second the school authorities who have followed pretty close behind them, and third, the mine-run citizens, specializing on the interested parents.

It seems abundantly clear now, with the way things are going, that our story of Norfolk gave the most accurate picture of the actual feeling and spirit of the community that was provided by any source before the schools actually opened again. This should be a great help to us, both in recording and distributing a similar story for Atlanta.

I'd like also to record Brooks Hayes for this same listing and have set in motion machinery which I think will bring this about. If you could be any help in encouraging him, I would appreciate that.

We have also arranged to make a recording with Secretary Fleming ofHealth, Welfare, and Education, in behalf of the Commission of the National Council of Churches, interested in Christian colleges. This should give us respectability and prestige and make it easier to secure a wider distribution.

The Presbyterians (North) are going to give us even more cooperation than they did before. I'm hopeful we'll get a lot of help from the Southern Baptists, and we're trying to loosen up the Methodists. They can help as the Presbyterians especially did with Norfolk, to make contact with the local stations, encouraging them to listen to the tapes and helping to get larger audiences to hear them if broadcast. To help in this we are providing information about the tapes to be offered, suggestions for approaching stations and lists of the stations offered the use of the tapes. Maybe you would like to

do something of the same sort, and we will certainly be delighted to cooperate to the fullest extent.

Also of course if you've got any ideas of where we could scratch up nickels and dimes; we have just about giving up the hope of collecting money by dollars, and we do intend to keep going as long as we possibly can. I'm tremendously encouraged by the growing interest on the part of church groups. Let me know what you think of this project, and how we can be of greatest usefulness to you.

Sincerely,

Ed

ETR/emr

re Ed Randall
Cr mf

December 29, 1958

Mr. Donald Stevens
2313 Woodland Lane
Arden, Delaware

Dear Don:

I appreciated your letter of several weeks ago concerning Ed Randall's project - though I was sorry to hear of Ed's hospitalization.

I have heard nothings since from Ed, which is completely understandable. If there have been any developments that I should know of, I'll appreciate a word from you at your convenience.

I recently passed along all of Ed's material on his program to a friend of mine who is advising on some sizable philanthropic gifts. If this source doesn't produce anything right away, I think it may offer hope for the coming months; and I'll continue to promote such aid.

I honestly believe that this kind of intervention is more valuable than anything SRC could contribute from its own limited funds. The people I know who can influence significant giving will be more impressed by our advocacy than by the fact that we are contributing -- and our continued advocacy can be counted on.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

2313 Woodland Lane
Arden, Delaware
25 November 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I am late in thanking you for your good letter of the 19th, because it never reached me! I did hear of it from Ed Randall, and he telephoned its contents to me over the telephone, and last night I picked up the copy you had kindly sent him.

We both certainly appreciate your grasp of the importance of this project of Ed's and your prompt action in telephoning Barbara Moffet of your favorable reactions to it. And I am sure your approval counts with the AFSC a great deal.

The lady never has appreciated the important role radio can play in reaching millions of folk with important messages which printed matter and personal contacts never can do; and so it was to be expected that she could not see the tremendous possibilities which Ed's plan holds, not only for this critical inter-racial situation but for every phase of the many splendid feature of the AFSC's work throughout the world, and how greatly it can help the efforts of their many field workers.

However there are some there who do understand the great potentialities in this medium and of this particular project. And, perhaps it is because I am a perpetual optimist, I haven't yet given up hope of getting at least some token financial support. I was up there yesterday and through Steve Cary had everything seemingly arranged to play the Norfolk recording to the Community Activities Section at luncheon yesterday, when Henry Cadbury contacted Steve and asked him to have a luncheon talk with him! However, so important do I consider such an audition, I made a date to go up again tomorrow and play the tape for Steve, Barabara and as many others as could hear it! And I am hoping to play it, perhaps at his home, for Henry Cadbury, for I had a ten minute talk about the project with him yesterday, and he seemed to sense its importance.

Even if the AFSC only gives a token contribution it will be extremly valuable, for I found when I worked for them some years ago that their name was like the Hall Mark on silver. The same can be said of SRC with a great number of folk in the South; and I am hopeful that you folk may see your way to making a contribution likewise of a few hundred dollars. It would greatly facilitate raising the immediate funds we need

as well as impressing the foundation where we expect to get substantial funds, if we could say that these two organizations had given to the initial outlay necessary to launch this pilot project.

The Randalls face a serious finacial situation for to date the only contribution they have received has been a check which Jim Dombrowski sent from our modest treasury, and their outlay for the project thus far, and the bills yet to be met, for printing, postage, tapes, etc. had reached over $1,900 the last I heard! The situation is made more serious by the fact that Ed has to enter a hospital today for an operation which will keep him there for a couple of weeks, and put him on the inactive list at home for three weeks or more after he gets out.

But the responce to the 1,500 letters to the southern boradcasting stations has been most encouraging. Considerably more than a hundred stations, from every southern state, have ordered them, aside from orders from his regular list of about 350 stations scattered throughout the country; and every days' mail brings new requests. It has been particularly gratifying that several Virginia stations have asked for the Norfolk tape.

I have been heartened by the friendly reception the project received at the two foundations I contacted regarding the project, the Fund for the Republic and the Marshall Field Fund. You may have heard that Mr. Dabbs and Ed had an interview yesterday with Max Hahn, which the former had arranged. Hahn seemed impressed with the tape and asked that Ed write him in detail about the project.

I have not followed up my initial visit to the Fund for the Republic, though I had a friendly letter from "Ping" Ferry, because I am hopeful that we may be able to see and play the tape for his chief, Dr. Hutchins. I had a fine talk with Mrs. Roosevelt before the interview Clarence Pickett arranged for Ed. She immediately grasped the great potentialities of the project in reaching the millions that can only be reached by the radio; and she interrupted my talk to call in her secretary and asked her to telephone Dr, Hutchins and Edward Marrow first thing next morning and tell them she would appreciate it if they could come to her apartment Friday to meet Ed, hear his story about the project and listen to his remarkable tape on Norfolk. I had made the suggestion to her.

Ed got a most encouraging reception from her and she said she wanted to help in any way she could. But, unfortunately, both men had previous engagements, however each said they would like much to learn of the project and hear the tape. Now with Ed going to the hospital that's off, unless he wants me to see them.

It irks me that I am so tied up here that it is difficult for me to get around as much as I'd like.

Cordially, Ann Stephens

P.S. It just occurred to me why I never got your letter- It was sent to National Arts club and marked "Please Hold", and got there after I returned home!

May 14, 1959

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Several of us on the staff have just audited the tapes you were kind enough to send. We are especially enthusiastic about the Atlanta story -- a most impressive job. As far as we know, the tape was not used by an Atlanta station; at least, if it was used, there was no advance bulling, post-facto publicity, or noticeable reaction. We are raising with the Georgia Council on Human Relations the question of an approach to WAGA by several local people who will urge the scheduling of the show. I will let you know what comes of this.

Certainly HOPE is a significant enough effort to warrant a special tape. Harry Boyte's home address is 6341 Hunting Creek Road.

If you do return for this or any other purpose, let's by all means talk further.

I'm assuming we may keep the tapes. Enclosed is our check to cover costs and as a token of our appreciation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
Enclosure - 1 (check #112; $25.00)

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

RECEIVED MAY 4 1959

May 1, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Now that the smoke has slightly cleared away from our great rush of trying to get tapes out to the stations, I am fearful that we didn't send you a copy of the Atlanta tape, so I am correcting that error now and including also a copy of the Brooks Hays tape. If you want any of the rest of them on the enclosed listing, a copy of which I think you previously had, let me know.

Do you know if the tape - or others - was used on any of the four Atlanta stations that asked for some of them? Have you had any reaction from any part of the country? We have sent out about 130 copies of the Atlanta story and about 70 copies of the Hays tape. It ought to have some result.

If you do have anything helpful to say, now is a good time to say it, because we're still on the prowl for money.

If I remember, you suggested that we might get together and explore further possibilities. This I would be very happy to do, since I feel this must have some good results, and I'd like to do it again.

Sincerely,

Ed

ETR/emr

P.S. I want to write to Mr. Boyte about the possibility of making another recording dealing more exclusively with the HOPE organization. Do you think this would be a good idea? I was just ready to write to him when I realized all I have is his telephone number. Would you please send me his address?

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations
(Each number 5 spots)

1959 --- List N

N 1 ATLANTA SCHOOL STORY
Overwhelmed by the wide acceptance of our on-the-spot recording of the Norfolk School Story, we have been gratified by testimony that events proved it to be a most accurate picture of the actual situation. Accuracy is difficult to achieve in a situation so fraught with emotion, but certainly to be desired by everyone of whatever persuasion. So we have attempted the same kind of recording of the even more important city of Atlanta. The time is too short to give every point of view, but we have tried to provide a carefully balanced picture, probing below the surface as carefully as possible. It seems to me as important for the north as for the south to understand this very disturbing problem.
This also we have provided not only in five short spots, but
N 1XX Same material in one show 29:30, highly recommended if you have time.

N 2 BROOKS HAYS of Arkansas, President of the Southern Baptist Convention
Author of a just published book, "A Southern Moderate Speaks," he has a deeply felt and very interesting story to tell about his recent experiences and his life-long convictions. It seems to me especially exciting to listen to a man who so strangely combines the characteristics of a political leader and a top-level churchman. His message is not regional but for the whole country.

N 3 SECRETARY ARTHUR S. FLEMING, Dep't. Health, Education, & Welfare
At this time of greatly aroused interest in education, here is a man with broad understanding, great responsibility, and wise words of comment on the present, and counsel for the future. As one-time president of Ohio Wesleyan University, he speaks with knowledge and conviction of the religious and moral essentials of education. (This tape was made in cooperation with the Commission on Christian Education of the National Council of Churches, whose emphasis is on Christian Education Week, April 13th.)

N 4 FRAU IRMGARD SCHUCHARDT, of Berlin
At this time of anxiety and crisis we are happy to offer a discerning and vocal resident of Berlin through two World Wars, who is now devoting herself to work for peace and who brings a message of hopefulness for the future from this center of fear. She isn't just talking about peace, but describes the actual work she has been doing for reconciliation between people on both sides of the Iron Curtain. She seems to be an intensely practical person.

N 5 JUDGE CURTIS BOK, Pennsylvania Supreme Court
He brings to bear on the baffling problems of crime and crime prevention years of experience as practicing attorney and more than twenty years on the bench. He has some exciting suggestions to make about the treatment of offenders and the danger of the attitude of vengeance, not only upon the criminals but upon society at large. He deals also with the baffling problem of capital punishment from the standpoint of a judge who not only has had long and intimate experience, but who has thought deeply and studied the problem carefully. Many of these ideas are also expressed in Judge Bok's recently published book, "Star Wormwood."

(OVER)

N 6 DR. VICTOR C. RAMBO
For many years missionary physician and surgeon in India, where he has given sight to many thousands of blind as part of his work, at the rate of about three thousand per year. Dr. Rambo was an exciting part of the TV program about medicine around the world, and makes excellent use of an opportunity to talk more at length of the amazing work he is doing, pointing out the relation of such work in a distant land to every one of us and to the future peace of the whole world. It's an absorbing story! (At the conclusion of Spots 3 & 5 of this tape an address is given to which money may be sent. This can be easily eliminated if you wish.)

N 7 CONGRESSMAN BYRON JOHNSON of Colorado
One of the few people ever elected to national office in a campaign where one of his major promises was to seek for peace without endangering the very existence of the entire human race. It may well indicate a trend, for Johnson presents his position very forcefully and in practical terms. Certainly this is one of the major interests of everybody in this country and in the world. He makes a lot of sense, and makes it sound interesting!

N 8 CONGRESSMAN CHARLES O. PORTER of Oregon
You remember a few days after the Vice-President was a target for eggs and rocks in Venezuela, this man was given an almost equally riotous welcome in the same place? This was because the people felt that he had a healthy dislike and distrust for dictators somewhat different from the official policy of the administration. It was very soon after he first was elected to Congress that he demonstrated his enthusiastic disapproval of dictators - of Trujillo in particular - and showed very clearly that he couldn't be frightened. He has just returned from more travel in Latin America, particularly Cuba, and speaks with authority of responsibilities in a world where the cry of freedom is on the lips of a thousand million people and the issue of survival seems very closely identified with the struggle between dictatorships and democracy.

* * * * * * * * *

JUST MARK THE ENCLOSED CARD indicating the numbers you'd like to hear and we'll send them with no obligation, of course, except that you will give them a listen and return them. If you find you want to air them, we will be pleased to have you do so, and to know what reaction you get. You may, but <u>you need not</u>, acknowledge "Friendly World Broadcasting" which will not appear on any of the tapes. These were made with the cooperation of the United Presbyterian Church, the Southern Baptist Convention, the Southern Regional Council, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and component groups within the National Council of Churches. We are always happy to have your suggestions for the improvement of our usefulness to you. We hope soon again to be circulating our fifteen-minute weekly program "This is a Friendly World."

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

RECEIVED MAY 20 1959

May 18, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED MAY 20 1959

Dear Harold:

I'm glad you liked the Atlanta Story. I thought myself it was pretty good. Jack and I both profited from our working together on the Norfolk tape, and I think by now are becoming a pretty good team for that kind of a project. It seems to me we could make a very definite contribution by providing such material with fairly frequent regularity. Right now Jack has a n idea we might make a tape of contrasts from two places like Prince Edward Virginia where they're planning to close their schools, and Charlottesville where they're planning to integrate this fall in response to court order. It seems to us too that it's about ripe for doing something on Little Rock too.

Heretofore we have depended entirely on direct mail to the stations, to secure the use of all our tapes. It seems to me, however, that the circumstances are such as would give tremendous value to cooperation from interested people in communities all over the country. We could, of course, make these tapes available to any station in the United States, and I think inasmuch as we have found a considerable number of stations willing to use them without any encouragement except a letter from us, we could multiply the use by wise attention in each locality. The Methodist women are definitely interested, but just beginning their plans for promotion. The United Presbyterian Church is concerned and has asked its field people to help. The Southern Baptist Convention made some gestures of cooperation, particularly in the light of our circulating Brooks Hays' conversations. It seems to me you people might very easily coordinate all these various angles and bring about a very general use of this material. You can see it's our object to keep in touch with the radio audience, so as to provide material that can be used, even in areas where the controversy is fairly sharp.

It might be, as it was in the case of Norfolk, we found it peculiarly difficult to persuade any of the Norfolk stations to use the material, but it was used elsewhere in Virginia, notably by WRVA, the 50,000 watt CBS station at Richmond, where, within a week after its broadcast, both the newspapers reversed their positions on massive resistance.

I think this Atlanta tape is good enough to promote all through the summer, with the idea that wherever it is promoted, we would be preparing the seed bed of the future.

Of course the peculiar value of this kind of propaganda is that it reaches everybody. So far as I know, this is the only means at our command to reach everybody. And even if we can't hope to do much to change the opinions of those bitterly opposed to us, we can nevertheless be hopeful about reaching the indifferent who, after all, have it in their power to make the decisions. This is why I believe this method of approach has such tremendous value and I would like to work with you in any way possible to enlarge its usefulness.

WAGA has already returned the copies they had of the Atlanta tape and Brooks Hays, but they could use the one you have, or we'll send them another. Let's by all means get together and make some plans.

We'd be particularly happy to have your judgment on next steps in program production.

Sincerely,

Ed

ETR/emr

July 8, 1959

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

I am delighted to learn that Harry Fleischman and the others followed through and got together with you. My first impulse after I advanced the suggestion in New York was to write you. But I decided there was no use raising a prospect that might come to naught. Of course, it may still, but I greatly hope Harry and Al Hamilton will see the wisdom of aiding your program. My own influence, for what it is worth, will be exerted in that direction.

A treatment of the Little Rock situation would certainly be in order. The Front Royal, Va., story also bids fair to capture public attention, and it is possible that what happens in Miami in September will strongly influence future developments. The details of these situations are doubtless available to you, through Southern School News or otherwise, so I will say no more.

I'll look forward hopefully to further news from New York.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

Rec 7/8/59

July 6, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I was delighted fo find your beaming countenance looking brightly out at me from the pages of the New York Times this morning I thought it was a very well-done story.

This letter, however, is to offer my thanks to you for calling the attention of the CCD Mass Media Committee to our work. I attended their meeting in the offices of the American Jewish Committe last Thursday, and they seemed to be considerably interested. On the other hand, I got the feeling Al Hamilton thought the whole operation could be done out of their Washington studios, and I don't think he has a proper realization of how important is the quality of the program. I'm sending you a copy of the remarks I am adding by mail to Harry Fleischman.

Let me know if you have any more bright ideas.

I'd like your judgment on what we should aim for next. Would it seem to you a treatment of the situation in Arkansas might well be offered in late August or early September'? What would be your alternative suggestion?

Sincerely,

Ed

ETR/emr

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

July 6, 1959

Mr. Harry Fleischman
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Ave.
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Harry:

I certainly appreciate the opportunity that was given me to be present at the meeting of your committee, and I'd like to thank whoever was responsible for my invitation. It seems to me there is no more important issue to be brought to the attention and into the hearts of the American people. Thinking over what transpired, I've had some after-thoughts, which it occurred to me might interest you.

First of all, I d like to register a plaintive little wail that we good people, with important things to say, are so often so negative. In this instance, of course, I have a personal interest in the issue. We get excited, and no doubt quite properly, about the White Citizens Councils broadcasting. I don't know who should be surprised that they are heard widely on southern stations where their point of view is pretty popular. I'm not surprised that a wave of protest arises. But we have been broadcasting integration material which I feel has had a much sharper cutting edge than anything the White Citizens Council can do. It has been done against the stream, being broadcast even more in the south than in the north. The implication might be taken that if the White Citizens Council hadn't gone on the air, we wouldn't have any such responsibility. It's certainly exceedingly difficult for us to get good people excited about broadcasting in the interest of integration. I am very sure myself that nothing the White Citizens Councils could do would be as powerful to move people as the quiet testimony of people like Clarence Pickett, Dr. Weatherspoon, Dr. Miller, Dr. Thrasher, Brooks Hays, James Dabbs, and others, including the powerful documentaries which we have made on Norfolk and Atlanta, and which altogether have been heard at least 200 million times in the United States at large, with nearly half the broadcasts in the south. I suppose this is one way of saying I have a very limited interest in getting into a screaming contest with the White Citizens Councils, though I am very deeply concerned to bring to people everywhere the testimony of men and women whose lives are devoted to brotherhood and understanding.

In this connection, of course I think radio and television - if our money will permit it - provide our best means. In fact they are the only method by which we can reach everybody with what we have to say.

I want to emphasize again that I think your first problem is to produce listenable material. This is only incidentally because you will have to do this in order to get it on the air without buying time. It is even more important that you have to have a listenable program, if you're going to have people listen to it. There is a wide variety of patterns which would be useful here, but the simplest, one of the most effedtive, and certainly the least expensive, is by means of conversation with people committed to what we believe in. In this respect, big names are not enough, nor are they essential. Many people known only to a small circle of friends can speak, under proper guidance, with conviction and power. It cannot, it seems to me, be overemphasized that success or failure depends primarily upon the production of programs or spots which have audience appeal.

There are, on the other hand, any number of ways in which distribution problems can be solved. Our distribution has, up to now, been almost entirely by mail, without local contacts. Thus we know that use depends entirely upon the appeal of the material provided from the standpoint of listenable radio.

I do not think you will find very many, if any, stations willing to give us five minutes a day on integration. On the other hand, I feel that we can get a great deal more specific integration material used, if we provide, at the same time, a variety of other material.

I feel very strongly that we are so deeply concerned with common problems that, if we understand each other well, we can find ways of working together.

I hope you'll pardon me if this sounds repetitious, but I was so impressed with your purpose and careful planning, - I wanted to share these ideas with you.

I hope you find time to listen carefully to the tapes I left with you, bearing in mind that these programs were designed on the basis of the principles I have mentioned here.

Sincerely,

ETR/emr

July 31, 1959

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Glad to hear you're going ahead with Little Rock. The community situation there seems remarkably improved. Have you seen the article by Colbert Cartwright in the current issue of the Progressive?

I certainly think P. D. East would make a good interviewee. His material would be good in the North, and I don't see why some of the stations in the more civilized parts of the South wouldn't use him.

I've heard nothing from Harry Fleischman and Al Hamilton. Let's hope the silence is merely symptomatic of the summer doldrums rather than a negative decision.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

RECEIVED JUL 30 1959

July 29, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

We have enough resources to hope to do a story on Little Rock. I'm glad you feel this would be worth while. I'd like very much to have your suggestions for improvement.

I'm planning tentatively for August 19 to 22. Will you be able to give us help on it?

I guess I just didn't make the grade with that committee in New York. I feel, as I suggested earlier, that the crux of the situation is in the CIO man's pretty well-rooted satisfaction in what he is doing already in radio, though I could be in error about this.

Do you consider P. D. East would be a good person to use with an eye on the north rather than the south, - that is, as an interpreter of the south to the north? I doubt if we could get him used on many southern stations.

Thanks for your encouragement.

Sincerely,

Ed

ETR/emr

Answered by memo 8/14/59

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

RECEIVED AUG 12 1959

August 10, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your prompt and sympathetic reply. I am really afraid to hope for anything from your New York friends. I've seen too much of the attitude of the CIO brother to the use of radio, and he is a person of such influence in the group, I don't think they're going to work over his shoulder.

Don't you have some people in Little Rock we can work with? Is Griswold still there?

Do you have some suggestions about the specific nature of what you think we ought to do in the light of the previous recordings you heard?

Sent

Would you be good enough to send me a copy of your recent findings so nicely publicized in the New York Times, which seem to me to have a pretty definite bearing on the situation at any point.

Sincerely,

Ed

ETR/emr

Sent separately:
Violence Report
Green-Gamike Pamphlet.
Background Memo
Aug 14, 1959
mf.

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

RECEIVED AUG 24 1959

August 22, 1959

Dear Harold Fleming:

Here is a copy of the current listing which went out Aug.20 to our regular list and also to all of the southern stations. Edwin wanted you to have it right away - though he is still in Little Rock, and we'll have to edit the program when he gets back in order to have it ready to send out the last of this week when the orders come in.

It sounded over the phone when he talked to me that he was getting some good material. I do hope it does some good.

Ethel Randall

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations
(Each number five spots)

1959------List 0

0 1 LITTLE ROCK SCHOOL STORY
Encouraged by the enthusiastic reception given our Norfolk and Atlanta school tapes, we are recording the Little Rock story with determination to provide a clear picture of that acute situation. We feel its use will be a service to listeners in any part of the country. This tape is five short spots, but we highly recommend you use the longer form, if possible.

0 1XX Same material as above in one 29:30 show.

0 2 OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II
Well known author of innumerable plays, musicals, and songs, he talks about his ideas of what people like and how to give it to them, and of his deliberate purpose to provide more than merely entertainment in the interest of world peace and human survival. This tape was made in cooperation with United World Federalists. This man has a fascinating personality which comes through the mike very well.

0 3 SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
Really "world traveller," he has come closer to more of the common people of the world than any other man in public life. He gives many of his experiences and some of his ideas about what we will have to do if we want to live at peace with the rest of the world. A deeply significant analysis of the present situation done in fascinating manner. (This was made in cooperation with the American Library Association.)

0 4 TOM MBOYA, of KENYA
Increasingly in the news as the leader of the six million Africans of Kenya, many people are persuaded that this young man (29) carries the hope of democracy for an emerging land where the threat of violence seems increasing. From this frank and friendly conversation you feel you actually know him as a man and friend of our country. He'll continue in the news.

0 5 GENERAL HUGH HESTER (U.S. ARMY, RETIRED)
A life time in the army with diplomatic jobs in Germany, Russia, and the Orient, in charge of food distribution during former Berlin crisis, in private conferences with Khrushchev and other world leaders, he has come to the startling conclusion that our expensive efforts for security have left us completely vulnerable. He has some interesting suggestions for what he, as a military man of long experience, considers real security.

0 6 REV. DR. EDWIN TULLER, General Secretary, American Baptist Convention.
Recently elected executive head of one of the largest denominations, he gives his ideas about place of church in present day world, with some startling ideas about changing emphases, particularly in the "mission fields." This is of wide general interest because even people who don't agree will want to know what the Baptists (this is the "Northern" convention) are up to.

(OVER)

ALSO THIS IS A FRIENDLY WORLD

Suspended last winter when I went to the hospital, this fifteen minute weekly program is once more in circulation. It should be even better this year since we are going to have the cooperation of the American Library Association during a large part of the year ahead. It deals pretty much with world understanding and is based upon the firm conviction that people are more important than anything. We'll gladly send you the current numbers for audition. Just mark the card.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

SOME KIND WORDS

WRVA - Richmond, Va., "This (Norfolk Story) is the best thing you've ever done."

WAMD - Aberdeen, Md., "Your Norfolk story was well done ... comment was gratifying."

WGBS - Miami, Fla., "I will be very happy to program as many of the tapes as you can send me."

WBT - Charlotte, N.C., "I just wanted to write and tell you how excellent I find the material."

KYW - Cleveland, Ohio, "Just a short note to tell you how pleased we are with the material I requested."

WSJS - Winston-Salem, N.C., "We had a lot of fine comment on the George Thomas series."

WTAG - Worcester, Mass., "We have used and plan to use some of your excellent tapes ... news commentator's program ... daily woman's show ... bring world affairs down to the level of human affairs which is more understandable."

WFAI - Fayetteville, N.C., "I consider your interviews with James Dabbs most extraordinary and timely. It is my opinion that they should be distributed more widely."

WTTN - Watertown, Wisc., "Tapes were fine ... Include WTTN."

WNAD - U. of Oklahoma, "We always enjoy receiving your tapes."

WBEZ - Chicago Board of Education, "Excellently done."

???? (500 watt) - "Many thanks for the use of the tapes. Some were excellent. We have an unusual audience - many are uneducated country people."

* * * * * * * * * * * *

JUST MARK THE ENCLOSED CARD indicating the numbers you'd like to hear and we'll send them with no obligation, of course, except that you will give them a listen and return them, at once or after you use them. If you find that you want to air them, we will be pleased to have you do so. You may, <u>but you need not</u>, acknowledge "Friendly World Broadcasting," which will not appear in any of the tapes (except the weekly series of fifteen minute programs). These spots were made with the cooperation of the United Presbyterian Church, the American Baptist Convention, the Southern Regional Council, component groups within the National Council of Churches, United World Federalists, and the American Library Association. We are always happy to have your suggestions for the improvement of our service to your listeners.

Edwin Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 N. Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

December 10, 1959

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Sorry to hear the financial outlook is still bleak -- especially since my own good intentions have led to nothing.

It's hard to identify the logical place for you to center on just now. There is Burnsville, N. C. (Yancey County) where the small number of Negro pupils are boycotting the public school system rather than take the long round-trip bus ride to attend Asheville schools. It's a dramatic and moving situation, but a positive solution isn't in sight, pending the outcome of litigation. If this interests you, we can supply more background.

In the same general category is the Prince Edward County situation -- though I think it would be much harder to get the full story on tape there.

In the big city class there are Miami and New Orleans. As you know, Miami (or more properly Dade County) has a modicum of school desegregation. New Orleans is gradually nearing D-Day, but so far without the vocal opinion that has characterized Atlanta.

I would vote for Burnsville. But let me have your reaction.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

December 5, 1959

Dear Harold:

Things haven't been running too smoothly for us, particularly as in times heretofore, financially, - but we do have enough assured to try at least one more listing in January. Of course we would like to make this count for the Lord and we crave your counsel. Who, in your judgment, would be the best person to speak now? What situation would lend itself best to another program of the type of Norfolk, Atlanta, and Little Rock?

Sincerely,

Ed

ETR/emr

Dear Ed:

Sorry to hear the financial outlook is still bleak - especially since my own good intentions have led to nothing.

It's hard to identify the logical place for you to center on just now. There is Burnsville, N.C. (Yancey County) where the small number of Negro pupils are boycotting the public school system ~~pending~~ rather than take the long round-trip bus ride to attend Asheville schools. It's a dramatic and moving situation, but a positive solution isn't in sight pending the outcome of litigation. If this interests you, we can supply more background.

In the same general

category is the Prince Edward County situation - though I think it would be much harder to get the full story on tape there.

In the big city class there are Miami and New Orleans. As you know Miami (or more properly Dade County) has a modicum of school desegregation. New Orleans is gradually nearing D-Day, but so far without the vocal opinion that has characterized Atlanta.

I would vote for Burnsville. But let me have your reaction.

Sincerely,

HCF

July 1, 1960

Dr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

I am deeply sorry to learn of your wife's death. This must have been a terrible blow to you. However belatedly, I want you to know that you have my sympathy, and my admiration for your determination to carry on the work of the radio project.

There are plenty of possibilities. The student demonstrators are, as a group, a fine collection of young people -- ideal subjects for your approach. I am sending you separately our reports on the sit-ins and attendant developments, from which you can begin to make your own judgment of the best angles.

It seems to me that one or more tapes on the "success" stores -- Nashville, or perhaps Winston-Salem -- would be good. You would have all the elements -- the students, the merchants, the community leaders, who have come to terms with this new situation and are aware that more change is in store. Because of its many resources, in terms of institutions and individuals -- Nashville would be an easy place to do.

If you could get a hearing for the facts about Washington school integration, you would perform a

real service. The propaganda developed at the beginning by the Davis Committee is the most widespread segregationist document in use. This, despite the fact that the Washington experience is, in reality, a most impressive example of progress.

Do let me know what you decide, and call on us for any background or information we can provide.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

(for Materials Sent See: Inter-Office Memo dtd July 1, 1960)

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

June 29, 1960.

Dear Harold:

After considerable floundering about after the sudden and unexpected death of my wife, who was so important a member of our radio project, I have begun to get myself together in the realization that what we're doing is more important than my personal difficulties.

Fortunately, and by the grace of God, I have found people who will help, and who are well able to, and there is enough money available for another listing. It seems to me it would be well to include a program dealing with the sit-ins. Does this appeal to you? I see by the papers you have a report indicating that the people who integrated their lunch counters are among the happiest of men in an unhappy time. Could you send me a copy of this report? It seems to me it could well be the basis for our story. The words of these contented people ought to carry considerable impact.

Could we also hope to get some of the feelings of those who have held off integration? Where are the places we could hope for the best material? What suggestions do you have for making such a tape as useful as possible, or do you have a better idea?

As soon as school opens we'd like to get out another on the results of integration in Louisville and Washington - or do you have a better idea?

Any help or suggestion will be very gratefully received.

As ever,

Ed

July 19, 1960

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

A hasty note between trips to say that I am glad you are planning an early visit to Atlanta and the South.

Enclosed is a printed version of the report on Nashville's ultimately successful experience. This would make a fine documentary.

Oddly enough, I have had very little experience with CORE at first hand; their path and ours have seldom crossed. I do know that the approach used by some of their field workers has created misgivings in liberal circles of some communities. But CORE has recently dispensed with the services of the man who aroused most of this displeasure -- which suggests that the organization is conscious of the problem. About all I can suggest is an open mind pending further developments. Certainly there are conscientious and deeply committed people active in CORE's ranks.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1. "Setting a Sit-in" - Westfeldt

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

July 13, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your helpful words of sympathy. It is exceedingly difficult not just to readjust to life without her constant presence but to continue the work to which she made so great a personal contribution. But I find myself simply unable to quit as long as it is possible to go on at all.

As of now it looks af if we'd make the effort for material on the sit-ins beginning immediately after August 7. That is a time when I can get away from here for a couple of weeks, if that much is necessary, and Jack Marion can be free to help me. I am wondering if the place to start isn't in your office at Atlanta with you and perhaps other people of your staff for a kind of council of war on proceedure from there?

Much as I should like to present the turmoil and the struggle it seems to me at the present moment the most useful proceedure would be to indicate as many places as possible where the problem has either been solved or was never allowed to arise as a problem. With this might go a very limited exposition of some of the struggles still going on - with the suggestion that they are quite unnecessary.

Your material arrived and I am digesting it carefully. It seems most excellent to me.

I have a letter from James Dabbs and will probably stop on the way to Atlanta to see him, unless he could be persuaded to join us at Atlanta.

I have just received some material from CORE and am moved to inquire - just between us - how much do you think it might help to be involved with them? Can they give me any leads you couldn't? Somehow I am not too stirred by their school at Miami, and the people I have met from their enterprises seem just a bit too slick to be real. Is this pure prejudice? Whatever you say will not be used against you. I find myself uneasy about this feeling because I have the highest respect for Jim Robinson.

Sincerely,

Ed

PR file return - wf

August 31, 1960

Mr. Edwin Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Many thanks to you and your secretary for keeping me so well informed about the use of the Brewbaker interview. I am also glad to have copies of the tapes themselves; I trust we will receive a bill from you for these.

At the risk of imposing further on your time and energy, I will look forward to any word you may pass on about the stations that have used the tapes.

We will be calling on you from time to time as new program opportunities appear. Meanwhile, man y thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

8/22/60

August 19, 1960

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Enclosed please find six copies of the description of the John J. Brubaker tape, also one copy of the "T" listing. There are also two lists of stations in Louisiana. One is the Regular, or Friendly World Broadcasting List, the other is a list of 47 stations receiving both the John J. Brubaker listing and the regular "T" listing this month. I have also enclosed a copy of the respective letters sent to each list. I hope this is satisfactory.

Sincerely,

Jane Hott

Jane Hott,
Secretary

TO ALL STATIONS IN LOUISIANA NOT ON REGULAR FW LIST -- 47

August 19, 1960

Mr. Henry B. Clay
K W K H
Box 1387
Shreveport, La.

Dear Mr. Clay:

I thought this special tape, which we have just been fortunate enough to secure, with Mr. John J. Brubaker, for eleven years superintendent of the Norfolk, Virginia schools, might be of special interest to you at this particular time and so we are making a special offer to you without waiting for the regular processes of our usual listings. You will see from an enclosure more about this particular tape.

I am also enclosing a copy of our most recent regular listing and if you would like any of these tapes just mark and return the enclosed post card. This, of course, involves no obligation (except to return the tape) and involves no expense to you except postage for the return.

If you haven't used our service before this would be an excellent opportunity to discover that we can be of service to you in building the fine audience of KWKH still further in numbers and in loyalty.

Sincerely,

ETR/jh

RADIO STATIONS -- LOUISIANA AUGUST 1960

Mr. Sylvan Fox, Gen. Mgr.
K S Y L
Box 1489
Alexandria, La.

C. W. Fitz, Gen. Mgr.
W A B L
Amite, La.

Mr. Ralph L. Burge, Gen. Mgr.
W A I L
3150 College Dr.
Baton Rouge, La.

Mr. Bruce Broussard, Gen. Mgr.
W E N D
820 Commerce Bldg.
Baton Rouge, La.

Mr. Robert Earle, Gen. Mgr.
W I B R
Box 1226
Baton Rouge, La.

Mr. Mort Silverman, Gen. Mgr.
W J B O
Box 496
Baton Rouge, La.

Mr. Lamar Simmons, Gen. Mgr.
W L C S
Box 2546
Baton Rouge, La.

Mr. Thomas L. McGuire, Mgr.
W X O K
Baton Rouge, La.

Mr. John H. Knight, Gen. Mgr.
W I K C
Bogalusa, La.

Mr. Louis M. Basso, Gen. Mgr.
K S I G
Crowley, La.

Mr. Ralph L. Hooks, Gen. Mgr.
K D L A and K R E H, Oakdale,
De Ridder, La.

Mr. John D. Plauche, Gen. Mgr.
K E U N
Eunice, La.

Mr. John A. Chauvin, Gen. Mgr.
W F P R
Hammond, La.

L. H. Thesmar, Gen. Mgr.
K C I L
Houma, La.

Clovis L. Bailey, Gen. Mgr.
K J E F
Jennings, La.

Mr. William A. Patton, Gen. Mgr.
K P E L
Lafayette, La.

Mr. George H. Thomas, Gen. Mgr.
K V O L
Lafayette, La.

Mr. Roy K. Rhodes, Co-mgr.
K A O K
Lake Charles, La.

Mr. Gene Underwood, Gen. Mgr.
K L P L
Lake Providence, La.

Mr. Arthur L. Greene, Gen. Mgr.
K D B C
Mansfield, La.

Mr. Frederick A.W. Davis
K A S O
Minden, La.

Dr. Frank P. Cerniglia, Gen. Mgr.
K L I C
Bernhardt Bldg.
Monroe, La.

Mr. Raymond W. Baker, Gen. Mgr.
K M L B
Alvis Hotel
Monroe, La.

Mr. Edd Routt, Gen. Mgr.
K N O E
Monroe, La.

Mr. B. Hillman Bailey, Jr., Gen. Mgr.
K N O C
Natchitoches, La.

Mr. Donald Bonin, Gen. Mgr.
K A N E
New Iberia, La.

Mr. John H. Coco, Gen. Mgr.
K V I M
New Iberia, La.

Mr. Robert D. Swezey, Gen. Mgr.
W D S U
520 Royal St.
New Orleans 16, La.

Mr. George A. Mayoral, Gen. Mgr.
W J M R
Jung Hotel
New Orleans, La.

Jeanne Minge, Station Mgr.
W N P S
1133 Webster St.
New Orleans 18, La.

Mr. John L. Vath, Gen. Mgr.
W W L
Roosevelt Hotel
New Orleans 12, La.

Mr. William A. Selley, Jr., Gen. Mgr.
W Y L D
2906 Tulane Ave.
New Orleans 19, La.

Mr. Charles Ferrell, Gen. Mgr.
K W C L
Oak Grove, La.

Mr. Samuel R. David, Gen. Mgr.
K C I J
Shreveport, La.

Mr. Ken A. Weaver, Gen. Mgr.
K E N T
Milam Bldg.
Shreveport, La.

Mr. Jim Lofkin, Gen. Mgr.
K O K A
Shreveport, La.

W. L. Switzer, Gen. Mgr.
K R M D
Shreveport, La.

Mr. Henry Clay, Gen. Mgr.
K W K H
Shreveport, La.

Mr. Dale D. Mahurin, Gen. Mgr.
K I K S
Sulphur, La.

Mr. Howard E. Griffith
K T L D
Tullulah, La.

Mr. Ray Saadi, Gen. Mgr.
K T I B
Thibodaux, La.

Chris Duplechain, Gen. Mgr.
K V P I
Ville Platte, La.

Mr. Joel Ellis Wharton
K L V I
Vivian, La.

Mr. Ollie Bales, Gen. Mgr.
K U Z N
West Monroe, La.

Mr. Charles Ernest Schwing, Jr.,
K E V L
White Castle, La.

Mr. Edward R. Hall, Gen. Mgr.
K V C L
Winnfield, La.

J. H. Martin, Pres. & Program Dir.
K M A R
Winnsboro, La.

LOUISIANA RADIO STATIONS *
FW BROADCASTING August, 1960

Mr. Irving Ward-Steinman
K D B S
(also KLLA Leesville, La.)
P. O. Box 306
Alexandria, La.

Mr. George W. Wilson
K F N Y
Ferriday, La.

Mr. Grady E. Delheste
K A N V
Catahoula Parish
Jonesville, La.

*Mr. James A. Noe, Jr.
Sheridan-Charles Hotel
W N O E
New Orleans, La.

Mr. R. J. Duffour
W B O K
505 Baronne St.
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Fred Anderson
W J B W
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Wandell Allegood
K S L O
OPelousas, La.

Mr. Bruce Jenkins
K J O E
Shreveport, La.

Mr. Joe Monroe, (Gen. Mgr.)
K B C L
Shreveport, La.

* Added after S Listing

TO ALL STATIONS IN LOUISIANA ON REGULAR FW LIST --9 STATIONS

August 17, 1960

Mr. Joe Monroe
K B C L
Shreveport, La.

Dear Mr. Monroe:

We have been fortunate to secure a tape which may well be of special interest to you at this particular time.

It is a series of five spots in our regular pattern with Mr. John J. Brubaker, recently retired after 33 years in the Norfolk, Va., school system, the last eleven years as superintendent.

He speaks with first hand knowledge of the earnest effort on the part of himself and the board to maintain segregation, and of the frightful cost of closing the schools, on the order of the governor, and, finally, of the very slight impact which actual compliance with court orders has made on the Norfolk schools.

These are all facts, offered by the best authority in the country, which your audience might well be interested in, presented in the most listenable fashion.

If you think you might be interested just return the enclosed poast card and we will send you a copy of the tape for audition, with, as usual, the right to use it if you decide you'd like to.

Mr. Brubaker will be in Louisiana in the very near future and might subsequently be secured for a live broadcast, for which this tape would be an excellent preparation.

You've already had our "T" listing, but this tape is of such timely nature I wanted you to have an opportunity to give it a listen without waiting for the usual process of issue.

Sincerely,

ETR/jh

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations
(Each number has five spots)

1960 - List T

T 1 THE LUNCH ROOM "SIT-INS"
The emphasis has been very largely on violence and resistance with too little attention given to what happens after the violence dies down -- or in many places where there has been no violence. This is another effort to throw some light on a confused situation in regard to a problem which is going to be with us for a long time. The more we know about it the better we will be able to meet it and solve it as problems in the U.S. of A. should be solved.

T 1XX SAME MATERIAL as above but in one 29:30 program instead of five short spots. NOTE: This form is particularly recommended if you can possibly use a program of this length in good time. We will be happy to send both for your audition and choice.

T 3 MARK & DOROTHY VAN DOREN
These two very well known and delightful people offer in friendly conversation the ripe wisdom of their long experience in writing, teaching, editing, and, most of all, in living with real zest and joy in life itself. What is education? What is entertainment? Why do New England winters make for better homes? These are some of the questions delightfully touched upon. This is a delight!

T 4 DR. W. F. G. SWANN
This member of the scientific royalty of the world, head of the Bartol Research Foundation of the Franklin Institute, views the universe with a twinkling eye from the pinnacle of nearly eighty years of life and laughter and helps us understand the expanding universe in terms of the new science and our daily experience.

T 5 MARYA MANNES
Sharp pencilled evaluator of the passing scene, this brilliant woman points out some of the points of peril in our present situation and suggests some greatly needed changes in attitude. She is an outspoken defender of freedom as one of our most precious possessions. She is on the staff of the "Reporter," and writes for N.Y. Times, etc.

T 6 LOUIS GANNETT & DAVID HARTSOUGH
Here an old crusader who has hung up his shield among the quiet Hoosatonic hills remembers the battles of his youth,while a lad still in college (white student at Howard University) tells about current participation in the same struggle for human rights. It is an interesting and exciting contrast.

T 7 GETACHEN BELAYNEH
This 22 year old Ethiopian has been sent to this country by his government to be educated for leadership among his people, to take the place of older leaders of education who were assassinated by the Fascists during their occupation. Since Africa is so obviously important to the future of the world, it is of great value to us to know what the Africans themselves think, of us, of themselves, of the world. Here is a man who speaks as an African, yet as a friend of ours, about his own country, about the Congo, about South Africa. He speaks with the assurance of a man selected by his government to be a spokesman.

(OVER)

T 8 DR. HUGH BORTON
Taught Japanese history and language in Columbia University for years, after long residence and study in Japan, now president Haverford College. One of the first Americans to advise publicly, "Ike, stay home!" he speaks with a sure knowledge of both current events and historic background, and provides an excellent basis for understanding of what we can do to be of help to these important people who really are our good friends. Part of this material has been used on our weekly program, "This is a Friendly World."

SPECIALS

Repeats
- O 1 THE LITTLE ROCK SCHOOL STORY
- N 1 THE ATLANTA SCHOOL STORY
- S 1 THE DEERFIELD STORY ON HOUSING INTEGRATION

These programs are still being used and still usable for a picture of the situation as it exists. They have each been used by 150 or more stations in all parts of the country with good reports only. We will be pleased to send you any of them for audition. NOTE: The 29:30 length will be sent unless you specially request the same material in five 5-7 minute spots.

WEEKLY PROGRAM "THIS IS A FRIENDLY WORLD." Used by both educational and commercial stations, this 14:30 program provides windows into other countries all over the world opened by people who know what they are talking about and who talk interestingly together with occasional topical programs on topics like "Freedom," the children of the world, etc. If you want to hear a sample, mark the card and then let us know if you want to receive these tapes regularly.

SPECIAL NOTICE

We are pleased to be able to continue this service in spite of the very great handicap created by the death of our Manager, Ethel May (Mrs. Edwin T.) Randall. We hope there will be many more listings, each made possible by her great contribution to the idea and its fulfillment.

Just mark the enclosed card indicating the numbers you'd like to hear and we'll send them with no obligation, of course, except that you will give a listen and then return the tape, immediately or after you have used it. If you find you want to air them we will be pleased to have you do so. You may, but you need not, give credit to "Friendly World Broadcasting," which does not appear in any of the programs except the fifteen minute weekly "This is a Friendly World." These programs were made with the cooperation of many people and groups, including the United Presbyterian Church, component groups within the National Council of Churches, the Southern Regional Council, Fellowship House of Philadelphia, and the American Library Association. We are always happy to have your suggestions for the improvement of our service to your listeners.

Edwin Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 N. Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

SPECIAL OFFER - AUGUST 1960
Five 5-7 minute spots

JOHN J. BRUBAKER

This native Virginian has been an educator for 38 years, after a short career in banking, for the last 33 in Norfolk where he has been Superintendent of Schools for the last 11 years, including the crisis during which the schools were closed by the governor after every effort had been made by the school authorities to maintain segregation.

The topics discussed in these fascinating conversations are, "How to have better schools," "How the Norfolk schools were closed for a half year," "The unmixed tragedy of closed schools," "The business attitude toward closed schools," "The startling facts about the actual acceptance of legel de-segregation."

The City of Norfolk is Virginia's largest city. Mr. Brubaker has had more actual experience with federal, state, and local conflict over "de-segregation" than any other school authority in the country. After his hard-fought efforts to keep the Norfolk schools segregated he speaks with the greatest authority about the surprising consequence to the City of Norfolk of the acceptance of the degree of segregation actually required by the courts.

The entire series is an eye-opener on this troubling and generally unsolved problem, full of facts that ought to be in the minds of everyone in the U. S. of A. as further problems arise.

Edwin Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 N. Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

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JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Sept. 7, 1960

To: HCF From: LWD

Subject: Friendly World Broadcasters

One thought that occurs to me is that Ed Randall might enter into some discussion with Whitney Young regarding programs. You will recall that Whitney, in his paper on the status of the Negro community, made some analysis of opportunities for good programing in communications. I have tried to relate some of Whitney's points to Randall's situation but with no success. There might be, however, some profit in Randall, whose mind is turned to possibilities, discussing with Whitney his ideas.

Incidentally, I am still in possession of Whitney's memo. Some day I would like to discuss it with you.

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

October 14, 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1960

Dear Harold:

I was disappointed that we didn't get a better coverage on the Brewbaker tape. As I think you were informed, as orders went out, there were only about six or eight stati9ns in the state that requested the tape.

Did you get any reaction at all from these or did your people contact any radio stations either about the actual or possible use of this tape?

If we can have more time to plan cooperative effort I'm sure we will do better next time.

If you think it will be a good idea we will make a general offer of this tape on our next listing.

The tape on the sit-ins has been very well received, indeed. We had many more requests for it than for the housing tape - about 175 up to now with more still coming in. I think it is the best tape I've done on integration up to now. Did you like it? Helen Bullard seemed quite enthusiastic about it.

I had a letter from Mrs. Hamilton, of the YWCA, indicating she had been incontact with you about our project. Will you tell me something about her and how you think we might be useful to her.

Sincerely,

Ed

via air mail October 27, 1960

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Delighted to hear you are able to undertake another tape, and I think your ideas are fine, especially Washington. Clinton is a pretty old story, and Louisville also has had a lot of attention.

On the otherhand, there is a lot of fresh material in Virginia, on which you could get detailed advice from Dan Bowers, executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, 3-B Broad-Grace Arcade Building, Richmond, Va. Not only is there new desegregation there, but the Prince Edward County situation continues to receive a lot of interest throughout the South and elsewhere.

You might also consider that the Nashville plan is getting much currency, as for example in New Orleans. This may well be the pattern for further court-ordered, stair-step integration in the lower South.

Of course, right now we are full of the sit-in developments here in Atlanta. King has just been released on bond, and negotiations on eating facilities are under way.

We'd be pleased if you offered the Brewbaker tape with your next listing. Whatever use it got in Louisiana was bound to have been helpful, and it is just as useful in other places that have still to begin desegregation.

Let me know what you decide and if we can be of help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

October 24, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

I've scratched together enough nickles to take a flier at another integration tape. I was really quite set up with the general reception given our sit-in program. Maybe I can hope to do as well with the next one.

It seemed to me we might very well concentrate on Louisville, Washington, and a little attention to Clinton, Tenn. Do you have any suggestions about this? Do you think it would be good to include a little on Prince Edward County?

Do you have any material I ought to go over before I start on these places or the general situation?

Would you like to have us make a general offer of the Brubaker tape with the next listing - which I would hope could be out in the middle of November?

As ever,

Ed

RECEIVED
NOV 15 1960

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

November 13, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your very helpful suggestions. I've been slow in answering because I've been uncertain about time. Now Jack and I have clear thigs to get started next week and it shouldn't take us too long to get what we need. ,I'm writing, as you suggest, to Dan Bowers, and of course Jack knows a lot about Virginia.

I would hope in the course of our travels we might be able to stop at Atlanta and see you and possibly pick up material about the sit-in developments, particularly in churches, if they are still going on.

I like your suggestion about Prince Ed Co., too. We have four of their young people here in Media and I have met them, and also the minister from their home town who seems a most alert kind of chap. Unfortunately, in addition to normal difficulties, the kids are in trouble because school work here is so far above what they've been having. But they are good kids!

Thanks also for the material you sent. If anything else pertinent comes out be sure and let me have it.

Sincerely,

Ed

MLV

file

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

June 15, 1961.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Friend:

I hope by now you have the tapes and have had a chance to hear them - and that you find them satisfactory. It occurred to me you might find use for a few copies of the listing which we are sending to each radio station in Georgia and, within a few days, to every station in the South.

The requests are not coming in as fast as I had hoped they might - but they are doing all right for a start; we've had 23 already and the letters were mailed only last Friday. Included in requests for W1 & W1XX are the following:

Mr. Geo. Walsh, WHAS, Louisville, Ky.
Mr. Paul Wynn, WYZE, Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. Allen M. Woodall, President, WDAK, Columbus, Ga.
Mr. Hamilton Masters, WCRI, Scottsboro, Alabama.
S. C. Bevins, WMLF, Pineville, Ky.
WIRV, Irvine, Ky.
WOVE, Welch, W. Virginia.

I thought you might like to know. It always helps to have citizens call and say, "I understand there's some chance you might use such-and-such a program. If you do I'd like to know when so I can tell my friends."

Look forward to seeing you on July 5.

Sincerely,

Ed

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations
(Each number has five spots except where indicated)

1961 - List W

W1 (10 spots)

ATLANTA CONVERSATION - LESTER G. MADDOX, DR. HEYWOOD N. HILL
This is something which will astonish you!
Mr. Maddox is Chairman of Georgians Unwilling to Surrender (GUTS); was selected a couple of years ago to run against the perennial Atlanta Mayor Hartsfield on the issue of desegregating the schools. He is superintendent of the Adult Department of the Sunday School of the North Atlanta Baptist Church.
Dr. Hill is an Atlanta physician, teacher of an adult class in the Sunday School of Trinity Presbyterian Church. He made a statement on his beliefs about matters of race to this class which has been widely circulated by the Southern Regional Council.
So, while these men were speaking their own convictions they are both highly representative of opposite points of view which have rarely been discussed both frankly and calmly.
They met and talked with me for over an hour, discussing the entire field, intermarriage, voting rights, education, communication between the races, discrimination against whites as well as Negroes, racial superiority and inferiority, what the Negro really wants and how to find it out, the influence of Communism on race tensions, etc., etc.
Nobody raised his voice or pounded the table, but the sharpness of the differences is made even more dramatic by the calmness of presentation.
At the very hour when these spots were being recorded, violence had erupted in Alabama over the identical issues being here so dramatically presented.
This is designed to be a fair and impartial presentation of the issues. The time is equally divided overall and no restrictions whatever were put upon either protagonist as to what he might say or might not.
We are very happy to be able to provide what we consider an amazingly effective presentation of both sides of this troubling but important problem which can be listened to with excited interest by people in every section of the country, and which we think will be widely approved by all fair minded people.
<u>You will note that this number includes 10 spots</u>.

W1XX

MATERIAL SELECTED FROM ABOVE, and with time and points carefully balanced, made into a continuous 29:30 program. We recommend this highly where you have time for such a presentation. Many will want to use this exciting material in both forms and we will, of course, be happy to provide this if you wish.

W2

EARL REYNOLDS
Here are fragments from the exciting life of one of the most fascinating people I have ever met. Starting from scratch he became an anthropologist of widely recognized authority, was sent to Hiroshima to study radiation effects, sailed around the world in a ship built to his own design, and then became involved in the highly dangerous adventure of penetrating the forbidden zone during atomic bomb testing. With the entire navy, including the Coast Guard, against him, his wife and two children and their Japanese crewman, he was able to establish in

Federal Court his right to do what he had been forcibly prevented from doing. It's an exciting story and he's a fascinating person. (Parts being used in our weekly program.)

W3 MISS DOROTHY HUSKEY
Just returned from three and a half years with the U.S. Health Service in Southern India where it was her patriotic duty to encourage the people of India to include the use of scientifically constructed latrines among their more ancient habits. It's an interesting story of America at work for the helping of less fortunate people to help themselves and it answers a number of questions about the wisdom of "foreign aid" and about the kind of people working on it for us.

W4 EUSTICE MENDES
A son of Ceylon now studying Physics at Temple University, in Philadelphia, this alert young man gives us an encouraging picture of life in his own country, our relation to his people and how they think about us, why they act toward us as they do, and how they would like to have us act toward them. Ceylon, I was surprised to discover, is one of the far forward countries of Asia. They want to be friends with us and we can learn a great deal from them about why other countries do as they do. Mendes is a charming personality. (Part of this has been used in our weekly program.)

W5 IESAC
This is an organization of students of business and economics in colleges all over the world who have been operating their own student exchange by trading jobs in 29 countries, a total of almost 30,000 since 1956. They have been running their own affairs, not only with student officers and workers but all of them working without pay. These are talks with students who have actually worked in other countries and with an older advisor. Talking with them is a help toward understanding both the problems and the possibilities of the peace corps, now so enthusiastically under way.

Just mark the enclosed card indicating the numbers you'd like to hear and we'll send them with no obligation, except that you will give a listen and return the tapes, either immediately or after you have used them.

It is our basic idea that things it is important for people to know about can be said in exciting ways so as to build audiences rather than scatter them. It is our object to provide you with such material that you can integrate it with material offered at times of peak audiences with a reasonable expectation of making them even larger. We are particularly happy to have your suggestions about ways in which we might increase the value of our service to you.

Edwin Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

File
Randal?

August 23, 1961

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Penn.

Dear Ed,

Les, Eliza Paschall, Margaret Boozer and C. H. Parrish and I heard your Atlanta tape the other day and liked it very much.

Les seemed to think it sagged a little on Judy Neiman and Hamilton Lokey but picked up briskly after that. Eliza Paschall seemed a little distressed at the O.A.S.I.S. people's version of their work, because she feels they haven't done enough and was disappointed, perhaps because there wasn't any expression of an extra liberal viewpoint and definite welcome of the Negro child to school. This is, of course, no criticism of the tape but of the mild approach of the O.A.S.I.S. people. C. H. seemed to like it.

I enjoyed it and thought it would be quite interesting around here. We all thought it might be even more valuable in other Georgia cities who have yet to desegragate. I found the interview with Mrs. Shelton (or whatever her name is) and Fran Breeden quite moving. I thought you pulled a lot of honest feeling out of them. It seems to me the whole tape was very nicely and artfully tied up into a picture of what is happening here.

Betty Harris of O.A.S.I.S. is quite enthusiastic about the tape and is writing you about it.

Les's daughter's name is Linda.

My best to Mrs. Randall.

Sincerely,

ML/jf

Margaret Long
Director of Information

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia
Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

ML

I called Ed & gave him comments. He would like a letter with more detailed reaction of people who listened, so will you please write. And will you put OAS15, & get them to respond to Ed?

If you & PR agree, could I use (you or PR) drop a note to Art Cornelia about tape?

My daughter's name is Linda

ML: let's talk please

Part - call from Breeden?

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

August 9, 1961

Dear Les:

This afternoon I mailed you a copy of our new tape X-1XX, "Atlanta, The City that Changed its Mind," 29:30 minutes. I hope you like it and will feel it is worth giving some pushing between now and the time school opens.

PLEASE: whatever else you do, listen to it as quickly as possible and let me know immediately how you do like it!!!!

Am also sending copies to Mrs. Harris, for OASIS, Mrs. Breeden (hopefully, for Gov. Collins), Dr. Samuel Williams, Helen Bullard.

Federal Information Service wrote requesting a copy, at your suggestion, so I shall send them one tomorrow. Many thanks.

You will see that I have gone right to work on John Youngblood's suggestion about the Bible. We will see what happens. The more I thought about it the more I liked it, and nothing will be lost by this baloon.

The idea of working in the three state area is brightened by the fact that we have had more than a hundred inquiries recently about ourn fifteen minute weekly program. If we can find money to expand that it could be the basis for more intensive work, since it seems to be gaining very wide acceptance.

Do let me know how you like this show, and if you can how others like it. I am most anxious to make the good women who worked so hard with us happy about the results.

As ever,

Ed

P.S. What's your daughter's name so we can look her up? Or will she call us - LO-6-2578?

Of course we'll send you more tapes if you want them - or send them to any stations you suggest. Feel free to copy our listing or any part of it you wish. I know the time is short and we are ready to act fast.

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
(5 to 7 minute conversations)
(Each number has five spots except where indicated)

1961 -- LIST X

X1 A CITY CHANGES ITS MIND!
The City of Atlanta, Georgia, "The Queen City of the South," has firmly determined to open its schools with the degree of de-segregation required by law -- and WITHOUT VIOLENCE! This is the story, from the mayor, the superintendent of schools, the president of the Federal Reserve Bank, and a score of other leading citizens of why and how they came to their decision and what they are doing to avoid violence. Whatever happens on opening day your listeners will be glad to have this exciting story of a city that has reversed itself in just two years.

At the time we recorded our first report on the "Atlanta School Story" the only people who were really speaking right out loud were saying that "no school will ever open in Georgia with any amount of integration!" Many laughed at our estimate that 60% of the people really wanted the schools open, even with de-segregation. Now it's clear, the die-hard segregationists are a defeated and inconsiderable minority, who are not likely to be able to offer any effective resistance to the orderly process of education in Atlanta.

This tape, an exciting story in itself, is an absolute essential to understanding whatever news comes from opening day for Atlanta schools.

Give this tape a listen and we think you will want your audience to have the excitement of listening to it.

X1XX SAME MATERIAL AS ABOVE, made into continuous 29:30 program, highly recommended where you have time for such a presentation. Many will want to use this exciting material in both forms and we will, of course, be happy to provide both on request.

X2 ROBERT PORTERFIELD AND THE BARTER THEATRE
If it hadn't been for the great "Depression" there never would have been a "Barter Theatre," The State Theatre of Virginia, which would have been a very great loss. This outstanding personality, who has presented Virginia hams to more than a score of the country's leading actors, tells of the series of apparent "accidents" that made his accomplishment possible, in the face of all kinds of insoluble problems. It's one of the most exciting stories of personal triumph over despair, turning disaster into an outstanding triumph, we have ever heard. Where Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina meet everybody goes to the Barter Theatre, though you don't need a basket with "35¢'s worth of vittles" to get in any more.

X3 BERNARDO DIAZ
Jose de la Cruz Porfirio Diaz was President of Mexico from 1876 to 1911; more emperor than democratic ruler he managed affairs with an iron hand, organized the finances of the country and brought a high degree of prosperity, but it was shared by only a few of the aristocrats. So revolution came, deep and conclusive, as a result of which the lot of the Indian peasant of Mexico continues to improve steadily. Now a grandson is in this country, working with the Pan-American Union and studying housing problems, planning to return to the land of his ancestors and work in the government his grandfather once controlled as a dictator. He speaks feelingly of the hopes and ambitions of the people, of the blending of ancient cultures in something

(OVER)

new and splendid in a land which was new only to the adventurers from Spain. He also discusses something of the boy-girl customs which make it, he thinks, unnecessarily difficult to get acquainted in Mexico.

X4 H. MACKINLAY
This social security expert from Argentina provides a fascinating insight into the background of the life of his interesting country. Unlike other Latin American nations it is made up almost entirely of the descendants of European settlers, Spanish and Italian, but also, as his own name indicates, a good sprinkling of Scotch and Irish. In consequence many things are different and this is a country which should be much easier for us to understand. It has kept its lines open to Europe with very little attention to its Indian background. He suggests some areas in life where he thinks we might learn from our friends of the other American continent.

X5 PROF. THOMAS BENHAM
Teacher of Physics at Haverford College, he is a searcher of the heavens, a tracker of satellites. From a trailer especially equipped for listening to what is out of sight Prof. Benham has provided information for the authorities in Washington and elsewhere on the movements of man-made wanderers through the heavens. He also maintains a service of tape recordings for the blind, specializing in children and scientists, which puts specialized material in the hands of hundreds of people who need it. The fact that he himself has been unable to see since he was three is completely incidental to his full and useful life.

X6 THE STORY OF KING DAVID
This is an experiment in response to request. It's a completely unpretentious reading of this exciting story in the words of the King James Version. People who have asked for it think it will appeal to kids, as it very well might. But I think it will be of interest to a lot of older people as well. The comment is just enough to hold the story together. I wish you'd give this a listen. It could be what you are looking for and I'd like to know what you think of it whether you use it or not. If it works out we could make it either a daily or a weekly feature.

Just mark the enclosed card indicating the numbers you'd like to hear and we'll send them with no obligation, except that you will give a listen and return the tapes, either immediately or after you have used them.

It is our basic idea that things don't need to be dull even if they are important and the things people want to know about can be told in such ways as to build audiences rather than to scatter them. It is our object to provide you with material you can use at times of peak audiences with a reasonable expectation of making them even larger. Your suggestions for improving our service are always welcome.

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

MLK
PRL
LWD

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

July 15, 1961.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth N. W., Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

It was certainly wonderful to have such good fellowship with you and encouragement from you. With your help, and particularly with your suggestion for the general direction of our program, I think we have material for one of our very best tapes.

The idea of working out something very special for Miss., Ala., and La., particularly appeals to me. I was encouraged to discover when we got home requests already in for several tapes from this area. Dave Martin, WCJU, Columbia, Miss., wants W1, 1XX, 2, 4, and a sample of Friendly World (weekly). According to the book thgis is a 250 watt station with one hour weekly of special Negro programming. Martin is Program Director. Frank Page, KWKH, Shreveport, La., asked for W 1, 2, 3, and a sample of FW. This is a 50kw station, independent, newspaper owned. Page is Program Director. Ben Bickham, WABL, Amite, La., asked for W1, 2, 4, and FW. This is a 500 watt daytime station. Bickham's name isn't in the book. The fact that they all want to hear the weekly show is a clear indication that they all need more good material - and know it. This is most encouraging!

We also have a request from Preston Mobley, Program Director, WERD, Atlanta, for W1 and 1XX.

Previously, as I think I told you, we have had orders from Hamilton Masters, WCRI, Scottsboro, Ala., for all W tapes and sample FW. This is a 250 watt station. Masters isn't in the book. This all seems to me most encouraging.

I haven't written sooner because on the way home I became greatly infested with chiggers, which have been boring through from here to yonder ever since. I think I have at last been reduced to a tasteless mess, however, and that they are, in consequence, leaving.

If you could lay your itching fingers on just a few dollars for a start we could do the preliminary exploratory work in the field almost immediately so as not to be delayed while holding our breath for the big windfall.

How do you rate Sam Williams? He struck me as a very able man who has no intention of spending the rest of his life waiting.

Let me know when you have any more brainstorms. I'll send you copies of the new stuff as soon as it's ready.

Sincerely, Ed

Randall
Immediate

September 1, 1961

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Executive Vice-Chairman
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

I am glad the response to the Atlanta tape has been good. I hope that it gets better. We are calling it to the attention of all our state groups.

The reception which your Bible tape has had, just goes to show you never know what you're missing when you don't look for diamonds in your own back acres.

I assume that what you have in mind regarding Dallas is something to be done after the event. I am not sure--though I could be altogether wrong--that it would have general interest. I don't think Dallas is a city that other cities identify with--to use one of our modern linguistic crudities. Besides, thought I like the results, I don't like the paternalistic manner in which they have been achieved. I don't like businessmen presuming they hold the city in their hands, even when they are on my side.

I am afraid I don't know enough about Kansas City to have any thoughts.

About a Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama project, all I can say is that we do hope to unfold something there, and shall probably look for funds to help us. I think this is going to have to be developed during the fall fund raising. Whatever we do, I would like to have you related to it.

Many thanks for remembering my daughter. I hope you will have a chance to see her when she comes up.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

FRIENDLY WORLD BROADCASTING
122 NORTH PROVIDENCE ROAD
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOWELL 6-2578

August 21, 1961

Committee
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CLARA TEAF RANDALL, Secretary-Treasurer
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GEORGE FISK
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MARJORIE PENNEY
IRA DeA. REID
WILLIAM R. REYNOLDS
HOWARD M. TEAF, JR.

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Executive Vice-Chairman

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

One can never tell, can one?

The girls at OASIS listened to the tape and they liked it. You may already have been surprised by this information, but it just got to me this morning. They are plugging it even in Atlanta! Unhappily we have had only two requests in Georgia so far (and one of them specified (For audition purposes only), but I gave them that scanty information and am having a complete list of the Georgia stations - all of which were written to - prepared and mailed to them as promptly as possible.

The other thing that has jarred me is the popularity of our Bible tape. We have actually had more requests than for any other tape in the list -(though not as many as for the Atlanta Changes tape in both forms). This is most gratifying. The 50kw station in Shreveport, La., asked for it and nothing else. So we may really have something going.

We are beginning to think about the future. How do you feel about a story on Dallas, Texas, from what gets into the newspapers? And how would you feel about a story on Central High in Kansas City, Mo., where they have gone from all white to mostly Negro with gratifying results in general, again according to the papers and TIME?

Have you run onto any money for our Miss., La., Ala. project? It fascinates me more every time I think of it.

And please don't forget we want to know your daughter's name.

As ever,

Ed

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 12/20/61

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Ed Randall

A few ideas for Friendly Broadcasting tapes:

1. Tapes on the planning and philosophy behind successful desegregation in Dallas, Memphis, and Atlanta. He may already have done enough on Atlanta.

2. A tape on New Orleans, 1960 and 1961. What were the changes and why.

3. Washington, D. C.. Did he ever do one on this? Something showing the current operation of schools, how they are working, morale of students, etc., would be most useful.

4. A feature on Negro children ~~f~~ in desegregated schools. This might be taken only in the North but would still be useful. It has a lot of human interest value. Bob Coles could help concerning New Orleans and Atlanta.

5. There could be one on the Southern Negro. What he wants? What he believes, etc.. This could reflect some diversity and consist of an interview with two or more Negro leaders. Doubtful for Southern stations, but possible.

6. I think more of the confrontation type discussions such as the one he did with Maddox would be helpful, but I think we would be hard-put to find conservative personnel for such efforts.

January 30, 1962

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

It was good to see you yesterday and I will be in touch with you soon.

In the meanwhile I am sending on a memo written by Paul Rilling suggesting some ideas for your tapes; this I found last night rummaging through my unfinished basket. One or two of these notations may appeal to you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 1

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

February 10, 1962.

MJ - Don't you want this back for your files? MM

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsythe N. W.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

I want to tell you that I think I have overestimated the length of time it would take us to get going on real integration material in the LAM region. This change of view is based upon a letter which came to me today from Tuscaloosa and which I have copied for you.

This is from a 5kw station which is part of a group of five, the rest of them in Mississippi. The tapes he has already used and returned include the "Viewpoint" one with Maddox and Hill, the "Viking and the Zulu," with Chief Luthuli and Dag Hammerschold, and "School with Wings," about the Negro slum school in Philadelphia. These include some pretty potent propaganda and you will note that he is pleased with the content as well as the quality.

It was also encouraging to have the report from the Twentieth Century Fund. I don't know why they sent it to me because they wouldn't even consider our request, but I was happy to see that they had made you a grant for educational work that couldn't be budgeted, and to cherish the hope we might get into L. A. M. on that provision.

I've also been mildly on the lookout for some figures about radio for you without turning up anything special up to now - except the observation that there are five AM radio stations in Tuscaloosa (3 are 5kw) and two FM stations, but no TV station. In the state of Alabama there are ten cities with TV stations (only four of them with more than one station) while there are 74 towns and cities with radio stations, (19 with more than one).

As ever,

Ed

(COPY)

WACT - 1420

Studios: 414, 10th Street - Tuscaloosa, Alabama . P. O. Box 112 - Phone 759786

Radio active in West Alabama

February 7, 1962

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

Dear Mr. Randall:

As you well know I'm sure, broadcasters are inundated every day of every week of every year with tons of promotional material, gimmiks, come-ons, requests for free advertising for thousands of different causes, etc. We also receive on occasion an offer of something for nothing.

It has been my practice to open every one of them, however, and at least give them a sursory examination. Most of the material goes into file 13, the rest dutifully filled out and returned. Most of the time the results are disappointing. In my eight years of broadcasting, I have never been so pleasantly surprised as when I received your tapes.

I sincerely wish there were some way that I could convey to you my admiration and res1ect for the quality of your programs, both from the standpoint of quality and content. May I simply say, "Thank you so very much for giving WACT the opportunity to program your tapes." And of course, I should like to add that we shall be most pleased to receive any additional programs you plan in the future. Please forward all pertinent information at your earliest possible convenience.

As for audience reaction, sufficeth to say that it has been most favorable, and most gratifying.

Speaking personally for just a moment, may I also say that if I may be of any assistance to you in furthering Friendly World Broadcasting, please do not hesitate to call on me. I have no idea what contribution I may be able to make, but I would like to add something.

By the bye, I have for3arded under separate cover six of the 12 programs you sent us, and the other six will follow before the end of the month.

Thank you again for your cooperation and kindness, an d we will be looking forward to hearing about your next series of programs.

Sincerely yours,
(SIGNED) Norman R. Beebe
Program Director.

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

LD
MM

August 17, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I hope by now you have had an opportunity to listen to most of the new shows and that you like them. I have heard some of them several times now, and I still like them and also have had reactions from a number of people who are in them. They apparently meet with practically unqualified approval. You will see from the revised enclosure on the series comments from a number of stations. I am also enclosing a copy of the letter sent to us from WOWL in Florence. I think, however, the most thoroughly satisfactory reaction we have had in terms of what we hope to accomplish is from the woman who owns and operates the only radio station in Tuskeegee, a copy of which is enclosed. The cucumber project to which she refers is, of course, the subject of our program #24. Mrs. Wilder lives in Auburn, where she is a member of the Methodist Church and I think there is a very definite connection here. I think this bears out very strongly our general idea that the people of Alabama can themselves do a great deal more than they are presently aware.

Let me know how you like the stuff.

Sincerely,

Edwin T. Randall
e

June 27, 1962

Mr. Edwin Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Randall:

This is to acknowledge that we are very definitely programming "A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie". You are to be commended for the warmness and sincerity with which you do this most "original" program. This is the type of thing that we like to see more of in radio today.

We are programming the show on Sunday mornings and also plan to schedule it sometime during the week. I feel that this most interesting show is a definite "audience getter".

Sincerely,

Joe Oliver
Program Director

JO/ds

1,000 WATTS PHONE: AT 2-7711
WOWL RADIO 1240
P. O. BOX 2220
FLORENCE, ALABAMA
AFFILIATED WITH WOWL-TV

A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE

WHY? There's no more exciting entertainment than talking to your own kind of people with their hair down! The people of Alabama deserve to get acquainted with more of the wonderful people who live and work in the state -- so many of whom are known all around the world. After listening to radio for a solid week, during a visit in March, I felt sure there is a place for show-casing the fine and wonderful facts. There's entirely too much tendency -- especially in times of stress like these -- to emphasize what we don't like. This creates a real need for something solidly realistic, not at all soupy, but based upon the facts of life that show what a wonderful area this is, and especially what wonderful people are doing such fascinating things. This program is created to meet that need and it will certainly attract a lot of listeners who are just as proud of their state as you are.

WHAT? A series of weekly fifteen minute shows about the State -- but mostly about the people -- of Alabama. The basic material is easy flowing, casual, and completely unrehearsed conversation with all kinds of people who love their country. We use as a Theme the delightful English folk tune, "Greensleeves," which is a part of the great common heritage of all of us. There is occasionally additional musical material. There are stories of exciting events, personal experiences, funny happenings, historical memories, ideas and efforts which have gone to make Alabama the remarkable state it is. But you will, I am sure, find each number an authentic and exciting radio show completely on its own. Because we are doing something we feel is important does not at all mean that this is a dull show. It will get you a lot of listeners and hold the ones you have!

WHO? Anybody who loves his homeland is our buddy! We've got big shots and people you never heard of, but they're all exciting people! We'll be glad to use your suggestions for future programs. (Look on the other side.)

HOW? Just fill out and return the enclosed post card and we'll send you an audition tape. Give it a listen -- and if you want your listeners to have a treat -- just write and ask us to put you on the regular list. There is no charge and there will be no cost to you except for the return of the tapes.

WHEN? Right now! Some of the twenty-one stations now using the show have been broadcasting it since May (four of them using each number twice each week). You can use the audition tape we send you to begin your own broadcast, if you wish.

WAUD "I personally think you have an unique type of program. I feel that there are many listeners learning something about their own state that they were not before aware of. We enjoy the programs at the station and find them most interesting."

WUOA "The series sounds interesting."

WCRI "Comment from the women listeners has been most favorable. They like your choice of subjects and different approach."

WACT "Regarding the program itself I have been extremely well pleased. You have more than fulfilled my expectation. Audience comment, as usual, is slow, but what I have had has been highly favorable."

(OVER)

SOME OF THE NUMBERS of "A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE."

1. Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Traylor, Sardis, how their house burned down and what happened after that, including how Joe rebuilt an old one with his own hands. Dr. Ralph B. Draughon, President, Aurora University, and how admiration and love for a teacher changed the course of his life. Also how an Alabama rainbow blessed the eyes of a Yankee.

2. Tuscaloosa Agricultural County Agent Holston and how the railroad started his family in the beef business and how others have done likewise, so that to say "Cotton is King" is to neglect the bull! And Home Demonstration Agent Mrs. Elizabeth Collings and how from a long way back she was called the "Tomato Lady," and why. Also about how Alabama fish can smell Yankee, and defend themselves!

3. Dr. Sam Allison, now 94, practiced for 70 years and used many means of transportation and primitive techniques of medicine. Mr. James A. Minter, Jr., of Tyler, with some words about his ancestors and also about John Glenn and all the rest of us. And also how a Yankee couldn't keep his windshield swiper in an Alabama rain.

4. Mrs. Ellen Taylor Cooper, of Burnsville, about the effectiveness of education in small schools, of which she has been an ornament since -- well, for a long, long time. Ike Martin, Auburn, forestry specialist and why a tree grows better in Alabama -- and why he is interested in trees.

5. About our Theme, "Greensleeves," which is also a Christmas hymn called "What Child is This," with renditions in several arrangements with a little chatter about its meaning for all of us.

6. Dr. Earl C. Beck, Tuscaloosa, world famous authority on the folk music of loggers (and cattle pokes) and the wondrous tale of what happened to the two smart city girls when they met the two old men from the woods -- and you are going to be surprised -- together with some interesting first hand experience in folksonging. Together with an example of Gullah Negro talk and how does a man answer "How many?" when he can't count?, by Mrs. O. D. Langston.

7. Babs and Borden Deal, Tuscaloosa, and the big round world, all about writing novels and Babs' grandmother -- who was really "great" -- and why Alabama is wonderful and how you can smell the salt sea air across the Black Warrior bottoms.

8. Dr. Draughon with encouragement to give thanks for what we have, some remarks about why Alabama is wonderful, and how much Vermont shopkeepers are like Alabama shopkeepers. And a dog story by Robert Smith.

9. County Agent Lawrence Alsobrook, Selma, about how neighbors acted in the worst flood in history, and Mrs. Albert Thomas, Auburn, about her neighbors when her son was "Missing in Action."

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

WABT Radio

580 on your dial

Tuskeegee, Alabama

August 7, 1962

Dear Mr. Randall:

Thank you for your interesting letter of July 28.

We will broadcast tape number 14 tomorrow and are giving some promo announcements concerning Fred Robertson's participation.

Naturally, we are looking forward to tapes number 18 and 19. We will give them plenty of publicity and will also call Mrs. Oslow and Mrs. Cobb. I am sure they will tell their friends!

I have been particularly interested in the cucumber project and hope this story will be a real "bridge" between the races. Many worthwhile things are done in Tuskeegee, but, as you say, the unpleasant things seem to receive the most publicity. I hope you and WABC can help counteract this condition.

I have been unable to reach Mr. Wadsworth by phone. I am sure the stories he gave you were good and I shall look forward to them.

We sincerely appreciate the time and effort you are putting into this public service project. You may be sure of our interest and full cooperation.

Please remember me to Mrs. Randall. It was so nice that she could make the trip with you.

Sincerely,

(Elizabeth Wilder)

President

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 No. Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

WHERE ADVERTISING BUILDS TRADE.

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

Return to PA

~~AHH~~ MJ-file

September 26, 1962.

Mr. Paul Rilling,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Paul:

Here, just to be sure we don't miss anything, is the list of stations in Alabama now taking "Yankee" regularly, including the new ones recently added as the result of personal work:

Albertville, WAVU
Andalusia, WCTA
Anniston, WANA, WDNG
Atmore, WATM
Auburn, WAUD
Birmingham, WCRT, WIXI, WYDE,
Boaz, WBSA
Brewton, WEBJ
Bridgeport, WBTS
Clanton, WKLF
Cullman, WKUL
Decatur, WAJF, WHOS, WMSL
Dothan, WAGF, WOOF
Elba, WELB
Enterprise, WIRB
Florence, WOWL
Fort Payne, WZOB
Gadsden, WETO
Geneva, WGEA
Guntersville, WGSV
Hartselle, WHRT
Homewood, WJLD
Huntsville, WEUP, WFIX,
Jackson, WTHG
Mobile, WMOZ
Montgomery, WAPX, WCOV, WFMI
Oneonta, WCRL
Opelika, WJHO
Piedmont, WPID

52 stations in 37 towns in Ala.; 5 in Georgia (names + number of towns unknown.) See next page. Also, see report.

Roanoke, WELR
Scottsboro, WCRI, WROS
Selma, WGWC, WRWJ,
Talladega, WNUZ
Troy, WTBF
Tuscaloosa WACT, WJRD, WNPT, WUOA
Tuscumbia, WRCK, WVNA
Tuskeegee, WABT.

52

This I make out to be 37 towns (out of a total of 71 in the state with one or more radio stations), and 53 stations, out of a total of 117 in the state. According to the report which has been other wise reliable there are nine other stations listed as "practically certain." At least four of these stations are using each program twice. There are, in addition, five stations in Georgia currently using the program. This adds up to 62 broadcasts (fifteen and a half hours of broadcasting) each week. If the nine others should come through (as I think they will) this would be 71 broadcasts weekly. There are, in addition, 26 stations giving some consideration to using the program. When they find out what is going on some of these will certainly be added to the list. You will notice, quite incidentally, that we have two or more outlets in ten cities.

You have taken note of the kind of material we can broadcast, encouraged by the astounding fact that we have had no cancellations from any users. This quality and quantity can be definitely developed and improved, particularly in a few months when we can begin to offer other material for optional use. (This, you will recall, was originally the point at which it was expected we might accomplish something.)

In other words I feel, and I am sure you do, that this is as complete and forceful a demonstration as could possibly be made in a not necessarily friendly atmosphere. It's cumulative influence over years of use would be impossible to estimate as I am sure this kind of broadcasting will build increasing loyalty in a constantly enlarging audience. Incidentally, one station on our lists boasted of having 17 hours of "anti-Communism" on its air every week, so it's clear somebody believes in the effectiveness of this medium. (I am quite sure that all of that 17 hours is time purchased at commercial rates.)

So it seems to me we have all the necessary ingredients for some conclusion. The fact is, as I said to you over the phone, that we have so far extended ourselves to make this demonstration as complete as possible that we will have to find some quick financial relief or close up our entire operation. It seems to me the impact value of such a surprising demonstration as we have made will wear off in the course of time so that if we can't make a dent while the iron is hot there's little purpose in staggering on just a wee bit further.

We have uncovered new and even better resources of people and material. I'd like to go down and collect some of it for more programs in October. But we have no resources without borrowing, and this I can't feel would be justified without greater assurance of the power to repay. So please let us know the word, good or bad. If it's bad we can make it as painless as possible for everybody.

Duplicate

THE EXCITING STORY OF "A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE"

by
Edwin T. Randall

In March of 1962 I devoted a little more than one entire week to listening to radio programs in the deep south, mainly in Alabama. This grew out of fragmentary experiences which had roused an interest in this field. But I was poorly prepared for the veritable flood of "hate" material. Most of it, of course, started out hating Russians. But by the time it was over you were looking a bit askance at your next door neighbor. Tragically, most of this unspeakable bilge parades itself in the name of religion.

The sheer weight of it is difficult to comprehend. On at least three nights I was able to establish that there was at least one such program within reach of my pocket radio the entire time from 6 to 10 P. M. One of the stations which now uses our show had, according to the proud statement of the manager "twenty-one hours of anti-Communism," every week. This station would not be unique in this respect, I am sure.

I had several reactions, in addition to the sheer horror and revulsion which seem to me inevitable to anyone who believes in the dignity of the human spirit.

The great weight of all this talk must have some effect. Of course practically all of this stuff is broadcast on time that is bought and paid for. This means that none of it is really "good radio," in the sense that great numbers of people will listen to it because they enjoy listening. Presumably, therefore, the audiences for the different shows are relatively small, even though the total number of listeners (through the many repetitions) must be considerable. The fact that they must pay for their time compels them all to examine, in whatever ways they consider determining, the results of their work. These must include at least enough money as the result of the broadcasts to keep them on the air.

These people are against virtually everything that constitutes a part of the heritage and working basis of Democracy. They are against foreign aid, against the normal processes of the courts and of law and order, against the United Nations and any kind of diplomacy out of harmony with their interpretation of the "Big Stick." They hide their basic opposition to democracy by their frantic "anti-Communism," and by the vocabulary of special words into which they pour their own special content; e. g., the people who want to "hang Chief Justice Warren" talk wistfully of their devotion to our sacred heritage and their devotion to the Constitution. Of course they are strong defenders of segregation, but they seem to be anxious to make this phase of their program as incidental as possible. They are also, of course, opposed to the graduated income tax, to social security, to labor unions, to the Peace Corps, to the National Council of Churches and most of the denominational organizations, which might not unfairly be summed up by saying that they are opposed to about any general recognition of human decency or any order of social and economic life other than a completely uninhibited dog-eat-dogkind of free-for-all. This is not always immediately clear but once they have started out there seems no place to stop short of pure (?) John Birchism.

Unfortunately there is little, if any, direct opposition to this type of whatever you want to call it. Recent books pointing out its perils have used such terms as "The Extremists," or the "Sixth Column." "Treason" is a word which not in infrequently seems called for here, except that treason itself seems to have become somewhat of a variable. Certainly it is a danger. Certainly its success would mean the end of what the rest of us consider (when we think about it) the real essence of America, of democracy, of freedom. Unhappily much of what might serve as opposition is offered in terms of direct support of organizations with which they take issue. For example, religious programs which might well attack this problem at the very roots are too often offered as direct support of one denomination or another, or of the National Council. And they are, practically invariably, of such low radio quality as to attract only the slimmest audiences, particularly at the odd times to which they are relegated as "sustaining" or "public service" programs.

So I came to the conclusion that something ought to be done. It should be done in terms of good, professional radio - programming that could attract large audiences, thus making use of good radio time without great expense.

Since the chief result of the type of broadcasting to which we object is to degrate human values it seemed to me there was a very wide opening in the southern radio picture for a program which would say, basically, "You have neighbors, near and far, who are really wonderful people, doing amazing things. Let's get acquainted with some of them."

With no little shame I will confess I thought at first the real problem would be to find enough of this type of people in the south.

I talked with radio people, particularly with some who had already used considerable amounts of our programming and who knew, in consequence, what our methods and objectives are. In these conversations, where I found what I think can be called enthusiastic approval of the general idea, were worked out the details and the title for the program which became "A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie."

I began collecting material at once, finding an incredible welath of people willing to express themselves with forthrightness in important areas of life and thought. We had immediately the cooperation of radio people, of such organizations as Agricultural Extension, from the state chief to the county personnel, of Auburn University, editors, business people, farmers, leaders in all fields, the Alabama Power Company, and, in fact, leaders in every area where we have sought help. The University of Alabama president and staff have been most cooperative, Rotary clubs singly and in groups have been encouraging, the listening public have been highly appreciative.

By some fast work we were ready with the first numbers of our new program for use in the month of May. We started at that time with about twenty stations, most of which are still with us as we are sending out the last programs of our first complete year of operation. At present we are broadcasting through fortysix stations in the State of Alabama, at least five of which use the program twice each week.

We have, we believe, by someperspicacity, a bit of meditation, and a very great deal of sheer good luck, hit upon a technique for influencing the public mind which I think can best be characterized as giving the people a chance to talk to each other. Let me explain. There is a strong possibility that minds are not often changed by argument or by other forms of pressure.

There was a time when the general mind was made up by sessions around a very real cracker barrel when everybody had a chance to speak his piece and to hear everybody else do likewise. There has been no general replacement of this ancient form of coming to a general conclusion. The experts have thought that people could, instead, be "told," or "enlightened," or "educated," and they have tried valliently to perform these services without always being too sure that they were acting to fill a felt need. Maybe this is part of the reason why there is such a general distrust of "egg heads," and why "public service" programs which consist of experts giving off with the pure milk of the word are neglected with such enthusiasm by so many listeners.

Our answer to this is to offer the fellowship of interesting human beings, opening their hearts to the listeners. If you can see what makes a person "tick" you can draw your own conclusion about whether or not you would like to use the same method so you can tick with the same sound - particularly if he isn't obviously trying to enroll you among the sainted. Thus we talk about foreign aid in terms of the work of Dr. Swingle, of Auburn University, who found there wasn't good fishing close by. So he began with a pond where he could raise 150 pounds of fish per acre per year and kept at it until now he can raise three tons of fish on an acre in seven months. People from thirty countries - where raising fish that way can be not an improvement of recreational facilities but an actual life saver for thousands of people, come to Auburn to learn from him. There is no answer to this kind of persuasion - and it is persuasion. There is no built-in resistance to accepting suggestions which aren't really suggestions but just the explanation of how one particular individual gets some satisfaction out of life.

Of course this is based upon the very firm conviction that people all want to be better than they are and that their are qualities of the divine in every human heart. This gets the struggle with the Birchers (and the Communists) right down to the bed rock of our real point of difference. It is saying to the people who are asked to suspect their neighbors, "All right. Let's just take a close look at the neighbors and make up our own minds." We are also helped by the strange fact that people listening to a well designed radio program somehow feel themselves not only listeners but also, in some odd way, participants. This is the element in this gift we have from God which we have never really understood or used with more than marginal adequacy.

If we are right on our faith we have an obligation to give expression to it in the hearing of all people, maybe especially in the hearing of those so brutally exposed without any recourse to the programs to which I have offered objection. As a matter of fact, I think the freedom of the Birchites to express themselves without let or hindrance creates the best background in the world for the presentation of what seems to us true and honest and real.

We have not yet reached saturation in Alabama. Five, ten times as much of this type of broadcasting could very easily be done within this one state. All of it designed to be audience-building, attractive listening, the kind of program which renders a service first of all to the radio station itself. And if it can be done in Alabama it can be done anywhere. I say anywhere because it seems to me there is a place for this kind of program about the south in the north and maybe vice versa. The special need in the south comes from the altogether too wide spread feeling of inferiority or inadequacy, as if they were really at the bottom of the pile in every sense. Actually there are just as many good people in Alabama, for instance, as in Pennsylvania - people anxious to

solve the baffling problems they face in terms of human decency and Christian standards and values. These people just aren't as aware of each other in some of the southern areas. They haven't had a chance to talk to each other, to be heard by the people in general. It seems to me far more important for us to give them an opportunity to be heard than that lectures and other forms of persuasion be offered by people from the outside who, quite obviously, have problems of their own crying for solution.

Perhaps the most important consideration is concerned with ultimate solutions. Good will and understanding are an essential part of the observance of common rights when all has been done that can be done by law and by protest. And the best way to develope this good will is to encourage the contagion from focal points where it already flourishes, no matter how modestly.

This is the reason for our hope that this type of program can be extended, particularly to other states in the South. The fact that an outsider is involved at all is, in this instance I believe, a help rather than a hindrance. The Yankee is there not to tell anybody anything, but to learn, to be instructed, to be enlightened. He finds, to his delight as well as his surprise, that it is a wonderful part of the world and of the United States, that it is full of good people working to make it better. I think it is possible for people to express themselves more freely to an outsider and there is none of the self-consciousness of talking to each other about their strong points and good elements.

We are now being broadcast 51 times each week for fifteen minutes. This means twelve hours and fortyfive minutes of broadcasting each week. At one time we were being broadcast 60 times weekly. So our average has been pretty close to 50 for the year, considering the stations that started less than a year ago. This would mean that we have broadcast 650 hours since last May when the tapes now mailed out have all been used. If we figure an average audience of 10,000 for each broadcast (which would be very conservative) this would mean that we have talked to 26 million people during 2,600 broadcasts in this one state during the current year.

This is a later report than the one in the September letter, and seems to represent some loss (?).

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
123 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

September 14, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is just a note that we have recently added Jackson and Brewton to our list of stations in Alabama using a Yankee program.

You will, I am sure, be interested in a note we just received from WGWC, the second program in Selma to tape the Yankee and the CBS station there. I quote: "Dear Mr. Randall: We are pleased indeed with 'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie' and the program is scheduled each Sunday afternoon at 3:30. We feel that this is the best time to reach more listeners. We would like to have number 1 and number 2.

"We are returning number 3 and number 4 and shall return your tapes as promptly as possible. Sincerely yours, Bob Martin, Owner-Manager. P.S. We especially like your theme and glad you did not use Dixie on this type of program."

We are making a very special effort right now to increase the number of users and expect to have something to report soon.

Sincerely,

Ed

mc

Paid Friendly World

March ~~[illegible]~~, 1,000.00

June 1,300.00

Agreement for '63 - $5,000

~~Oct 2,500.00~~

4,800.00

Jan. 1963 2,500.00

$7,300.00

~~Oct. 21, 196~~

File

Friendly World Broadcasting

Edwin Randall

MM

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

Checks to Friendly World, 1962 -

June 1, 1962 - $1,300.00

Feb., 1962 - $1,000.00

$2,300.00

Pay Wobbie
.604

PA ans. attached

March 13, 1963
321 D St. NE
Washington 2, D.C.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
14 Auburn St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Leslie Dunbar:

We understand that you are acquainted with Ed Randall and his work with radio. We would like to have your evaluation of Friendly World Broadcasting. This includes Ed Randall's program, "This is a Friendly World" and his special radio programs available on tape relating to peace, brotherhood, and world and racial understanding.

Can programs of this type have an influence on people?

What do you see as the assets of a show like this?

What do you see as its deficiencies?

What can a show like this do?

What can't it do?

In view of its assets and its deficiencies, what is your personal view of Friendly World Broadcasting?

We will appreciate a prompt reply from you if at all possible. Thank you for your help and cooperation.

Sincerely,
David Hartsough
Bill Loescher
David Hartsough and
William Loescher,
Chairmen of Evaluating
Committee of FWB

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1963

P.S. Please address your reply to: "To whom it may concern."

ABOUT FRIENDLY WORLD BROADCASTING

WHAT IT IS

We make and distribute more than 10,000 programs a year to more than 350 radio stations all over the country, conversations with interesting and exciting people, documentaries about exciting events, professionally designed and executed programs which are found by hundreds of stations to be audience-building and at the same time of prestige value to the using stations. We invite inquiry of the NAB about our operation.

Recent material has been used on the Voice of America. Our users include a number of educational stations as well as more than fifty 50 kw commercial stations.

WHAT WE DO

Our basic program is a 5 - 7 minute spot of conversation designed as a guest spot on a variety program or between musical numbers on a commercial program. These usually come five to a seven inch tape so as to provide one spot a day with the same person Monday through Friday.

We also do a fifteen minute weekly program which goes presently to 57 stations called, "This is a Friendly World." This deals mostly with people from other countries and Americans who have visited other countries to bring the excitement and interest of strange lands and not-so-strange people. We cooperate in this with the Department of Agriculture, the State Department, the United Nations, the Pan-American Union, and with many other cultural and educational agencies.

We make occasional "documentary" type programs dealing with special interesting events in schools, human relations, etc., which are usually offered in both five minute spots and as half hour shows.

HOW WE DO IT

Private individuals have been providing the expenses of the project. Because the people working at it aren't being paid these are not large and anybody who could have fun this way is welcome to throw in with us. No charge is made for the use of our tapes and the only cost to stations is postage for the return of tapes.

WHY WE DO IT

We think people are pretty wonderful, when all is said and done. We've met some - and keep right on meeting more - whom we consider especially wonderful, and we would like to have as many others meet them as possible. Some of them have different kinds of ideas, but basically our interest is in their personalities and what makes them tick - and how their clocks are set. We find among them all that, as so many of the young people of the International Farm Youth Exchange have said, "People are people wherever you find them." This amazes us continually and we like to share our astonishments.

WE HAVE NEVER ASKED

any station to use one of our tapes. We do offer them for listening, though. Then if the people who listen <u>want</u> to use them - that's O.K. by us. We mean to offer a service to broadcasters, and we don't want our tapes used on any other basis.

If you've never heard any of our tapes
YOU MIGHT BE SURPRISED!

(OVER)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

SOME KIND WORDS

WHAS - Louisville, Ky., "It was, as usual, a finely conceived and well executed job, one which we were glad to be able to put on the air."

WRVA - Richmond, Va., "This (Norfolk Story) is the best thing you've ever done."

WAMD - Aberdeen, Md., "Your Norfolk story was well done ... comment was gratifying."

WGBS - Miami, Fla., "I will be very happy to program as many of the tapes as you can send me."

WBT - Charlotte, N.C., "I just wanted to write and tell you how excellent I find the material."

KYW - Cleveland, Ohio, "Just a short note to tell you how pleased we are with the material I requested."

WSJS - Winston-Salem, N.C., "We had a lot of fine comment on the George Thomas series."

WTAG - Worcester, Mass., "We have used and plan to use some of your excellent tapes ... news commentator's program ... daily woman's show ... bring world affairs down to the level of human affairs which is more understandable."

WFAI - Fayetteville, N.C., "I consider your interviews with James Dabbs most extraordinary and timely. It is my opinion that they should be distributed more widely."

WTTN - Watertown, Wisconsin, "Tapes were fine ... Include WTTN."

WNAD - U. of Oklahoma, "We always enjoy receiving your tapes."

WBEZ - Chicago Board of Education, "Excellently done."

???? (500 watt) - "Many thanks for the use of the tapes. Some were excellent. We have an unusual audience - many are uneducated country people."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Edwin Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 N. Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
(5 to 7 minute spots of conversation)
(Each number has five spots except where otherwise noted)

1962 - LIST Z

Z1 IT'S THE CLIMATE
After a flurry of minor violence which was immediately recognized as a threat to the tourist trade, the people of Miami and the rest of Dade County, Florida, set themselves with determination to work out their inter-racial problems with results which have been spectacular in bringing satisfaction to very nearly everyone. Such organizations as the League of Women Voters, the University of Miami, and the American Association of University Women have played important parts. It's worth knowing about whether you like it or not.

Z1XX Same material in half hour program, highly recommended if you can use it in this form. We'll send both if you wish. Many stations use both forms.

Z2 DR. URIE BRONFENBRENNER
Cornell professor of social psychology and child development, an American who was born in Russia and speaks the language fluently, made two recent visits in behalf of American scientific societies and studied especially schools and child care. Gives clearest picture I have ever had of the basic differences between Russian idea of importance of state and our idea of importance of the individual I have seen anywhere. In present importance of understanding Communism this is a real winner. (TEN SPOTS IN THIS NUMBER)

Z3 TURNER CATLEDGE
This native of Philadelphia, Mississippi, is now managing editor of the New York Times. Tells story of his rise to this position of great influence and describes with obvious devotion to his calling the problems of operating one of the world's most important newspapers.

Z4 JAMES McBRIDE DABBS
This South Carolina farmer, writer, educator, President of the Southern Regional Council, has on previous tapes been one of our most popular numbers, welcomed with special delight by many stations in all parts of the country. He has fascinating new ideas on the development of the South, in which he takes characteristically enormous pride, and of the entire nation in the modern world. His views are not universally accepted but they reveal a most delightful personality.

Z5 ALBERT BIGELOW
The World War II navy hero who defied the Atomic Energy Commission and tried to sail the "Golden Rule" into the forbidden "bomb zone" in the Pacific and went to jail for his trouble. His journey from one position to the other reveals the kind of person it is exciting and rewarding to know.

Z6 DAVID HARTSOUGH
Young college man spent year in Yugoslavia, Berlin (attending college on both sides of the Iron Curtain, mornings East, afternoons West) and wound up with motor-camping tour through Russia, with arrest for espionage as the conclusion. Hear him talking himself out of that! Speaks a half dozen languages, including fluent Russian. It's a most vivid picture.

(OVER)

Z7 SCOTT AND BEA BARNETT HERRICK
This young couple were part of the "walk" from San Francisco to Moscow you read about last year. With more and more people taking such methods of calling attention to their sincere convictions, it's increasingly interesting to discover from first hand just what makes them tick. These are two highly normal young people -- he was in the navy and she is a model -- who make their experiences and their reasons for them understandable.

Z8 MILTON MAYER
One time professor at University of Chicago, connected with launching of "Great Books" program, world traveller, writer, now making speaking tour for the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), has some frequently off-beat ideas about solving the problems and allaying the fears that haunt us. Perhaps his best line is an admonition to "keep your shirt on."

Z9 TO DIG OR TO BUILD
A group of people in Chapel Hill got into the news a while ago by deciding to send the price of their bomb shelters to the United Nations and take their chances on not needing the bomb shelters. It's an idea with fascinating implications and some of the people who have been thinking about it come up with surprising conclusions.

Z10 GENERAL HUGH B. HESTER, U.S. Army, Retired
This veteran of three wars with most unusually wide experience in dealing with a great variety of international as well as strictly military situations is especially noteworthy for a most extensive experience in dealing with the Russians, in peace as well as in war. His counsel is, therefore, most timely at this juncture. He is interesting because what he has to say is quite sharply at variance with what some of the highly publicized generals and ex-generals have been saying. He believes that soldiers should stick strictly to their highly specialized business. He speaks with humor and warmth.

* * * * * * * * * * *

DAVID THE KING -- Capitalize on current interest in reading the Bible in the schools to put on this five minute (Monday through Friday) straight reading from the Authorized Version of the Bible's most exciting narrative sections. You might be surprised at the results! Ask us for a sample tape.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Don't forget that on WLEE, Richmond, Va., at 10 P.M. every Sunday night our weekly program, "This is a Friendly World," has a pulse rating of 46% of the audience, as many listeners as the next three stations together! All kinds of people everywhere listen to

FRIENDLY WORLD

WE CAN ADD LISTENERS TO YOUR AUDIENCE TOO!

Just mark the enclosed card indicating the numbers you'd like to hear and we'll send them with no obligation, except that you will give a listen and return the tapes, either immediately or after you have used them.

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
(Each number has five 5 to 7 minute spots of conversation except where otherwise noted)

1962 - LIST A

A1 EVERY CHILD HAS HIS PRICE
Do our vast and flourishing slums produce a special kind of child, pre-damned to a life of delinquency, squalor, marginal living at public expense? Or are these gutter gangsters-in-miniature capable of growing up to compete with your children and mine for jobs in industry, science and the arts? Are they a load on our backs or can they take a vital part in the world struggle for the minds and hearts of men -- for freedom and democracy? This is the question which heroic people in and around the Chester A. Arthur School are confronting on the lowest human level in a great American city. You read about them in "TIME" (August 24). Now hear them talking about What? Why? How? The educational leader with the job he dreamed of as a lad - The principal, himself product of bitter poverty and deprivation - The fifth grade teacher who turned to teaching because the jobs he really wanted were all closed to him - The college grad who just wouldn't believe it when wiser and more experienced people told him what children couldn't do - (One of them had $800 damage done to his car while he was doing a special job of helping). Now children in grade five, who couldn't read up to their grade, are reciting Shakespeare by the hour, playing chess for fun, staying after school to learn Algebra, and making the truant officers forget their names. Whatever the price for a healthy child in an evil environment these people are willing and anxious to discover it - and to pay it!

A1XX Same material in half hour program, highly recommended if you can use it in this form. We'll send both if you wish. A number of stations use both forms.

A2 MARK AND DOROTHY VAN DOREN
This jumps to the extreme opposite end of the educational scale, where those of whom a very great deal is expected in one of our finest schools have been taught by one of the greatest American teachers. One of our most popular previous tapes was with these two fascinating people. This one is even better! This, like the TV show you saw recently, was made in their charming Connecticut home. The best people can be the most fun!

A3 RICHARD HAMLIN - RURAL MINISTER OF THE YEAR
This amazing man was selected by Progressive Farmer -- and you will see why. Hear how he buried a church - and had his life threatened in consequence. When he decided to enter the ministry he had to go back to finish high school - right beside his own children! There are things here you never knew about what it takes to make a country preacher.

A4 DR. JACQUES MAY
This doctor was French and is now American, all because he so much loved the people of Viet Nam and wanted to be helpful to them. Now he is helping train more doctors in a hospital in Saigon. The picture he gives of the land and the people, their needs and the way they themselves are rising up to meet them is at once unique and greatly encouraging. He's a very fascinating person.

A5 H. S. SWINGLE
Here's the man who has been said to know more about how to bring up a fish than anybody else in the world. Starting out about twenty-five years ago he raised 150 pounds in an acre in a year. Now he can raise almost three tons on the same acre in seven months. No wonder people from more than thirty countries

come to learn from him how to save millions of people from starvation -- and eager sportsmen -- and ordinary human beings -- rise up to call him blessed, full of fried catfish.

A6 REVOLT IN THE JUNGLE -- GEORGE HAUSER AND MICHAEL SCOTT
Somewhere between ten and fifty thousand people have been killed in Angola in what, a generation ago, anybody would have called a full scale war. The Portuguese government won't let anybody in to look -- or much of anybody out to tell, for that matter. So George Hauser, an American with a great deal of knowledge and experience in Africa, decided to go and have a look for himself -- without any permission from anybody. It was an exciting experience. Michael Scott, an Englishman raised in South Africa -- and now refused permission to return -- tells some of his interesting adventures in the search for freedom in this nearby area and its relation to the rest of the world.

A7 CHIRENJE - NKOSI - KUHANGUA - THOLOE - MALINA
What would it be like to have four mothers all at once? What games does a small boy play in the African veldt? What's it like to be hunted like an animal in your native land -- with the borders closed against you? Here are men who feel they are preparing themselves to go home and play such parts as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, John Jay, Alexander Hamilton played in the early days of our country. (And some of them know more about our own founding fathers than some of us do, at that!)

A8 BARBARA REYNOLDS
One of the most charming people I've ever met, she found herself and her family projected into a mess they didn't want and didn't make in national and international affairs -- just because they wanted to sail their own boat around the world. She tells a story of how the human spirit can rise to meet whatever situation comes with dignity and power. You'll be glad you've met such a person.

- - - -

File copy
(original on letterhead)

To Whom it May Concern:

For several years the Southern Regional Council has cooperated with Friendly World Broadcasting in preparing materials for use in the South. During the past year we have given modest financial support to assist in the development of the program series, "A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie."

We feel the work of FWB generally has been very helpful. The experimental program series was a success. The number of stations in Alabama and Georgia willing to carry the series exceeded our expectations. While we have no way of evaluating the impact of the series, the programs were interesting and of high professional quality.

Radio continues to be a significant factor in education and entertainment in the South. In the region, too, the program content of most radio stations is of dismally poor quality. Certainly with these factors in mind, there is a valuable role for Friendly World Broadcasting.

Our experience with Mr. Randall and his work leads us to hope that adequate financial support can be found to continue and expand this work. From the standpoint of our own program interests, we would hope considerable attention could be given to race relations in the Deep South since, from the experiment cited above, we are convinced the service makes a real contribution.

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

July 10, 1963

PA
Pls see me
MJ

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Les:

In spite of the fact that our financial future is no brighter than usual at the moment I feel that we have too much to lose by not issuing another regular listing soon. We've done none since last winter on account of the involvement in Alabama. We aren't even, as you know, sure of enough to keep "Yankee" going next year. But the need seems so to be increasing we can only go ahead as if we could keep on. So we are planning another listing for early September and we want, as usual, a strong program on integration to head it.

It seems to me it would be good to tell the story of a city that is moving ahead without too much fuss by negotiation - a bi-racial committee, if possible - if there is such a town. Do you have one to suggest? Or perhaps we could combine a couple, either to show different phases or a contrast.

Recently I saw a story about Macon, Georgia, which indicated there might be such a story there. You will know if this is true. In this morning's N. Y. Times there's a story by Claude Sitton about Newton, Georgia. You probably know about this, too. Two years ago no Negroes registered to vote, now 300 out of the town total of 1,800 - and they hope soon to have 1,000. Would these, in your judgement, be suitable subjects? Or do you have something better to suggest. One advantage in these is that they are both close enough to Alabama so that we could make one trip for material on both counts. I'd like to have the project begin as soon as possible next month and I expect to have Jack Marion with me.

Thanks for your help.

Did you see the letters we had from Alabama stations and people after the end of our first year? I was quite overwhelmed by the response. The stuff we have been peddling has been pretty strong, too. I think most of the people who wrote really understand what we are up to and approve more highly than they would want to be accused of.

As ever,

Ed

V

SOME OF THE NUMBERS OF "A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE"
49 - 60

49. The Yankee gets to Dothan but comes up with a very sore foot and a number of miscellaneous troubles which send him hot-footing home into even more troubles -- and worse ones -- about which we shall hear next week. And Dr. Truman Pierce, Dean of the School of Education of Auburn University, discusses the idea that Alabama is a rich state -- and how to be even richer.

50. Jim Matthews, Lowdnes County Agricultural Agent, tells about how difficult times have come and of how men of courage have undertaken to meet new challenges. Sherman Livings explains a program for meeting similar problems of unemployment in the little city of Evergreen. Oh yes! The Yankee does get home, but isn't too happy even after he does so.

51. Aunt Plumy Hiatt tells about the rugged courage of great old John Hiatt of Chandler Mountain. And Dr. Cranford H. Burns, Superintendent of Schools, Mobile, tells about a boy who was a "drop-out" and how, with the encouragement of a devoted teacher, he really made the grade. (I know there's background noise with Dr. Burns, but I think his stuff is so good I hope you can endure it. My new recorder (a "UHER") surprisingly picked it right out of the air.)

52. This - by request - is a repeat of #5, which is all about our theme, "Greensleeves," with bits of several arrangements. We celebrate proudly the completion of our first full year of broadcasting this program in Alabama -- more than fifty times each week! Thank you!!!

53. We start our second year. Dr. Earl C. Beck, world authority on folk lore and music, tells another hilarious lumberjack story and explains how "Home on the Range" came to be written and became popular. (First man recorded for "Yankee.")

54. We continue celebrating by talking with the people with whom the show began a year ago, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Traylor of Sardis, who explain their way of life in fascinating fashion.

55. The story of the man who wanted to leave a million dollars to a university and changed his mind. Some more conversation with Sherman Livings, of Evergreen, who really believes in people -- especially young people -- and about why several girls decided to be nurses -- which always puzzles the Yankee.

56. A quote from the new superintendent of schools of New York and more conversation with an Alabamian who believes in education and in people, Editor Louis Eckl of the Florence Times, in which he touches carefully on a difficult subject along with a couple of the more hilarious incidents in the long and useful life of a country doctor, Dr. Isbell of Albertville.

(OVER)

57. Letters from nice people like Tillman Spear, La Pine, Mahlon Stead, Greenville, and W. A. Nelson, Prattville (with a piece of poetry!). Guy Kelley, Superintendent of Education in Evergreen for Conecuh County, tells about elections and county superintendents -- and some of the financial problems of schools.

58. The Yankee talks about really liking Alabama and about all of us being, so to speak, in the same family, where we can be proud of one another. And one of the great builders of modern civilization in Alabama, Thomas Martin of the Alabama Power Company, tells about some of the difficulties, in an international arena, of getting going with power in the state. It's an exciting and dramatic story of real heroism and hard work!

59. Dr. Nathaniel Welsh, of Auburn, talks about his personal ambition to help his native state and the way he is working it out. Dr. Crawford Burns, Superintendent of Schools in Mobile, talks about going to New York to complete his professional education with no other thought in mind but to return to Alabama to teach. This is a kind of loyalty to the state that can't be measured in cash values. It's the basic reason why there are so many fine schools in the state.

60. While Alabama moves from country to city it's best not to think too little of the farming business and the farmers, as Fred Rue, County Agent at Brewton for Escambia County, makes clear. Fred's father warned him against farming. State Agricultural Extension Director Fred Robertson grew up on a farm, too.

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

file

June 16, 1964

Mr. Edwin Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting Company
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Although we hope very much that you can bring your program into Georgia, I am afraid that we are not in a position to help financially. I wish we were, but as we have discussed before, the funds which we used with you earlier were from a special project which has wound up.

I will be glad to do anything I can at any time in the way of endorsing fund requests you may make elsewhere. I am glad to hear that your tax exemption application is moving along. I don't believe that your ability to receive funds through Auburn University is any real substitute for having exemption in your own name.

This is a gratuitous comment, perhaps, but I expect you may find that potential donors will be a little hesitant about giving funds for a project in affiliation with the Georgia Association of Broadcasters They may ask, as I did, why the broadcasters can't pay.

Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MJ - file

Must A Man Ride The Right Horse?

Asheville Citizen 7/20/65

If the Raleigh newsmen are right, Governor Dan Moore is preparing to replace George Randall as director of State Prisons because Randall supported Richardson Preyer in the last gubernatorial primary.

It seems sort of a pity. Randall has brought to the prisons program intelligent direction and a dedicated zeal that belies his "country boy" facade. He originated a "work release" plan that has attracted national attention. And whatever drums he beat for Preyer were not rudely audible in the clamor of a campaign that imposed abnormal pressures on State department heads.

Of course, the Raleigh savants may be wrong. At one time or another, they had Dan Moore killing off the "Good Neighbor" racial commission, doing away with the Board of Higher Education. and anointing Beverly Lake as a kind of "assistant governor."

None of those things happened.

But, if George Randall is sacrificed on the altar of "practical politics," the state pays dearly for a callous tradition.

Make folder: George W. Randall (Phil Prevost Corresp. filed in "RA" Gen) file in RA Section

The Shelby Daily Star

Henry L. Weathers, Publisher James P. Allen, Editor
Ned Smith, Business Manager Lindsey E. Dail, Advertising Mgr.

4—Saturday, July 31, 1165

Timely Recognition

Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach on Thursday before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee was lavish in his praise of the North Carolina prisons system and asked that Congress specifically adopt a work release system for federal prisoners patterned after the program pioneered in North Carolina.

N. C. PRISONS Director George Randall testified also and the statistics he rattled off were impressive.

Although it probably was not intended to be so, this little federal-state episode was a tribute to Randall and the caliber of his effectiveness as head of this state's penal system. And for Randall personally, it could not have come at a more opportune time.

Persistent rumors and news reports contend that Gov. Dan Moore is prepared to replace Randall. The alleged reason is that the prisons director may have been just a little too enthusiastic and open during 1964 in his support of gubernatorial candidate L. Richardson Preyer.

THE GOVERNOR has remained mum on the subject, although one report held that Randall's resignation already is on the governor's desk. Randall has said he has not tendered his resignation. That, apparently, is how the situation now stands.

Our observation is that George Randall has proved himself an effective administrator whose program innovations have resulted in tangible benefits — monetary and otherwise — to the state he serves. This is not the sort of man one dismisses without great justification.

HIS PROFESSIONAL contributions undoubetly far outweigh any political damage he may have inflicted upon candidate Moore in 1964.

The governor's continued silence on the subject may mean that he is aware of this. We hope so.

Read 7/21/65

File "RA" - gen.

(Attach to head ltr of July 15)

RA ✓
MI

State of North Carolina
Prison Department
Raleigh 27603

GEORGE W. RANDALL
DIRECTOR

July 19, 1965

(840 West Morgan St)
Raleigh

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I was delighted to receive your letter of July 15 and to know that your proposal to Ford will include the program for corrections.

Thanks for sending your annual report and other publications. I thoroughly enjoyed reading them. Your report is most interesting, stimulating, and truly encouraging. If you have not seen the feature article in the current Look Magazine, be sure to get it.

Perhaps I can get down to Atlanta before long. I would like very much to visit with you in your headquarters and to meet some of your staff.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

George

George W. Randall

GWR/mfb

file
~~"No" - gen.~~
"RA" - gen
Cr. ref - "No" - gen
+ Ford Fd.

July 15, 1965

Mr. George W. Randall
Director
North Carolina Prison Department
831 W. Morgan Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Randall:

I greatly enjoyed our talk.

Our proposal to Ford is going up this week, and from here on we can only pray. We have included in it provision for your program. We hope deeply that we may have the privilege of your association.

Do you ever get down this way? We would like so much to have you come in and visit. In the meantime, I am sending you, under separate cover, a copple of our publications.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MEMORANDUM July 14, 1965

To: BCCook

From: MMJohnson

Bernice,

Please package up the following and mail to Mr. George W. Randall in Raleigh (label attached):

Rudwick police study
ENCOUNTER...
Henderson study
Coles study
1964 Annual Report (with insert)

thanx, mmj

September 7, 1965

Mr. George W. Randall
Director
North Carolina Prison Department
831 W. Morgan Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear George:

That was a fine story in the New York *Times* about a fine program.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 8, 1965
f

Mr. George W. Randall
Director
North Carolina Prison Department
831 W. Morgan Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Randall:

We are still hopeful that the Ford Foundation will act on our request on October 1. The more I think of the possibility of the Southern Regional Council financing your work, the more the idea appeals to me. In fact, it appeals to me so much that I am beginning to be fearful that the federal government or someone else will lure you away before we are able to make final arrangements.

This letter is merely to express our continued interest, and to assure you that we will be in touch with you immediately after the first of next month.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director, Designate

PA/mmj

File Randall, Geo.

September 28, 1965

Mr. George W. Randall
Director
Prison Department
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Randall:

While the news of your plans is not surprising, it is distressing. I am certain the position in Oregon represents an excellent opportunity, and I commend that state for having gotten you. But Oregon's gain is certainly our loss.

We will know soon I think what, if anything, Ford will do in the way of a grant. At that time I would still like to explore with you any possibilities for writing or occasionally doing consultant work with us.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

State of North Carolina
Prison Department
Raleigh 27603

GEORGE W. RANDALL
DIRECTOR

DAN K. MOORE, GOVERNOR

COMMISSIONERS
CLYDE H. HARRISS, CHAIRMAN
MRS. E. F. ALLEN
FRED S. CATES
EDGAR J. GURGANUS
HAMPTON D. HAITH
J. R. HOOKS
JACK MOODY

September 23, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director, Designate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please pardon my delay in replying to your nice letter of September 8, 1965. I want you to know that I sincerely appreciate the confidence that you have expressed in me and I assure you that I am tremendously interested in the work of the Council and particularly the work that you discussed with me. There are many many possibilities for improving corrections in the South. The sooner someone like the Council and the Ford Foundation get started, the better it will be for everyone.

As it became known that I was leaving the North Carolina Prison Department, several states and the Federal Government discussed various positions with me. I have finally decided to accept a position as Director of Corrections for the State of Oregon. This is a non-political job in a very progressive state. My responsibilities in addition to corrections will include juvenile corrections and work with various private and governmental agencies in the area of crime prevention. Since this is a career position and offers splendid opportunities to make real contributions in the field of corrections and offers security for my family, I feel that I have made the best choice. Frankly, I have some doubt about my abilities in the research field. I am inclined to think that I can make the best contributions where I will be more directly associated with offenders and those responsible for their welfare. I am confident that you will be able to find a much better man to handle the work that needs to be done for the Council.

I am sure that you know of my interest in the work that is sponsored by you and the Ford Foundation and want you to know that while I cannot participate full-time, I would welcome an opportunity to make such contributions as my new position may permit in any studies that you undertake.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

George W. Randall

GWR/jp

File
~~Pat~~
Randall, George W.

November 8, 1965

Mr. George W. Randall
c/o State Prison Commission
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Randall:

We continue to suffer here over the loss of your services to the Council and to the region. (In fact, I have come to the conclusion that any state enlightened enough to hire you doesn't really need you. The South certainly does.)

This is to ask your reaction to three items:

1) Now that we've lost you, do you have any suggestions as to other suitable candidates?

2) Our proposal in this area of work was very personal -- based on your availability. If we are unable to staff this project as planned, what modifications can you suggest? Is there another area of need? Should we compensate for the loss of George Randall and that forces us to ask these favors of you.

We trust your new situation will be pleasant and rewarding for you and your family.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:nm

bc:
Mrs. Julie Wheeler
3724 Warrington Dr.
Charlotte, N. C. 28211

Clips filed in Research

File
~~Randall, E.D.~~
Friendly World...
Edwin Randall

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Randall, Edwin T.

REGARDING

Application for funds for Friendly World Broadcasting (submitted to LWD)

(DATE)
January 14, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Paul Anthony (holding for further action of 1/20/66)

File — Randall (Edwin T.) (Friendly World Broadcasting)

January 20, 1966

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your long and good letter of the 14th.

I have talked with Les Dunbar at the Field Foundation, and he promises to review your several letters which have come to him, and to take some action soon. Field has a board meeting sometime in February. Les was particularly interested in your ideas about expanding into Mississippi. It might be a good idea for you to write to him a brief letter bringing him up to date on your hopes for Mississippi and including the minimum figure that you would need to at least begin the two-state operation.

I have also talked with John Griffin, and I think you may be able to get a little help there, though it will likely be quite modest. If it possibly fits into your schedule, I would prefer reacting and having further conversations with the Southern Education Foundation after we know what Field will do. I am convinced that

Les will at least give your application serious consideration, but he should have an up to date clarifying statement on your plans, and as realistic a minimum figure as you can give him.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 1/17/66

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

January 14, 1966.

Mr. Paul Anthony,
The Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Paul:

I'll give you the best picture I can of the present situation and financial needs. It isn't simple and I could do better if we could talk, but I am sure you will understand and of course if I raise any questions I shall be glad to answer them

We are presently in 31 stations daily and an additional 7 stations once a week in Alabama. We can continue this as long as possible with $10,000 a year, and doubtless add a few stations.

In getting started in Alabama we had about $4,000, most of which came from your organization. We could do about the same thing in Mississippi. We started out with about 25 weekly users and had before the end of the year 64. We should do at least as well, relatively, in Miss. I should hope to do better since the opportunity is larger and we may have learned something. Since we are already in operation in Alabama, and I would hope to continue there, we could probably do the Mississippi job for $3,000 this year. To go on a daily basis there - which I would like to do more quickly than we did in Alabama, would take about the same $10,000 per year at least until we could merge the two operations, and how long it would take to do this would depend on circumstances.

This contemplates a kind of subsistence operation which I am entirely willing to continue, but only if it the best we can do. Presently Clara and I are doing all the work, and have been for several months. This is a drain on our individual and collective energies which somewhat adversely affects the quality of the programs and probably reduces the length of time I can keep going. Beyond this questions of where to spend would depend somewhat on what was available. If we had another $7,500 we could have the duplicating and mailing done by somebody else, away from the house, and this would be a great relief. If we had a further $7,500 - $10,000 I could find a helper, such as I had part of last year and the year before, to do a great deal of the routine work of production. With another $5,000 we could get a quantity of secretarial help which would enable us to do a better and a larger job - and which even the most casual attention to this typing will indicate that we need desperately. One of the biggest single drains on both my disposition and my endurance is the trip to and from the field. They ought to be more frequent than we have been able to afford recently. The drive down and back, under the happiest circumstances,

is pretty rugged and particularly troublesome since as soon as I get home I have to go to work on making use of the material collected. All of this could be greatly improved by being able to fly both ways. This would require either having the extra machinery needed (and too much to be taken on a plane) either cached in Alabama or Mississippi or having a helper who could drive down ahead of my flying, and who could also be a great help in the field. This would require another 5 to 15 thousand according to how much was available and which of several alternatives would provide the best balance between cost, convenience and comfort, and improvement of the programs and extension of their range.

Two years ago we had about $30,000, mostly from Auburn University School of Education. On that we managed very nicely. We had help. I flew most of the time. The programs approximated the best I could do. I would think that, with care, we could still operate on this basis in one state and, when the program could be merged, as I think it should be for a number of reasons, the increased cost for wider distribution would be relatively slight.

However, this does not provide for what to me is the most important part of the need. I would like for this to go on. For this to happen I will have to find two or three (hopefully) young men who can learn everything I know and add some of their own to keep it going. For this we ought to have at least another $25,000 available as we found people who could provide help beyond the routine. This additional cost would have to begin with whatever extent the operation had at the time, but such an organization would make possible, in fact for acquiring actual experience on the job would have to expand into other states, so that it wouldn't be simply an increase in the cost of operating in Alabama or Mississippi, or both.

So, to summarize: We need $10,000 to keep going in Alabama. We need an additional $3,000 to open up Mississippi on a weekly basis, $10,000 to get going there on a daily basis. We would need $25,000 to operate in Alabama on a reasonably satisfactory basis considering human conservation and quality of program, in addition to needs for entering Mississippi. We would need a basic $50 - 65,000 to operate with the intention of permanence of any kind and possible expansion. One problem is that there is no spot in between where we couldn't carry on some kind of operation where we would really be providing the customers with their money's worth.

It's fair to consider what we are getting for our money. On Feb. 2, upcoming, we will have completed two years of daily broadcasts on an average of 40 stations each day, or a total of 27,000 broadcasts. If, as has been very conservatively estimated, we have an average of 10,000 per broadcast, this would mean that we have talked for fifteen minutes to 270 million people, and not any selected group of people, but just people. Thia means that our broadcasts have cost less than $2 each. The value of the time provided by the stations for each of these broadcasts is probably in excess of $20. This means that in the course of these two years we have operated a more than half million dollar project. We could, with attention we cannot now afford to give, more than double the number of stations without greatly increasing

the cost. I do not think we would ever be in danger of running the unit cost above $2 except perhaps for brief periods of expansion. I don't know any other way of reaching people under any circumstances for any such rate as 50 people for 1¢.

There are a coupl of other thoughts. I am very reluctant to quit in Alabama because we have built up an acceptance that we would lose by any kind of break in continuity. We are just getting to the place where we can really say what we want to say. My own feeling is that the most important function is to get white people acquainted with Negro people. Just last night I recorded Dr. John Hope Franklin in what I consider a most excellent program for just this purpose and which I am sure I can use before the end of this year. I've been working up to this and if we quit now whatever good we may have done we still lose a great possibility for the future. Incidenatlly, Dr. Franklin told me that he is speaking at the University of MIsissippi this summer. This will give me an excellent tie-in.

There is nothing in the estimates for me or for Clara. We havenot, as I think you are aware, taken anything out of this project from the start, just as Ethel and I never took anything from it while she was alive. In fact recently we have been putting our own resources into keeping the thing going, though we have nothing except my Social Security and a Methodist pension and Clara's salary from the Philadelphia school board. This is in continuance of the policy Ethel and I started with when we were making enough from commercial broadcasting to finance it as a kind of hobby. This is not because we hate money. Pierce was asking the Ford Foundation for $100,000, and if we had gotten it I should have happily accepted a quite generous emolument, as I still would in any comparable situation.

But the overriding fact is that I am concerned about an idea which I think is of prime importance. I think I have stumbled (with a lot of luck and a lot of help) upon an idea of really immense importance. I think we have immediatelymat hand a means of influencing people for good things which we have only to reach out our hands and grasp. Whatever we have done already in Alabama is important mainly as a demonstration of what can be done with the use of radio (and in s imilar way TV, when there is money enough) to reach every regular listener by providing a program of suffieient interest so that he thinks it's fun to listen to. If we can talk to the Kluxers in Alabama about race relations - and we are (and even more important talking to the people the Kluxers are also talking to) - then we can talk to anybody about anything. I don't know why it is so difficult to get people to see what we are doing when the demonstration is actually in operation, but I have tried. Nobody knows how much farther we will have to go before we strike fire in a big way, but in the meantime we can be doing some exceedinlgy effective work for good human relations. If we could provide such a demonstration as would attract finance which would make it possible for us not only to spread across the entire south but to do a similar job in the north we might really change the emotional climate of the country. This is why I am concerned. I don't care who gets the credit or how it is worked out. But I don't think we can afford to lose what we have already gained if we are to use this instrument which God has given to keep from going over the edge.

I am perfectly aware that this sounds as if I had delusions of grandeur. Well, maybe I do, and if that's all there is to it you have a right to judge for yourself. I am sure there have been people I have talked to who lost interest on this point. But I do think I have my finger tips on an idea that could make a very great deal of difference to everybody.

Thanks profoundly for your patience.

I am sending you a set of the Christmas week programs. If you haven't time for all of them listen to Friday and Saturday. They will give you most of the idea, though I would like for you to hear them all.

Sincerely,

Ed

Rec'd 2/16/66

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

MJ

February 14, 1966.

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I give up!

I surrender!

The continuation of the effort to extract a few thousand dollars from the Lords of Freedom who determine the distribution of the millions devoted to wiping out the shame of the white race is no longer for me. I'm even doubtful if I might not have been farther ahead today if I hadn't ever made any such effort but had continued to maintain the project out of my own pocket as Ethel and I started to do some fifteen years ago.

But I still think you are making a mistake.

It was your organizatin that got us on the gravy train and hangering after the Flesh Pots of Egypt when Les asked me, some three years ago, I think, what I would do if I had a thousand dollars. Well, I told him and he gave me the thousand - that was a left-over from some important project - and later added two thousand more and what we did (in Alabama at his suggestion) was about four times as much as I had had the fondest idea we might do. And as we succeeded in doing what I had undertaken to do his interest seemed to fade, particularly with the vast project of the voting registration campaign.

Now time is running out on me and what I have really wanted most was to be able to provide some way for this to go on after I drop dead. Now I will have to resign myself simply to going ahead with what Clara and I can do by ourselves, which may or may not include an advance into Mississippi.

You have talked to Les and the Southern Education Foundation and you and the Southern Education Foundation will wait to see what Les will do and I will tell you at the present moment exactly what Les will do. I don't know why, but I do know what. James McBride Dabbs went with me the second time I saw Max Hahn and he was so pleased with the presentation we made he was sure we could ask for $75,000 with almost certainty of gettin g it and we didn't get a nickle. I don't know why except that future contact was so fuzzy it was clear they had made up their minds pretty solidly and I have an idea Les is heir to whatever it was that decided them. At least he sounded slightly annoyed when I talked to him on

the phone. If he said I had written him "several" letters it confirms the impression I got then. He delayed answering my most recent letter to him - and, I am pretty sure, my only letter to the Field Foundation since his going there, until John Patterson, of Philadelphia, visited him on another matter (on which he reported prompt and favorable action) and spoke to him about our project. He didn't ask in that letter for any further clarification and I don't think he wants any.

You see what puzzles me, if you are still along, is that I have no reason in the world for trying to further this project that you and Les and the Southern Education Foundation don't also have. Not only have we never taken a s cent out of it but it has cost me and my wives more than fifty thousand dolars of personal income through the years we have been operating. I suppose I should be able to understand, after all these years standing with my tin cup out for a few crumbs, that none of you think what I am doing is worth the serious effort of a grown man. This could be true. I could be quite wrong and I would be only too happy to have my error pointed out to me because there are a lot of angles about this thing that are not exactly fun. But until I do have my error pointed out to me, as I think a good Christian brother ought to be willing to try to point it out, I must act on my conviction that God has given me a special, even if not exactly momentous, talent for a special purpose which might be of value in this difficult field. I am, I believe, deeply sincere about wanting guidance, if you have any for me, far more even than money, if I am in error. So, if you are still with me, please stay on a little longer.

This letter has been delayed not from lack of interest but because I didn't want to respond just off the top of my head and I have been thinking deeply about what to say ever since receiving your letter. Last night when I was sure I would have to write today I got out your October 1965 "New South" and re-read Maggie's heart-breaking appeal that southern people be thought of as human beings. Then I found myself re-reading all thenrest of that remarkable issue. And more than ever before I found myself astounded that peolle who could publish such a number of such a periodical couldn't find a use for what we are trying to do. Years ago Al Gaines, of Atlanta, said to me, "Ed, we have a great responsibility to the red neck who disagrees with us to make our position clear to him, talking in his own terms." I don't see that anybody else in the movement is interested in anything else in this area as much as he is in "confrontation." I don't like to be "cpnfronted" myself and I can't suppose anybody else does, either. There's some good book that says, "Come, let us reason together." Now that calls for our understanding his reasons - as Maggie and Eliza Heard make so clear - as well as fprcing him to consider ours. And this is exactly what we are not only trying to do but, I belive very firmly, are actually doing in the limited geographical area within which we have had the money to operate.

What are we doing for the mine-run southerner who hasn't (not even yet) examined his prejudices since he was born with them?

In the main, two things.

First: We are giving him a chance to express himself. This is more important than you might think at first. We have talked with more than five hundred Alabama people of all kinds and conditions. Every one of them has had opportunity to talk about anything he wanted to. More than a fourth of them have chosen to say something about race relations. Only two of these have I found it impossible to use, one of them at the request of the station manager, who was with me at the recording and had, in fact, asked me to record that particular person. The rest of them have all given something worth broadcasting and worth the careful and often prayerful consideration of the listeners. Now that is a very small drop in the whole Alabama bucket - except for the odd fact that there is a mystery about radio that makes the listener feel himself a participant, if he is given a chance. So most of the Alabama people who have listened have heard an Alabamian with whom he could identify himself very readily say things that found an answer in his own heart and consequently made it easier for him to go on and say that kind of thing to his neighbors. I know this happens.

Second: We are giving them a chance to hear. The people they listen to are not propagandists. If anybody starts propaganda I cut it out - or I would. This has happened so rarely as to be almost inconsiderable. But the people he hear sare obviously "In" people, bankers, editors, farmers, merchants, educators, and some quite authentic "hill billies." It is done as a part of an entertainment program - the station manager in Selma says it's one of the most popular programs on his air - and often he is quite unaware of the direction in which the conversation is moving. He just thinks it's part of getting acquainted with interesting people. Now this doesn't worry me, because this is the way he got his prejudices. Nobody set out to indoctrinate him! And therefore this is the way he is also going to get rid of them. I ate with the Rotary Club of Selma and found myself quite a hero. More than half the men there listen frequently to the show and many of them asked questions about specific people showing that they listened with some attention. Now when they begin to act differently because of all the stuff that is being stored up in their sub-conscious minds by people they accept without question I don't care a fig whether they even know how they got that way. But I know just as surely as God made the world they can't listen to people talk the way people talk on my program and not eventually change some of their ways of thinking and acting.

The movement is not in touch with these people. The high point of this gap seems to me to have been reached in Anniston, where the Movement people, while the jury was out, were engaged in printing their notices for a meeting of protest against the verdict of acquittal, which they fully expected. Obviously they were not in touch with the general community, which has certainly shifted its point of view since the burning of the bus. There are people who think we have had some influence in that direction. We have been on the largest station there daily since we began our daily programs and on the other two stations oce a week since we bagan weekly. I will enclose a friendly letter we had from the sales manager some time after the Christmas week broadcasts as an indication of how they look upon the program.

Now what makes this all so important is what Maggie was saying in that October issue about southern people aren't really monsters and you don t have to hate them to believe in freedom. I'd like to say the same thing from my own angle as an outsider, which I know I am.

The fact that everyone has to be loved to live is presently axiomatic. With the southerner this involves not only family and community loyalty but a very deep loyalty to "Our Southern Way of Life." This is not said in derision but also not without a tiny shade of envy. It grew out of the terrible consequences of war, made even more terrible because the very cohesiveness of the enormous group tended to perpetuate many misfortunes. And still it is a proud thing to be a "southerner." There's a similar unity among Negro people which the rest of us can only dimly understand because their form of suffering and humiliation is far more distant from our imagination than that which has drawn the southern whites together. "Manners" and all that means is at least one of the primary characteristics of that tight "In" group. A real Southerner will casually ignore the restrictions of segregation to keep his manners impeccable, as James Dabbs so well points out. So race attitudes are only a part, and may even on occasion be an incidental part, of this total concept of our "Southern Way of Life."

The importanf fact is that the man who breaks with this "Way of Life" in any offensive way (and perhaps there isn't any other) becomes an outcast. This is numerously illustrated by the several families who have been driven out of McComb and other communities . Some of these people weren't even aware, when the "offense" was committed, that it was an "offense," but they have been driven outnevertheless. Now I do not think we can expect to win, in the face of such solidarity, by snatching here and there a brand from the burning. What we must do is leven the whole lump withn some different attitudes, so inconspicuoously presented as not to be frightening or to threaten the listeners position in the group where membership means so much to him.

The Klan has been allowed to flourish and has flourished because people in general have supposed that it's ideals have been those generally accepted by the entire group. They have regretted often the methods but they have closed their minds and hearts because what was being defended was so very precious to them. The Klan people undoubtedly still feel that they are carrying the load for the entire south, that what they stand for is almost if not quite universally approved and that their methods are necessary to keeping "Our Southern Way of Life" intact. This connection will cease as soon as the general public becomes aware that Klan methods destroy and do not defend the "Southern Way of Life."

To my way of thinking it would be tragic to find that we had destroyed so much that is wonderful and beautiful about the friendly, mannerly, gentle, cooperative Southern Way of Life in order to short cut the way to the most important reform. It would be an unspeakable tragedy to "Yankeeize" the south in order to enforce an attitude which we Yankees do not find ourselves accepting presently in our own part of the country. Actually, I think we need in the north as much as in the South the warm words of hope and respect for Negroes so splendidly expressed by the people I talk to.

So this is what we are up to. We, Clara and I, are going to keep doing it as long as God gives us strength, and she keeps her job with the Philadelphia Board of Education. That is our only source of income except my Social Security and my extremely modest Methodist preacher's pension. For more than a year now I have been sure that I could not make another trip without having somebody along to help with the heavier and more toilsome work, entirely apart from my desire to have somebody I could train to use the microphone. But I would rather wear myself out at this than eke out a few more days of tremulous existence.

But if you, or anyone else who knows what we are up to, feel that we are mistaken and engaged in an operation useless, or even perhaps harmful to the cause of righteousness, if you fail to let me know you are doing us an injustice and disservice far beyond the question of financial support.

Actually, neither Clara or myself would like to have anybody jelp grudgingly, or because we had nagged him into it. We are having more fun doing this than we could think of having in any other way - although we still wouldn't want to keep on kidding ourselves if competent people like yourself felt that we ought to quit - and we would like to share the responsibility only with whoever would like to throw in with us in an enterprise so new we feel we haven't been able to give enough help to other people to understand exactly what it is.

One other part of our project I should like to mention. We are increasingly able to give southern white people some elements of friendship with a type of Negroes and sectors of Negro life they have never known. A young fellow who spent his Peace Corps years - by his own choice - in an almost totally Negro population of the Island of St. Lucia explained his reasons for the choice. "At home you never get to associate with Negro people, I mean, except a maid or a yard man, and I wanted to find out what it would be like. I found that once you get among them it is no time at all before you just think of yourself as a member of the group without any distinction of race." Well, there is this mistique of radio by which the listener feels himself a participant and the people at the microphone guests in his own home. This last year we have had six Negroes as "Guests of the Week," meaning each of them has been on all six days of one week, and others at additional times. We had a whole series of Tuskeegee people who remember Dr. George Washington Carver, and I am sure hundreds of thousands of them had never before heard an intelligent, cultured Negro talk about anything that was entertaining or of any importance to them.

So all of this is part of why I have importuned you, and others, to' throw in with us on this project. I have no doubt of my ability to provide the broadcasts. It isn't as good as I wish it were, but it is obviously good enough to serve the purpose and it would have been of no avail had a better man been given this task without means of support. Obviously I haven't had the skill to make the proper approaches for enlisting support, and I have tried to figure out why. But I haven't been too much worried because I have always been sure that if the thing weren't actually being done and we could show it in operation nobody would believe it could be done. I am

sure there are people now who just brush the whole idea off as impossible and persuade themselves that I am deluded. But it has been almost as much as I could do at any time since we were started just to keep the show on the road. So what I have been able to do in the way of soliciting funds has always been with my left hand, so to speak. But I have thought that some of your people who hade a special responsibility for this whole great project would catch fire on it as a possibility and want to help.

One other reason I have found it difficult to understand the general reluctance in our direction has been the obvious willingness, rather eagerness, to make use of broadcasting on a large scale. For example, the National Council of Churches of Christ rushed with money to keep that Mississippi station on the air after they lost all their advertisers. Of course the NCCC was doubtless aware that there was a good chance they had also lost most of their listeners, but apparently they poured a lot of money into the project. Then I was informed that somebody had provided a half million dollars to build a Freedom station in Mississippi. Here again the problem of who would listen didn't seem a factor. Of course to me it seems foolish to devote money to building and maintaining a station when hundreds of stations are ready to provide us time to say all that the listeners can be taught if we will take the trouble to puj it into good radio form. Professionals in Alabama have estimated that we have the use of at least a quarter million dollars worth of time every year at standard rates, and it costs us nothing but the production and distribution of the programs. The stations not only furnish us the time but also he audience. But, at least, this illustrates, as a number of other events do also, that people in the Movement have some regard for the possible usefulness of radio and TV.

I hope none of this sounds bitter. Of course I am troubled, but not that way. I can't help feeling that there is some place along the way where I have fallen down in presentation, because I know you and all the others involved are quite as sincerely devoted to freedom and righteousness as we are and because we are so deeply involved in this one rather narrow groove you can see the entire field with must greater clarity and sounder perspective. And before she died Ethel and I devoted considerable time and thought and conversation to what was even then a baffling problem. And we can together to the conclusion that if we never got any additional help we were still privileged beyond any reasonable expectation to be able to speak as widely and with as much acceptance as we have had from the start and that to be impatient with others because they didn't want to help us would, in reality, be impatience with God.

S So this is all, if you are still with me, preliminary to saying "Thank you, sincerely." Because if it hadn't been for the Southern Regional Council we never would have had the nerve to jump into Alabama and it has been an incredible amo amount of fun and the challenge to keep moving forward enough so as always to have a cutting edge and at the same time not to go so fast as to lose our audience has been very thrilling and the fact that we have walked this narrow line so well is, I am pretty sure, at least as gratifying as anything else could be. After all, we could have had a mint of money and blown it all by being either too cautious or too reckless.

I should, I think, tell you that June 30 will be my 70th birthday, so from then on I shall be living on borrowed time anyhow. So you see this is no subtle effort to get the money out of you by hook or crook. It is entirely possible that the last moment has passed when I could have set up a staff that could go on with this project and whether or not I could have a competent helper on my future trips, if any, would prolong the project at best only a matter of weeks. There are a few people who want to help. A Quaker meeting here in Philadelphia has a breakfast meeting for us once a month and always sends a check for $25 or $30 taken up then. A lad with a foreign service group now working in Laos sends us about every other check of the modest stipend he gets from them. These feed our souls as well as our treasury,

And we really are inexpressible grateful not only that you did give us the chance at Alabama but that you go on so valiently and, on the whole, so judiciously working at the task and seeking the ultimate solution which, I am more fully persuaded than ever, must come from the south and from the very people upon whom the KKK presently depend for what they consider their moral support.

And I would not have you think I am disgruntled. I feel my job has been to do the broadcasting. That's what the good Lord and all the experience of my life have equipped me to do. The rest is with Him. Unless I am deluded, which is certainly a reasonable possibility, there are people who could have and should have helped us out. But who they are and why theu disn't is not even for me to speculate. I have no reason to suppose that, whoever they might be, they are any less devoted to the cause of the Kingdom than we have tried to be. I think I have done the best I could to make anybody who seemed to have the slightest interest as well aware of what was involved as possible, so I think there is really nothing further for me to say to anybody and just growing more shrill and exasperated wouldn't do any real good, even if it might grub us out a few more reluctant dollars.

And if vou really want to do something for us tell me wherein I have come short of what I should have done. Perhaps I could apologize to somebody who might have enjoyed working with us if I hadn't been inadequate. Les said the trouble was with "subsidizing commercial stations," which is as much as anybody has said in explanation, and I still don't know for sure what he meant.

I also apologize for the condition of thie text, but you can see that we don't get along quite so well without a secretary.

Sincerely,

Ed

W-H M A W IA-FM
1390 KCS 100.5 MCS

ANNISTON BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.
STUDIOS - RADIO BUILDING
DIAL 236-7545
Anniston, Alabama

January 7, 1966

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Edwin:

First, I wish to thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me the Christmas card-calendar. It is quite different from any type calendar that I have every received before, and I will treasure it and the thought back of it throughout the year.

We here at WHMA think highly of your broadcast, Yankee In The Heart Of Dixie and are looking forward to broadcasting this outstanding program for many years to come.

With best wishes for your success in 1966, I am

Sincerely yours,

RADIO STATION WHMA-WHMA FM

Ralph

Ralph Burgess
Sales Manager

RB/jrb

P.S. Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of my religious recordings with the Anita Kerr Singers that I made at Columbia Studios in Nashville, Tennessee. I truly hope that you will enjoy it.

Read 7/28/66

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

file

MJ

July 25, 1966.

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Paul:

Here, after a considerable effusion of sweat, if not of blood and tears, is my letter to John Griffin. I have said n othing about the fact that there money has already helped us because I thought that would come better from Truman Pierce, Dean of the School of EDducation of Auburn, through whom it reached us. After I talked to you I called Dean Pierce and he seemed to welcome the opportunity to call Griffin and tell him what he thinks we have accomplished. From past experience with him I am pretty sure he has done so by now. He is not only the man in the best position to estimate what we have accomplished but also - and very happily - the man who seems to have the highest evaluation of our accomplishment.

Clara and I have just made up our minds - after a very careful viewing of the entire landscape - to offer a daily program to MIssissippi stations which will begin with the week of October 3, 1966. This will take quite a bit of doing and will keep my nose pretty close to the grindstone for the next couple of months, but it seems to me that every change in the situation serves to point up the importance of reaching a lot of people not now being favorably reached and of giving the people who would like to line up on the right side if they had a chance the opportunity that looks to them like the chance they want. It seemed to me the report on the Delta Ministry underlined again how vital is this gorssly neglected responsibility. I was impressed also by the statement of the organization of Southern Churchmen to the effect that many good people in the south have never had the problem of segregation presented to them in terms of Christian responsibility and in words they could understand. It seems to me I have also caught more than a shaddow of this dilemma in the pages of that increasingly powerful little publication called, I think, "New South." I am increasingly persuaded that we have here a completely new method for an ancient approach to influencing the human mind which we can never really evaluate until it has been given an extensive trial. So if people like you will support it we can give it that trial. Which words are spokkn out of deep appreciation and gratitude for the fact that we would never have been in Alabama if it hadn't been for SRC.

I have a date with Les for Friday this week. I'm not too hopeful, but I'm sure you helped. He said you had talked to himand he said he'd "take time" to hear some tapes. I've got a couple of lulus. If you'd like to hear them I'll be glad to send copies.

Sincerely,

Ed

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

July 25, 1966.

Mr. John Griffin ,
Southern Educational Foundation,
811 Cypress Street, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Friend:

I thought you might like to know what we have been doing because there is presently an opportunity to give us help which might easily be more attractive to you than we have ever been before.

You knew that we were interested in extending to MIssissippi. By borrowing money for travel and incidental expenses and by doing virtually all the work ourselves my wife and I have collected material which has enabled us to be on 41 stations in Mississippi (out of a total of 87 in operation) once a week. (On at least three stations the program is repeated, broadcast twice a week. So we are broadcasting presently eleven hours a week in Mississippi.

The reception astounded me. Responsible people in the state are more anxious to speak out than their counterparts in Alabama, on the whole. My guess is that we will not to move there with as great caution as we have used in Alabama.

Since our broadcasting started there in May we have collected in relatively small amounts enough money to make possible the beginning of a daily program by the first week in October. We are planning to do this, combining material from the two states so that one program will do for both areas, even though we do not have in direct vision the money necessary to carry on the additional work of what will almost certainly be a double load of duplication and distribution. If we have money for help I am sure we can have up to fifty stations in each state on a daily basis.

We will need at least $15,000.00 for the help needed to continue the daily program in both states on the contemplated enlarged basis. If you could provide us with either all or a substantial part of this amount it would be deeply appreciated and would, I feel, promote the interests you have most deeply at heart among the people most difficult to reach.

We are, as always, emphasizing the importance of education at every level. While reporting on such programs as "Head Start," classes for illiterates, training for "drop-outs," etc., we are continuing to work very closely with the School of Education at Auburn and Dean Truman Pierce. We also have the close cooperation of Spring Hill College, the University of South Alabama, The University of MIssissippi, Mississippi State College for Women, Milsaps

College, St. Bernard's College and Sacred Heart College at Cullman, and Troy State College. We are also working with a considerable number of county and local school people, Jefferson and Mobile Counties in Alabama and such school systems as Cullman, Anniston, Auburn, Tallasee, and Union Springs in Alabama and Meridian, McComb, and Tupelo in Mississippi. This list will lengthen as we continue to record conversations with interesting people.

I am constantly amazed, particularly in Mississippi, at how anxious so many good and respected citizens are willing to say about education and other opportunities for all the citizens of their areas in such terms as are unmistakeable to every listener in the area and much more powerful because they come from those who are not only their own kin and fellow-citizens but already chosen for positions of responsibility and leadership in the communities and in the states. They seem more than eager to take advantage of the opportunity to express themselves to the general public. I hope we can go on providing for such high-minded and courageous people a platform and an audience and if this is the kind of thing you want to have done it will be a privilege to feel that we are working with you.

Incidentally, we are pleased that there is already some feeling among important people that this kind of project in Mississippi ought to have the financial support of Mississippi people, but I think we will be well advised to go no faster than we are compelled to in settling the burden on their shoulders.

Perhaps I ought to add that I am becoming more and more persuaded that we have a very special instrument here for our purpose. I suppose that many of us do-gooders are inclined to feel - as I have for a long time - that it is the word that is important. If we can get the proper word to either the ear or the eye of the one who ought to hear it we have done well - and, doubtless, we have. But there are various ways of "getting" the word and of distributing it. There is no doubt whatever that there is some hitherto unexplained magic in the microphone. Nearly everybody has some essence of experience in life he feels is worth telling to other people - and the very surprising fact is that nearly always, if you can get him to express it simply and straighforwardly, it is worth listening to - and interesting to listen to in the bargain. People who could not write a paragraph or who would not make a speech are sometimes the very best at conversation. It is what religious people used to call "witness," or "testimony," and, if it is real, it is very powerful. It is powerful not only for what it says but in the way in which it is heard. People will listen to and accept for consideration - if not for agreement - such words which, if the same words were offered in a speech, a lecture, or in an effort to persuade, would be forcefully rejected. Thus people here words they would not listen to as persuasion offered as personal conviction and experience and are able to add them to the apperceptive mass out of which convictions are formed and changed. This, I have a feeling, is the way minds have always been changed, only nowwe have a medium which, if we use it wisely, can work this magic by the thousands where heretofore we have been able to do it only with fives and tens - and ones.

This is our story, and our opportunity. I'll be glad to send you a couple of sample programs, if you can take the time to listen to them.

Sincerely,

Edwin Randall

Edwin

A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE
Mississippi Series

WHY? There's no more exciting entertainment than talking to your own kind of people with their hair down! The people of Mississippi deserve to get acquainted with more of the wonderful people who live and work in the state -- so many of whom are known all around the world. After listening to radio for a solid week, I felt sure there is a place for show-casing the fine and wonderful facts. There's entirely too much tendency -- especially in times of stress like these -- to emphasize what we don't like. This creates a real need for something solidly realistic, not at all soupy, but based upon the facts of life that show what a wonderful area this is, and especially what wonderful people are doing such fascinating things. This program is created to meet that need and it will certainly attract a lot of listeners who are just as proud of their state as you are.

WHAT? A series of weekly fifteen minute shows about the State -- but mostly about the people -- of Mississippi. The basic material is easy flowing, casual, and completely unrehearsed conversation with all kinds of people who love their country. We use as a Theme the delightful English folk tune, "Greensleeves," which is a part of the great common heritage of all of us. There is occasionally additional musical material. There are stories of exciting events, personal experiences, funny happenings, historical memories, ideas and efforts which have gone to make Mississippi the remarkable state it is. But you will, I am sure, find each number an authentic and exciting radio show completely on its own. Because we are doing something we feel is important does not at all mean that this is a dull show. It will get you a lot of listeners and hold the ones you have!

WHO? Anybody who loves his homeland is our buddy! We've got big shots and people you never heard of, but they're all exciting people! We'll be glad to use your suggestions for future programs. I really believe very deeply in people. I find there are just as many good wonderful people living rich and useful lives in Mississippi and Alabama as anywhere in the world, and they should have a better chance to know each other, such as only radio can supply. I believe nearly all people want to be better than they are and that nearly everybody has distilled some wisdom from life which he would like to let other people know about -- and it's nearly always worth listening to. Everybody has had some fun and some triumphs. These are our meat!

HOW? When you get the tapes we are sending - LISTEN! Make up your own mind and if you think they would be fun for your own audience start running them weekly. (A number of stations have run each program twice each week.) Sell them, if you want to. (You can still report them as "educational." We have assurance on this direct from the FCC.) Then fill out and mail the enclosed post card so we can put you on the regular list. (Please return the tapes in any event. If you don't use them just mark the package "Refused" and we'll pay the postage at this end.)

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting Company, Inc.
122 N. Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania 19086

SOME OF THE NUMBERS OF "A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE"
Mississippi Edition

1. Owen Cooper, head of the fertilizer company and now of the State Economic Council, about being a Baptist and about growing up on a farm near Vicksburg so he appreciates the fact that whatever milk costs it's worth it. Also what was good about farm life in those days. With Nancy Lippincott, of MSCW, about how proud the Granada Rotarians were when she was elected Miss Future Business Leader of America a couple of years ago and what her daddy said when she was elected "Most Versatile" at MSCW.

2. T. B. Fatheree, State Director of the Farmers Home Administration, about what that organization has done for 60,000 Mississippians who couldn't get help from anybody else -- one in particular. Mrs. Gayle C. Beanland, who really "married adventure," the adventure of a consecrated missionary in the Cameroun, and who telegraphs her name for us, African style.

3. Robert L. Ezelle, last year president of the Jackson Chamber of Commerce, because of whom untold thousands of people sleep more soundly at night, and who tells about how Jackson has grown since he moved there and about the basic wisdom of planning carefully for the future instead of just stumbling into it. And Tanimichi Sugita, who is Pianist in Residence at MSCW, child of a poet and artist who translated the works of Cardinal Newman into Japanese and who gave his son an exceedingly rich heritage of art, ancient and modern. And about how the Yankee found most welcome courtesy and helpfulness at the very beginning of his visit to Mississippi.

4. About what it means to have meat and milk and eggs instead of beans and corn and wheat to eat, and a talk with the top representative of the agency through which this blessing has come to us, W. M. Bost, Director of the Cooperative Extension Service, Mississippi State University. About how the farm family in those days lived in the closeness of stark necessity for all to work, and something about how schools have developed in Mississippi. And Miss Dorothy Oldham, who cares for the Mississippi Collection in the Library at Old Miss. How the records of the state and its important organizations are kept and how dangerous it used to be on the Natchez Trace.

5. About the Yankee on the Natchez Trace Parkway and a talk with President Charles P. Hogarth about the responsibilities of the head of an institution of great historic importance as well as present day usefulness and maybe just a little bit about what it's like to be the "father" of hundreds of adorable girls. George McLean explains how the Tupelo "Daily Journal" has the largest circulation for the population of its area of any daily in the United States and how he moved from teaching - with a little encouragement, you might say, into his present field, which he considers also truly an educational job.

6. About our theme music, "Greensleeves," which is also a Christmas song, "What Child is This"; how we came to choose it, how it came into existence, and several samples of various ways in which it is currently rendered.

BUT THE BEST WAY IS TO GIVE A LISTEN AND SEE FOR YOURSELF!

SECOND SERIES
SOME OF THE NUMBERS OF "A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE"
Mississippi Edition

7. OWEN COOPER, who started the first series. Head of State Economic Council.
Dr. JAMES WEBB, Chairman English Department, University of Mississippi. One of the leading authorities on William Faulkner, co-editor, "William Faulkner of Oxford."

8. GEORGE McLEAN, Publisher, Tupelo Daily Journal, again, about getting pushed out of teaching and into the newspaper, so he wouldn't embarrass anybody.
Dr. CARLTON R. SOLLY, Sociologist of Cooperative Agricultural Extension at Starkville, about how Agriculture has worked so successfully with an entire vocation which has been famous for its spirit of independence.

9. ROBERT EZELLE, Former President, Jackson Chamber of Commerce, about how a boy grew up in Mississippi some years ago.
Dr. L. O. TODD, Superintendent of Meridian Schools, about the excellent education of an outstanding leader in Mississippi education.

10. BISHOP ELLIS FINGER, Jr., Presently Bishop of the Methodist Church in Nashville, recently President of Milsaps College, about how it comes about that a man becomes a bishop in the Methodist Church and a little of what it means to him -- and to the church.
MISS NELL TIMS, of Greenville, and Mississippi State College for Women, about her home town and about a smart girl on a job usually done by a man -- where there are any.

11. BEN (L. B.) FATHEREE, Head of Farmers Home Administration, which does more business in Mississippi than in any other state, and about how responsibility exalts a man and improves a child.
REV. DR. JOHN LAMBERT NEALE, Director of Wesley Foundation, Macon Junior College, a young man of 85 years, who was supposed to be retired twenty years ago but who obviously hasn't found it out yet -- and how he got into the ministry in the first place -- and, believe me, it was in the first place!

12. PRESIDENT CHARLES P. HOGARTH, M.S.C.W., who is the stern (but not too stern) captain of a crew composed entirely of beautiful and charming girls, and about how he really expects them all to be different, which they are, and which is wonderful!
O. F. PARKER, Cooperative Extension Agent, Oktibbeha County, and about the importance of extension in the daily life -- and particularly in the prosperity -- of the Mississippi farmer.

A FEW QUOTATIONS:

"Had heard program on trips through Alabama, Glad you picked Mississippi next."
"We like it!" At least one station is using each show twice.
"I will continue to promote them whenever I can."
"We are very pleased with your new show, 'A Yankee ITHOD,' and have already started using the tapes."

Friendly World Broadcasting Co., Inc.
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa. 19086

WHO IN THE WORLD IS EDWIN T. RANDALL?

This is a good question, under the circumstances, because this is a somewhat personal organization and I'm sure you can't work with us unless you can have some confidence in me. So I will answer as forthrightly and objectively as possible.

I was born in Leavenworth, Kansas (but not as an inmate - my father was pastor of the Methodist Church), on June 30, 1896. Subsequently my father was founder and President of the University of Puget Sound and afterward General (National) Secretary of the Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church. I attended grade schools in Tacoma, Wash., Pasadena, Calif. and Oak Park, Illinois. I attended high school in Oak Park, Anderson, Texas, and Seattle, Washington. I had credits toward my first college degree from the University of Oregon, College of Puget Sound, Princeton University, Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas, and Willamette University, Salem, Oregon. I subsequently received a degree from Northwestern University, with some credits from the University of Chicago. I also received certificates, second and first class, from Baylor University from attendance there.

My college career was interrupted by my enlisting in the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps in 1917, and I was graduated from the U.S. School of Military Aeronautics in 1918.

I have had a variety of jobs including mechanic for the Studebaker automobile agency in Seattle, Telegraph editor of the "Daily Statesman," Salem, Oregon, probation officer of the Juvenile Court of Cook County (Chicago), a member for three years of the editorial staff of the Chicago Daily News, I have done some church work, one of the secretaries of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Editorial Director of the David C. Cook Publishing Company, Radio Director (National) for the Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP). For the last 25 years I have been in radio and TV, given a scholarship at NBC Radio School one year, I have had commercial programs on three 50kw stations, WCCO and KSTP in Minneapolis-St. Paul and WCAU in Philadelphia. I have also been for several years on WLOL in Minneapolis and WRFD in Columbus, Ohio. I have always had large audiences - in Minneapolis the only show competing with "Breakfast in Hollywood" with a higher rating. In Philadelphia nearly always my two daily shows were in the top ten for size of audience in the Philadelphia area.

Through the last forty years I have written very voluminously, mostly for the church press, 150 different publications and seventeen different denominations including Methodist, Baptist (American and Southern), Presbyterian, Disciples, Congregational, Lutheran, Nazarene, etc., including many Sunday School Quarterlies.

Presently I belong to the Media (Pa.) Rotary Club and not much of anything else. When money was short I gave up membership in three fraternal organizations, several professional groups, the American Legion, etc. I have never taken any salary or other benefits financial from our project. This is not "idealism" or because I hate money. There just hasn't ever been more than just enough to keep going and I'm pretty determined to prove my point, which I consider a very important one.

So now I'm old enough to do as I please and I really think I have hold of a perfectly tremendous idea for the greater usefulness of broadcasting, and this is what we're working on. I hope you will honor me with your confidence and that we can be helpful to each other.

THE BEST THING TO DO IS TO GIVE THE SHOWS A GOOD LISTEN!

ABOUT "FRIENDLY WORLD BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC."

WHAT IT IS?

We are incorporated under the laws of Delaware as a non-profit, educational organization to distribute programs for broadcast. President, Edwin T. Randall; Secretary, Bancroft Haviland, member of one of the most highly respected and largest law firms in the City of Philadelphia, Pa.; A Democrat, he is Justice of the Peace in his home precinct in an overwhelmingly Republican County; Treasurer, Clara T. (Mrs. Edwin T.) Randall, who is now and has been for many years a teacher and administrator for the Philadelphia, Pa., Board of Education. We are "tax exempt" by certificate of Internal Revenue.

Since long before our incorporation we have been engaged in distributing tapes of our own manufacture to more than 400 stations all over the United States. For seventeen years we have been on the air an average of eight to ten hours daily. Since our involvement in Alabama some four years ago we have limited some of our other activities but are presently on 30 stations daily and 7 additional stations once a week in Alabama and on some 50 stations in 28 states with our weekly program, "This is a Friendly World."

WHO SUPPORTS US?

This is, in a sense, a pretty personal operation, but people who understand what we are up to have given us support, although for the first six years we did it as a kind of a hobby, managing our own funds out of income as a broadcaster on WCAU in Philadelphia. We have expanded as other people have wanted to help. In Alabama we have had the support and cooperation of the School of Education, Auburn University. Dean Truman Pierce is always glad to explain his confidence in us and our operation. We have also had the cooperation of President Frank Rose of the University of Alabama, President Fred Widden of the University of South Alabama, The Alabama Educational Association, and innumerable leaders in education, business, and the church.

WE DO HAVE AN AXE TO GRIND!

We have a profound conviction that "public service" programming has a special obligation to be at least as audience-building as any commercial program - and believe we have abundantly demonstrated that it can be. This seems to us of special importance in these days when people are in such fragmented groups. Not even all the farmers know each other. The egg farmers meet in one group and the broiler farmers and the egg hatchers in others, while the dairy farmers and the meat farmers may still be neighbors but only casual acquaintances. This makes for misunderstandings and suspicion, because there simply are no such places for general get-togethers as there used to be in the less complicated days. But there is radio (and, of course, TV). And there is the strange and little understood fact that the listener actually feels himself a participant in the broadcast program. So we can get to be friends in spite of all the forces that are tending to divide us from each other. People who have come to be uncertain about the schools can get really acquainted with the people who run them, not so much as teachers and presidents and such, but as real human beings who have themselves faced the same problems as the rest of us and have found some good ways of dealing with them. In this way hate and suspicion can be discouraged and the strength of our Union multiplied.

SO WHAT?

So we got started in Alabama and want to expand into Mississippi, with your cooperation. We are offering you a weekly now with the intention of combining Alabama and Mississippi people in a daily for you by late Fall.

CONGRATULATIONS

CELEBRATING THE FIRST BIRTHDAY
of
"A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE"

W. COOPER GREEN, Executive Vice-President, Alabama Power Company.
"This was a wonderful tribute to Alabama and the South, and I am proud to have heard these fine remarks from you about our great state.
"You certainly have done much to heal the wounds and spread goodwill and friendship around our section and in our part of the country."

FRANK A. ROSE, President, University of Alabama.
"I want you to know my appreciation for your good program; I have heard many favorable comments about the program and particularly about the interview I had with you. . . . Thank you for this good thing you are doing."

RALPH B. DRAUGHON, President, Auburn University.
"I am in hearty accord with the spirit and purpose of the recorded broadcasts included in the series, 'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie.' In times of great tension and misunderstanding, these recordings depict the thoughts and feelings of sincere people, and leave a more realistic impression of conditions, and a more friendly one, than much that is being presented in other media today. This is all to the good, and I would hope that these broadcasts may be continued, and that they may reach a much larger audience. I think Mr. Randall has found, and effectively used, an excellent road to better understanding among people in the various sections of our country."

FRED ROBERTSON, Director of Agricultural Extension.
"It certainly has been an enlightening and happy experience for us to cooperate with you in broadcasting 'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie.' I have listened to practically all the tapes you have made in Alabama and have enjoyed all of them."

JOHN B. EVANS, Pastor, Auburn Presbyterian Church.
"All of the comments have been favorable ones. . . particularly appreciated the calm, reasonable, forward looking remarks . . . making a grass-roots contribution to a better way of life."

POWERS McLEOD, Pastor, Auburn Methodist Church.
"I often hear from people across the State about this interesting series. All of these people express real appreciation for this informative and interesting program."

B. R. HOLSTUN, County Agent, Tuscaloosa.
"Your program I think has gone over big in Alabama. . . You are one of the best Good-will Ambassadors I have ever met. It is a pleasure to cooperate with you in this program."

NEIL O. DAVIS, Publisher-Editor, "The Lee County Bulletin."
"First rate. . . . I am impressed especially by the perception and understanding you bring to the series. You might be a Yankee but I must say that you see the Deep South in better perspective than do some of your colleagues who have spent all their lives down here."

BORDEN DEAL, Author.
"'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie' is a valiant effort toward Americans understanding Americans. It should be broadcast on every radio station in the Nation."

RICHARD BROUGH, Advertising Designer.

"Many friends have heard our voices on 'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie,' and with favorable comment on your program. Proving the radio is still a vital part of home life. And the life and accomplishments of everyday people are always interesting. Not staged -- but right off the cuff. . . It seems the negative views make headlines from our part of the country -- thank you for probing our positive side."

WKUL, HUDSON C. MILLER, Jr., President.

"For the past year we have been scheduling your 'Yankee in Dixie' series from 8:45 till 9:00 A.M. on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, directly preceding our 'Beeper' program where we give the local news.

"We have found it to be very homey and down to earth, and produced in such a way as to be of great interest to our audience. We have had very favorable comments throughout our market on this program, and although we took it to help fulfill our public service needs, we have felt that it has done more than this and that it has attracted an unexpected audience.

"We urge you to keep producing this type of program."

WRAB, BILL McLAIN, Manager.

"I just thought I would write and tell you how pleased we are to have 'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie' radio program. Since we started the series we have had several of our listeners comment that they enjoyed it very much. I even had one of our local merchants ask me if he could sponsor it."

WUOA, UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA, Donald G. Rollins.

"Many thanks for allowing WUOA to broadcast the series."

WAVU, JESSE A. CULP, Farm Director, Editor, "The Sand Mountain Reporter."

"Your programs have a warm neighborly sort of approach that I like, and one that appeals to many listeners. We need more of this sort of programming on radio today because this is the sort of thing that radio can do well. Keep up the good work."

WIXI, BILL FRINK, Manager.

"WIXI has received many nice comments about the program, 'Yankee in Dixie.' Most people say it is a well balanced program with real down to earth view point. They especially like the reminiscence which you sometimes do with the By-Gone Days. There is a lot of thought and planning put into the production of this program. WIXI is proud to have it as one of our featured programs each week."

WYDE, BILL SANDERS, Program Director.

"Not only is the program informative and entertaining, but often-times humerous and always in good taste. Please accept my sincere thanks for having provided us with a fine program which we neither have the facilities nor the budget to produce regularly ourselves."

WOWL, JOE OLIVER, Program Director.

"You are to be commended for the warmth and sincerity with which you do this most 'original' program. This is the type of thing we like to see more of in radio today. I feel that this most interesting show is a definite 'audience getter.'"

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

File
Free
Randall, Edwin T.

October 20, 1966

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

I am delighted to learn of the support of the Field Foundation for your program. Earlier I was very hopeful that Southern Education Foundation would come through with a modest grant, but I gather that one doesn't look good. Have you had any encouraging word from that source?

There is still one other slight possibility among the New York Philanthropist that I am hopeful for, but I will keep working on it from this end until something more definite develops.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Paul - f.y.i.

Somewhere else

Turn right time

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 8-2578

October 10, 1966

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Les:

There are not words to give adequateexpression to my gratitude for your grant of $5,000, substantiated by your enclosed check for that amount. I am grateful to every member of your board and especially to you because I know of your personal interest and I am sure this could not have happened without your help.

It comes at a particularly critical time. We have virtually exhausted our resources in getting started with a daily program in Mississippi, where we are, since September 26, on 38 stations daily and three additional stations once-a-week. We are also on 31 stations daily in Alabama, having recently added three, and six additional stations once-a-week. This represents a little more than 18 hours of broadcast daily (except Sunday), which is more time than the average radio station is on the air. So we have the advantage of the full time of a regular station without a cent of expense for equipment or staff.

We have a request to the Samuel S. Fels Foundation for $5,000 which we had planned to use for the employment of some help in copying and distributing tapes. If this comes through, as it is more likely to do because of your generousity I am sure, we will be able to use your gift in part for the replacement of machinery which has long since worn out. To our great dismay we have received occasional complaints about the electric quality of a few of our tapes. Complete replacement would come to upwards of $12,000, but we are hopeful of either acquiring some used equipment or working out some kind of a deal. We might even realize a very small amount on our present machines. They had an original value of $12,000, but have been pretty thoroughly worn out, in addition to which these models are no longer made.

You will also be pleased to know that we now have in Mississippi a committee of representative business and professional men of considerable influence who are our advisers as well as, hopefully, a source of financial aid.

I spent most of September in Mississippi with the object of strengthening our contacts there, particularly in the hope of being of greater usefulness to the people who are already trying to move in the right direction. The results were, on the whole, exceedingly encouraging. We seemed to be helped particularly for our immediate project by two real misfortunes.

The nomination of Lester Maddox emphasized the fact that t there are a great many people in Georgia who haven't changed their minds about anything for some time. People in Mississippi needed no encouragement to come to the conclusion that we haven't been talking to these people and that we had better start at once.

Further encouragement has come from a growing realization of the harm being done by such people as Carl McIntire, Billy James Hargis, and a multitude of imitators. These men are dangerous because they are interested only in making money and so completely irresponsible. Growing awareness is represented by many articles and some recent books. There was, for instance, a couple of pages devoted to them in "Newsweek" for last July 4. Their influence is felt most in the church but Mississippi and Alabama people of my acquaintance are beginning to realize that this is because the church has the most available measure, the splitting off of churches from the denomination, as has happened to the Methodists; the withdrawal of funds, which is very noticeable with Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians; and the withdrawal of membership. There is a growing number of alert people who, for instance, saw the dirty hand of Carl McIntire at work in Granada, where the men who beat the little children felt that they had religious snaction for their action.

Of course this is a back-door approach to the understanding of the real power of radio, but is irrefutable in the light of events, even in the Kensington area of Philadelphia (Penn.). But I do find people readier to believe that since radio broadcasting so obviously can have considerable influence we had better exert ourselves to use it for good.

Of course this is the philosophical basis on which I have been operating from the start. It seems to me that brotherly concern for the pitiful condition of the Negro, in poverty and ignorance, need not blind us to the even more pitiable condition of the whit e counterpart who, in addition to the sometimes almost equally severe handicaps of ignorance and poverty has also the moral burden of trying to improve his own condition by standing on the other fellow's neck. He is even harder to reach because he has this burden of guilt which is so nearly impossible for any of us to acknowledge when we have it. So while we are making it legally impossible for him to do all the overt evil that has darkened his past we owe him a careful explanation of the relation of Jesus Christ to his problems - and to himself.

I have gone on at this length because of the interest of your Board members in order that they may understand something of our present situation, particularly in relationship to the rapidly changing situation. When Lester Maddox is Governor of Georgia, Lurlene Wallace Governor of Alabama, and Ross Barnett Governor of Mississisippi, a condition now considered probably by many knowledgeable and disturbed citizens, we will all be faced with circumstances for which perhaps none of us have previously made plans. And yet we cannot just hold our breath. I think we have a means of communication which can be exceedingly useful even under such untoward conditions and this is the direction in which I am planning, within the limits of the resources available.

This development of our project should give you special gratification, and I very much hope that it does, because, as you are very well aware, we would never have been able to operate in this way at all except for your generous support whichn made it possible for us to make our first start in Alabama, in 1962. At that time it would have been impossible for me to believe that what we have actually done in the way of broadcasting was within the widest range of possibility. Perhaps the future may hold even more surprises if we can really find the way to use this tremendous gift of broadcasting as God meant it to be used for enlightenment and inspiration.

Sincerely,

Edwin T. Randall, President
Friendly World Broadcasting Co., Inc.

File
Edwin T. Randall
Friendly
World
Broadcasting

April 7, 1967

Mr. Edwin T.Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is our check for $116.45 representing your expenses to the meeting in Atlanta. Again, we are very grateful for you for coming.

I share completely your disappointment at the final reaction of Bill Griffiths. The only explanation I can offer, and I seriously expect this is the case, is that since his discussion with you in Atlanta, policy decisions have been made which indicate to Bill that there was nothope of your project being funded. He is a very decent person and if he did not continue interest, I am sure it was because he felt it would be a waste of your time and bad on his part to encourage further hope.

Needless to day, we will do anything we possibly can to help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check; $116.45)

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

April 4, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed are receipts for my plane fare and motal room. Please pay only one day of the latter because I stayed over the other day to see John Anderson of the Presbyterian Church. He sounded like a real hope at the time, but apparently he has cooled off. I should get over being surprised at things like this.

But I don't - like our friend of the Ford Foundation, Brother Griffiths. It seemed to me in Atlanta that he was really stirred up. Why in the world did he seem so anxious to come to Wallingford and look us over - and then all of a sudden discover that he just couldn't do anything? The first time I called he seemed only slightly cooled; it was just a matter of postponement; to wait and see what the new president was going to do. The second time he explained at some length that he could not give money to any individual for any purpose; that he could not give money to SRC to be turned over to me; any money for SRC would have to be for an entire program fitted into your general approach and in which whatever I did would be an integral part. I am not so surprised at being turned down. I've been turned down before! But all of these elements must have been in existence when we were both in Atlanta and might very well, it seems to me, have been confided either to you or to me, or could have controlled his actions and attitudes without being revealed at all.

Meanwhile, we are now really on the edge of catastrophe - so far as our operation is concerned. I was planning a trip for right now when the vacation period at Swarthmore required having programs for a couple of weeks made ahead and required the purchase of just over a thousand dollars worth of tape. This gives us the material and supplies to run probably through June, with no immediate prospect of more funds than we already have and not enough personal resources to keep it going. This comes at a time when, it seems to me, there is a very special need for the kind of thing we might do and there is a growing acceptance of the show which is going to make it possible to speak with even greater directness in the immediate future.

I think I told you we were writing to the stations that haven't been using the show. Enclosed is a copy of the sheet that went along with letters from ten stations, which are quite remarkable. I am also enclosing a copy of the letter from Sidney Mohn indicating for the first time directly that we have been getting under the skin of the Kooks.

Well, as the result of that we recwived eleven requests for the show. Three of them cancelled almost as quickly as they got the first tapes, which is readily understandable in the light of Sid's letter. But we have eight new stations for daily and one for weekly, which is very gratifying. This raises the number of towns in which we have two stations to twelve, which I consider perhaps the most remarkable part of our entire rather startling experience.

I am writing with this much frankness because it was, after all, your organization which first got us started in Alabama and I do not want you to think that we are abandoning the project just because we can't think of anything else to do. It is now clear that not many other people consider the possible effect of the program as important as I do and it is always at least a remote possibility that I could be mistaken. It does appear that I have not, single-handed, reformed the States of Alabama and Mississippi, but there is some evidence provided by the Wallaces and Maddox that all of us together still have a long, long way to go. My wife, as one of the coordinators of the relatively new Department of Integration and Inter-group Relationships, is discovering that there is a lot to do in Philadelphia, as well.

So if you know anybody who thinks there might be merit in our project and who has money to back up his conviction it could keep us going, and thanks for your help and your patience.

Sincerely,

Ed

A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE

Recently a radio friend who knows what's been going on said, "A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie represents a new dimension in broadcasting." And he asked, "What is it that gives it this compelling power over listeners?" And I said, "I don't know, but I wish I did." And he said, "But the simple facts of the history of the show make it clear there is something very special about it."

So -- here's what's been happening!

We began broadcasting a 15 minute once-a-week show on 25 Alabama stations May 15, 1962.
We began broadcasting a 15 minute daily show in Alabama February 3, 1964.

We began broadcasting weekly in Mississippi May 27, 1966.
We began broadcasting daily in Mississippi on September 25, 1966.

We are now on 69 stations in Mississippi and Alabama.
"Yankee" has been broadcast more than 48,000 times in Mississippi and Alabama.

In ten communities of the two states we are on two stations.
In one of these, one of the two stations airs the program twice every day, so we are heard in that city for 45 minutes, six days a week.

There <u>must</u> be something very special about a program to make this kind of history.

THERE IS!

I still don't know how to explain it, but notice what some of the happy broadcasters say about it!

"This program certainly has generated much audience response." WLPR

"'Yankee' is truly one of the best programs we carry and we definitely feel that it has been a valuable asset to our programming." WHMA

"One of the best things that happened to WAML Radio in 1966 was our scheduling 'Yankee in the Heart of Dixie.'"

"... and we want you to know that we are just as proud to have 'Yankee' on our 'Dixie' air ... we're happy, too." WMPA

"As you know, we were one of the first to start your programs, and we are still carrying them, six days a week. We are well pleased with the public response. I have had people tell me they never miss listening to you each day. We think you are doing a fine job." WMSL

"This Yankee is different.... In traveling throughout the state he interviews Mississippians of all walks of life, of all backgrounds and interests. What emerges is the portrait of a vibrant Mississippi, a thoughtful Mississippi, or an optimistic Mississippi." "Of Other Things" column, "The Mississippi Register."

(over - Please!)

All of this adds up to something that just can't be explained - at least I am sure I don't understand it. If you think you do I wish you'd help me to an understanding. But I would like to suggest some factors that I think help.

FIRST OF ALL, I think it makes people properly proud of the state and area they live in. This growing and wholesome pride is not the result of propaganda but rather of the opportunity to get acquainted with all kinds of people and take pride in knowing their fellow-citizens.

THEN I think the simple fact of getting acquainted with more and more people - all kinds of people - is one of the most fascinating experiences people can have. There is all too little of this opportunity in the busy world we live in now and radio is so well qualified to satisfy this basic yearning of the human heart. Nobody knows exactly why, but more and more people are recognizing that there is a strange power in radio which gives the listener a definite feeling of participation in the program. This makes him feel that he is making friends.

EVEN MORE, I think the very fact that we don't tell people what to say, what they talk about is entirely up to them, contributes to the warmth of the relationship between the listener and people on the program. Especially when it is clear that people aren't just trying to say what everybody wants to hear or can most easily believe I think the atmosphere of sincerity is developed to a very high degree. All of us would rather have a few friends we can trust than a lot of acquaintances who always talk as if they agreed with us about everything. This is a very large and exceedingly important part of what makes this country America!

BEYOND ALL OF THIS there is an exceedingly powerful attraction in the very simple opportunity just to get acquainted with all kinds of people, to be able to consider people of all kinds as personal friends, and to think of nearly all of them as people you are proud to live with in the same state, the same country, the same world. IN OTHER WORDS, in this world which so often seems to all of us to be falling apart, with more and more lines and prejudices and misunderstandings dividing us from each other, Radio has a very special function to perform of binding us together in community by better understanding. This is created by sincere exchanges of what is really and truly in our hearts. I think we are just beginning to get to the edge of an understanding of some of these important facts about Radio. I hope we can go on together to a deeper understanding of, and stronger attachment to each other by deepening trust and faith in each other as human beings. This may sound pretty corny, but it's as close as I can come to explaining why we're in this business at all. I just happen to be a guy who loves his country and who would like very much to do something in line with what so many wonderful people in the past have done to make it so great for you and me.

SO MAYBE THE MAGIC MIGHT WORK for you and the people who expect you to bring them all the best in broadcasting. You can never be sure without giving it a try - a GOOD try - some good beating of the drum for it and all that. And you know you are free to sell it, if you want to, and can still report it as "educational" or "public service" time. The only cost to you is the postage to return tapes. Just fill out and mail the enclosed post card and we'll do the rest.

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting Co., Inc.
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

HENDRIX, MOHR & HEAD, INC.

INVESTMENT SECURITIES
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

January 12, 1967

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your very welcomed and interesting letter, and we were greatly benefitted by having you with us at Grandview and at the Monday Prayer Group.

Real sorry you have been somewhat disturbed by a lack of reports from our friends-and even now, I regret that the answer doesn't happen to be favorable. Mr. Edward Brown, 3564 Bankhead Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama and Mr. Hugh Stuart, 121 Stuart Street, Montgomery, Alabama were the two who made visits to W-C-O-V, W-H-H-Y, and W-M-G-Y, and informed me that these stations had discontinued your program because of the many letters and calls suggesting "counter actions," "equal time," and I guess we be a little skiddish about the racial situation at the time. In my own mind, of course, with my friends this is not valid; but they did not encourage any near term resumption unless the demand so dictated. You are doing real strong in Troy; so I am hoping your good influence will spread widely in this section.

When are you coming down again? We sincerely hope that you are taking good care of yourself, and we bless you in your endeavors.

In Christ's love and care,

S. J. Mohr

SJM:cp

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

ED RANDALL

REGARDING

NO more financial support from Field Foundation
Letter to L.W.Dunbar 5-9-67 from Paul Anthony,
letter from LWDunbar 5-5-67 to P.A. and copy of
letter from LWDunbar to Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting

DATE

May 1967

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FOUNDATIONS

FIELD FOUNDATION

File Randall, Ed

PWV PAV MJ

CONGRATULATIONS

CELEBRATING THE FIRST BIRTHDAY
of
"A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE"

W. COOPER GREEN, Executive Vice-President, Alabama Power Company.
"This was a wonderful tribute to Alabama and the South, and I am proud to have heard these fine remarks from you about our great state.
"You certainly have done much to heal the wounds and spread goodwill and friendship around our section and in our part of the country."

FRANK A. ROSE, President, University of Alabama.
"I want you to know my appreciation for your good program; I have heard many favorable comments about the program and particularly about the interview I had with you. . . . Thank you for this good thing you are doing."

RALPH B. DRAUGHON, President, Auburn University.
"I am in hearty accord with the spirit and purpose of the recorded broadcasts included in the series, 'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie.' In times of great tension and misunderstanding, these recordings depict the thoughts and feelings of sincere people, and leave a more realistic impression of conditions, and a more friendly one, than much that is being presented in other media today. This is all to the good, and I would hope that these broadcasts may be continued, and that they may reach a much larger audience. I think Mr. Randall has found, and effectively used, an excellent road to better understanding among people in the various sections of our country."

FRED ROBERTSON, Director of Agricultural Extension.
"It certainly has been an enlightening and happy experience for us to cooperate with you in broadcasting 'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie.' I have listened to practically all the tapes you have made in Alabama and have enjoyed all of them."

JOHN B. EVANS, Pastor, Auburn Presbyterian Church.
"All of the comments have been favorable ones. . . particularly appreciated the calm, reasonable, forward looking remarks . . . making a grass-roots contribution to a better way of life."

POWERS McLEOD, Pastor, Auburn Methodist Church.
"I often hear from people across the State about this interesting series. All of these people express real appreciation for this informative and interesting program."

B. R. HOLSTUN, County Agent, Tuscaloosa.
"Your program I think has gone over big in Alabama. . . You are one of the best Good-will Ambassadors I have ever met. It is a pleasure to cooperate with you in this program."

NEIL O. DAVIS, Publisher-Editor, "The Lee County Bulletin."
"First rate. . . . I am impressed especially by the perception and understanding you bring to the series. You might be a Yankee but I must say that you see the Deep South in better perspective than do some of your colleagues who have spent all their lives down here."

BORDEN DEAL, Author.
"'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie' is a valiant effort toward Americans understanding Americans. It should be broadcast on every radio station in the Nation."

RICHARD BROUGH, Advertising Designer.

"Many friends have heard our voices on 'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie,' and with favorable comment on your program. Proving the radio is still a vital part of home life. And the life and accomplishments of everyday people are always interesting. Not staged -- but right off the cuff. . . It seems the negative views make headlines from our part of the country -- thank you for probing our positive side."

WKUL, HUDSON C. MILLER, Jr., President.

"For the past year we have been scheduling your 'Yankee in Dixie' series from 8:45 till 9:00 A.M. on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, directly preceding our 'Beeper' program where we give the local news.

"We have found it to be very homey and down to earth, and produced in such a way as to be of great interest to our audience. We have had very favorable comments throughout our market on this program, and although we took it to help fulfill our public service needs, we have felt that it has done more than this and that it has attracted an unexpected audience.

"We urge you to keep producing this type of program."

WRAB, BILL McLAIN, Manager.

"I just thought I would write and tell you how pleased we are to have 'A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie' radio program. Since we started the series we have had several of our listeners comment that they enjoyed it very much. I even had one of our local merchants ask me if he could sponsor it."

WUOA, UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA, Donald G. Rollins.

"Many thanks for allowing WUOA to broadcast the series."

WAVU, JESSE A. CULP, Farm Director, Editor, "The Sand Mountain Reporter."

"Your programs have a warm neighborly sort of approach that I like, and one that appeals to many listeners. We need more of this sort of programming on radio today because this is the sort of thing that radio can do well. Keep up the good work."

WIXI, BILL FRINK, Manager.

"WIXI has received many nice comments about the program, 'Yankee in Dixie.' Most people say it is a well balanced program with real down to earth view point. They especially like the reminiscence which you sometimes do with the By-Gone Days. There is a lot of thought and planning put into the production of this program. WIXI is proud to have it as one of our featured programs each week."

WYDE, BILL SANDERS, Program Director.

"Not only is the program informative and entertaining, but often-times humerous and always in good taste. Please accept my sincere thanks for having provided us with a fine program which we neither have the facilities nor the budget to produce regularly ourselves."

WOWL, JOE OLIVER, Program Director.

"You are to be commended for the warmth and sincerity with which you do this most 'original' program. This is the type of thing we like to see more of in radio today. I feel that this most interesting show is a definite 'audience getter.'"

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

THE NEWS ABOUT THE

FRIENDLY WORLD BROADCASTERS

WE BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE WHO HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY on the radio are under an even greater obligation to make their vehicle attractive, entertaining, and audience-building than are the people who use radio to sell something. It is our objective, therefore, to provide material equal in quality and broadcast value to the best commercial program material. We don't always hit the bull's eye, but we don't often completely miss the target, either.

SHORT (5 - 7 minute) SPOTS OF CONVERSATION make up most of our material. We also provide a fifteen minute program weekly called "This is a Friendly World."

WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO SAY is that people are people wherever you find them and that if we understood each other better we could find ways of getting along. If we don't find ways of living together we'll all of us just have to quit living.

WE HAVE BEEN EXPANDING. It is our purpose rather to provide a service for organizations working for world understanding than to become a kind of voice on our own, so we have made recordings recently for the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, The American Association for the United Nations, The U.S. Committee for UNICEF, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Friends Service Committee, The Southern Regional Council, World Federalists, and several similar groups. We hope to continue to widen this kind of coverage so as to provide for radio stations the very most interesting people.

OUR SHORT SPOTS usually come five to the tape with one significant person. Sometimes for some special reason there is an odd number and occasionally when circumstances seem to justify it we make two tapes with the same person. There is no charge whatever for the use of this, or any of our material, and no cost except for return postage. We have a list of three hundred stations, all of which have used some of our material relatively recently, but limitations of budget are probably going to require us to cut this to around two hundred. We expect to offer these lists of six to eight tapes every two or three months.

WE ALSO PROVIDE a weekly series called "This is a Friendly World," now used on sixty to seventy-five stations (educational and commercial). If a bicycling plan we have in mind works out we may be able to increase this to a hundred, since we have many requests.

WE HAVE GIVEN UP THE EFFORT to distinguish between "educational" and "commercial" programs. The short spots were originally intended for commercial stations and the fifteen minute programs for educational stations. But people on both sides of the fence kept disregarding the distinction and I would say that both types are now used indiscriminately. This I like, because I think good education ought to say something and good commercial copy ought to be more than just to hold the customer still until the commercial comes.

(OVER)

WE WELCOME HELP in securing better people to record and in improving our service in every possible way. Because of limitations in budget and personnel, we are unable to provide a wider range of material. We have many requests for shorter spots -- 3 to 5 minutes. But we have tried to do what meets the widest acceptance with the most economical use of our time and energy. You are at liberty to shorten our spots, or take off heads and tails and make your own fifteen minutes out of any of them. We sometimes use the short material as part of the "Friendly World," and have had no complaint on this up to now.

WE ARE ACCEPTED as a project by the Jane Addams Peace Association, which makes contributions made to this work through the Association tax exempt. We are hopeful through this contact of enlarging our field and will be glad for suggestions about wider usefulness.

I AM ON WCAU with three programs daily, Monday thru Friday, which is doubtless a help in understanding what makes good copy for commercial broadcasters. It also helps us to keep the operation "operating" in other ways. I believe also it has helped me to understand the range of material that is acceptable. We occasionally use people who might be considered in fields outside the usual radio programming. Of course we are more concerned than any radio station not to stir up the animals with controversy. But I think there are ways of treating the listener like a mature human being without being offensive. We consider that this is an important part of our audience-building usefulness. We do not attempt to disturb people with argument but to present to them interesting and intriguing personalities. Incidentally, I never offer anybody else an idea I haven't already tried out myself, for reaction.

WE HAVE PLANS for working with people representing the organizations with which we work in various parts of the U.S. These people will, I believe, be useful to encourage listeners to our programs and have notices of them published in letters, bulletins, etc. We hope this would improve our service to stations.

WE HAVE BEEN WORKING this year under a grant-in-aid from the Educational Television and Radio Center which enabled us to collect considerable excellent material from all around the world. We are expanding this type of source very hopefully, finding a growing number of agencies making material available to us, establishing regular sources at important overseas spots. The future looks bright.

OF COURSE WE DO NOT NEED to remark upon the importance we attach to the development of better understanding across all the barriers which now divide the world and threaten its destruction. We appreciate more than it would be possible to say the opportunity to work with radio people in such an enterprise.

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasters
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations
(Each number 5 spots)

1959 --- List N

N 1 ATLANTA SCHOOL STORY
Overwhelmed by the wide acceptance of our on-the-spot recording of the Norfolk School Story, we have been gratified by testimony that events proved it to be a most accurate picture of the actual situation. Accuracy is difficult to achieve in a situation so fraught with emotion, but certainly to be desired by everyone of whatever persuasion. So we have attempted the same kind of recording of the even more important city of Atlanta. The time is too short to give every point of view, but we have tried to provide a carefully balanced picture, probing below the surface as carefully as possible. It seems to me as important for the north as for the south to understand this very disturbing problem.
This also we have provided not only in five short spots, but
N 1XX Same material in one show 29:30, highly recommended if you have time.

N 2 BROOKS HAYS of Arkansas, President of the Southern Baptist Convention
Author of a just published book, "A Southern Moderate Speaks," he has a deeply felt and very interesting story to tell about his recent experiences and his life-long convictions. It seems to me especially exciting to listen to a man who so strangely combines the characteristics of a political leader and a top-level churchman. His message is not regional but for the whole country.

N 3 SECRETARY ARTHUR S. FLEMING, Dep't. Health, Education, & Welfare
At this time of greatly aroused interest in education, here is a man with broad understanding, great responsibility, and wise words of comment on the present, and counsel for the future. As one-time president of Ohio Wesleyan University, he speaks with knowledge and conviction of the religious and moral essentials of education. (This tape was made in cooperation with the Commission on Christian Education of the National Council of Churches, whose emphasis is on Christian Education Week, April 13th.)

N 4 FRAU IRMGARD SCHUCHARDT, of Berlin
At this time of anxiety and crisis we are happy to offer a discerning and vocal resident of Berlin through two World Wars, who is now devoting herself to work for peace and who brings a message of hopefulness for the future from this center of fear. She isn't just talking about peace, but describes the actual work she has been doing for reconciliation between people on both sides of the Iron Curtain. She seems to be an intensely practical person.

N 5 JUDGE CURTIS BOK, Pennsylvania Supreme Court
He brings to bear on the baffling problems of crime and crime prevention years of experience as practicing attorney and more than twenty years on the bench. He has some exciting suggestions to make about the treatment of offenders and the danger of the attitude of vengeance, not only upon the criminals but upon society at large. He deals also with the baffling problem of capital punishment from the standpoint of a judge who not only has had long and intimate experience, but who has thought deeply and studied the problem carefully. Many of these ideas are also expressed in Judge Bok's recently published book, "Star Wormwood."

(OVER)

N 6 DR. VICTOR C. RAMBO
For many years missionary physician and surgeon in India, where he has given sight to many thousands of blind as part of his work, at the rate of about three thousand per year. Dr. Rambo was an exciting part of the TV program about medicine around the world, and makes excellent use of an opportunity to talk more at length of the amazing work he is doing, pointing out the relation of such work in a distant land to every one of us and to the future peace of the whole world. It's an absorbing story! (At the conclusion of Spots 3 & 5 of this tape an address is given to which money may be sent. This can be easily eliminated if you wish.)

N 7 CONGRESSMAN BYRON JOHNSON of Colorado
One of the few people ever elected to national office in a campaign where one of his major promises was to seek for peace without endangering the very existence of the entire human race. It may well indicate a trend, for Johnson presents his position very forcefully and in practical terms. Certainly this is one of the major interests of everybody in this country and in the world. He makes a lot of sense, and makes it sound interesting!

N 8 CONGRESSMAN CHARLES O. PORTER of Oregon
You remember a few days after the Vice-President was a target for eggs and rocks in Venezuela, this man was given an almost equally riotous welcome in the same place? This was because the people felt that he had a healthy dislike and distrust for dictators somewhat different from the official policy of the administration. It was very soon after he first was elected to Congress that he demonstrated his enthusiastic disapproval of dictators - of Trujillo in particular - and showed very clearly that he couldn't be frightened. He has just returned from more travel in Latin America, particularly Cuba, and speaks with authority of responsibilities in a world where the cry of freedom is on the lips of a thousand million people and the issue of survival seems very closely identified with the struggle between dictatorships and democracy.

* * * * * * * * *

JUST MARK THE ENCLOSED CARD indicating the numbers you'd like to hear and we'll send them with no obligation, of course, except that you will give them a listen and return them. If you find you want to air them, we will be pleased to have you do so, and to know what reaction you get. You may, but <u>you need not</u>, acknowledge "Friendly World Broadcasting" which will not appear on any of the tapes. These were made with the cooperation of the United Presbyterian Church, the Southern Baptist Convention, the Southern Regional Council, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and component groups within the National Council of Churches. We are always happy to have your suggestions for the improvement of our usefulness to you. We hope soon again to be circulating our fifteen-minute weekly program "This is a Friendly World."

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations
(Each number 5 spots)

1958 --- List M

M 1 HARRY GOLDEN
This amazing American, editor of the Carolina Israelite, author of #1 Best Seller, "Only in America," beloved and highly honored citizen of Charlotte, North Carolina, and of the world is the "once-in-a-lifetime" kind of person absolutely everybody wants to know. I can't imagine any American - in fact anybody who understands the American language - who wouldn't enjoy listening to him. He talks about himself and what he believes in.

M 2 NORFOLK SCHOOLS
This is an on-the-spot recording of people personally involved in the present school situation. Clergymen, school people, children and young people, and parents help the rest of us to see the deplorable situation as they see it themselves. After all, this is a problem that confronts not only the people of Norfolk but of the entire country - in fact, of the world. This is an experiment with us, in response to requests. We'd like to know what you think of it, whether you use it or not.

M 3 DR. GAYLORD P. HARNWELL
President of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the nation's leading educators, sent by the State Department to study higher education in Russia, makes a highly interesting report of what he saw and some of his thoughts in consequence. He had himself some really intriguing experiences.

M 4 CLARENCE PICKETT
We have never recorded anybody else with the steady popularity of this Emeritus Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. He has his say on foreign problems, work camping in Alaska, integration, with calmness and transparent good will for everybody involved. His spots have actually been repeated on a number of stations.

M 5 JAMES McBRIDE DABBS
Now he's written a book ("The Southern Heritage") which has been widely acclaimed, particularly by Southern literary critics and authorities on the social scene. He speaks again as a three century plantation southerner of things very close to his heart. His interpretations of current situations will be heard with interest both by those who agree with him and those who do not.

M 6 A. J. MUSTE
Clergyman, world traveller, worker for peace, careful student for many years and shrewd analyst of the Communist situation, he has just returned from a trip to Russia and speaks with clear-eyed discernment and in a way which is not only of fascinating interest but helpful in understanding the threat we face and how to meet it. He was one of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

(OVER)

M 7 NGETHE NJORGE
This young African is already a leader of the people of Kenya, now doing graduate study at the University of Pennsylvania. He gives a fascinating story of coming to and being in the United States and of conditions in his native land where there has recently been such serious trouble. His is the kind of voice we ought to hear more often.

M 8 THE REV. DR. CLIFFORD EARLE
Head of the Department of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., he is on our list because he was so highly acceptable on his last appearance. Last summer he represented his church at several meetings of the world church organization in Europe and reports on these experiences, as well as on the work of his committee in this country and some of our own social and educational problems. He knows what he is talking about.

M 9 PEACE PILGRIM
Here's a woman you might suppose is quite off her trolley until you begin to get acquainted with her. She's walked all over the United States, including every state capitol, and most of the states of Canada and Mexico - just to talk to people about peace. She doesn't eat until somebody offers her food, or sleep indoors until somebody offers her shelter. It's fantastic, but you keep wondering if it doesn't maybe somehow make sense after all. We've offered her before, with very good reactions.

M 10 DR. CHARLES PRICE
Chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, he offers the thinking of one of the country's leading scientific minds. A current recording in response to many requests.

* * * * * * *

JUST MARK THE ENCLOSED CARD indicating the numbers you'd like to hear and we'll send them with no obligation, of course, except that you will give them a listen and return them. If you find you want to air them we will be pleased to have you do so and to know what reaction you get. You may, but you need not, acknowledge "Friendly World Broadcasting" which will not appear on any of the tapes. These were made in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee, the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Southern Regional Council, the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, and the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

We are always happy to have your suggestions for the improvement of our usefulness to you. We are still circulating our fifteen-minute weekly program, "This is a Friendly World."

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

SUGGESTIONS FOR APPROACH TO RADIO STATIONS

Never ask a station to use one of our tapes. These are not "public service" programs designed for use on "sustaining" time. They are intended for use as integral parts of regular commercial programs, particularly those which use "guest spots," farm programs, women's programs, etc., and for use in news broadcasts.

DO ask if they will listen to some of the programs. Perhaps they will not know about them. Many times letters from people they don't know get into the waste basket too fast. Or we may have missed that station, most unfortunately. In that case, give them the information, beginning with the program in which you are most interested. Do not claim that the programs are good, but simply that you do understand they have been widely used and you would be glad to help the station procure them for audition. Get a postcard (or take a plain card if no post card is available) and list by number the tapes he says he wants to hear. Have him sign the card and be sure the name of the station (and his name) is clearly legible. Then say you will be glad to mail it for him - and send it to us. OR - if he has the letter with the post card enclosed, encourage him to fill it out and send it in - or offer to mail it for him!

THEN ask him to let you know when the tapes arrive - it will take at least a week. (If you want to hurry it, put air mail postage on the card.) Maybe he will invite you to listen with him when the tapes arrive. EVEN THEN don't ask him to use the program. He is the one who is able to judge best its radio value and it wouldn't hurt at all to tell him of course you don't want him to use the programs unless he feels they are good "audience-building" material.

BUT - DO SAY that IF he does want to use them, you would like to know when, because you know a lot of people who would like to listen and you will try to tell them when to be sure to be listening to his station. Then see that the time is noted in bulletins or mimeographed letters or newspaper stories - AND be SURE you give him copies showing these notices. ALSO be sure three or four or more people phone or write after a program is used to express their commendation.

This procedure will establish a good relationship for yourself. We are not asking favors. We are offering a service. Hundreds of stations use and value this service highly. We, nor you, want any station to use this material unless they feel that it is a service, that it will attract listeners to their station, - not by the worthiness of what is said, but by the excellence of the radio character of how it is said. That is what the station is interested in. The fact that you and I are interested even more in what is said doesn't change the attitude of the station.

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

April 13, 1966

Mr. George W. Randall
Administrator
Corrections Division
Oregon State Board of Control
Salem, Oregon 97310

file

Dear George:

This seems like a ~~wait~~ whale of a long time to wait to respond to your letter of November 22 and to bring you up-to-date on our plans for the special project. The dates do, however, give you some indication of the amount of difficulty we have been having. (And, the only ligitimate conclusion we can still reach is that we need George Randall.)

Both of your suggestions were good, but neither has worked out. John Ehle checked with us on Mr. Bounds and found that he would not be available. Subsequently, we talked with Joel Fleishman about this, and Joel, too, expressed regrets, since his commitment at Yale runs almost another two years.

The first serious candidate we have found to interview is John O. Boone, who has been with the Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Prisons, for 15 years. Mr. Boone has expressed

some interest in this project and will be down the last of this month for an interview. He is a native of Atlanta, and this adds a little to the appeal of the work. Should Mr. Boone and we become further interested in each other, it will be a project with somewhat different emphasis than we had planned. Do you by any chance know him? He is currently at the U. S. Penitentiary, Terre Haute, Indiana.

We all hope that you and the family are settling in to the new position and the new state, and that you are enjoying both. We would still, one of these days, like to raise with you the question of having you do some work with us as a consultant and as an adviser on any programs developed.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CORRECTIONS DIVISION

MEMBERS
MARK O. HATFIELD . . . . . GOVERNOR
TOM MCCALL . . . SECRETARY OF STATE
ROBERT W. STRAUB . . STATE TREASURER

OREGON STATE BOARD OF CONTROL
SALEM 97310

(1)

November 22, 1965

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please pardon my delay in replying to your letter of November 8. I have been extremely busy trying to get settled here but have thought about you and your program a lot. In reading Time magazine last night I noticed a reference to your work.

I can think of only two men that have the ability and the feel of the kind of thing that you are interested in promoting. I believe I talked to you about V. Lee Bounds, who succeeded me as the Director of Prisons in North Carolina, when I was in Atlanta. John Ehle knows him well, and Chris Edley of the Ford Foundation met him at the Boston Congress of Corrections in August and had a good talk with him. Lee could do an outstanding job. When he accepted the job of Director of Prisons in North Carolina he was assured there would be no political interference; however, I have received a confidential report that the Governor is already insisting that he employ a strong right wing conservative as the Assistant Director. If this is true he may be interested in considering a change.

The other man is Joel Fleishman, who served as Governor Sanford's Administrative Assistant and worked very closely with me in many correctional matters. He was especially interested in everything dealing with civil rights and was very effective in working out many of North Carolina's problems. Joel is a native of Fayetteville, North Carolina, and presently is at Yale University. Joel is about 35 years of age, received his law degree from the University of North Carolina, and is Jewish. He has a lot of common sense, an inquiring mind and a real desire to get something done about many of the intolerable situations now existing in the south.

In my opinion one of the biggest needs for modifications of the corrections program in the south and throughout the country is to develop change in attitudes and behavior on the part of the leaders in the correctional field. For the most part

these people are custody-oriented and, although they give lip service to modern correctional practices, most of them unconsciously look down their noses at prisoners and by their speech and actions degrade them, making impossible any effective treatment program. Therefore, the first step in improvements in corrections in the south as in most other places, it seems to me, must be training of high echelon correctional personnel. This is a difficult job to accomplish because they cannot admit to themselves that they have need for such training. This would be a very delicate thing to handle and would require the services of some extremely capable people in the field of psychology. If this bridge could be crossed I believe we would see a new revolution take place in corrections.

Drop me a line sometime when you get a chance. With kindest personal regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

George W. Randall, Administrator
Corrections Division

GWR:glo

Make folder
Randall, Geo. W.

April 29, 1966

Mr. George W. Randall, Administrator
Corrections Division
Oregon State Board of Control
Salem, Oregon 97310

Dear George:

Thank you for the good letter and the suggestions about checking with John Boone. We will follow-up on this. Boone was interviewed here on April 28 and we were very favorably impressed. Subject to some further checking and his reaction, I am hopeful that we have at last found a project director although it will, of course, be somewhat different from what we have initially envisioned.

If Boone comes, I hope that before he is here too long we can get together a small number of specialists in this field to give us guidance as we begin the project. Certainly, if at all possible, we would like to have you with us at that time.

Your work sounds exciting and you sound very happy. All of which is very good news to us.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

CORRECTIONS DIVISION

MEMBERS
MARK O. HATFIELD . . . . . GOVERNOR
TOM MCCALL . . . SECRETARY OF STATE
ROBERT W. STRAUB . . STATE TREASURER

OREGON STATE BOARD OF CONTROL
SALEM 97310

April 25, 1966

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Please pardon my delay in replying to your letter of April 13. Things have been rather rushed here, as we are setting up new programs and developing a budget for the coming biennium.

I can't be of any help to you in evaluating Mr. John O. Boone, but suggest that you contact Milton G. Rector, Director, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 44 East 23 Street, New York 10, N.Y. Please feel free to use my name in discussing this with Mr. Rector. I feel sure that he is in a position to obtain any information that you may need. If you wish, I could check him out further with Myrl Alexander, Director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons. Both Mr. Rector and Mr. Alexander are topnotch and you could depend upon their evaluations.

Everything is going well here. We have some good facilities and good people. It is going to be very interesting working out new programs and getting the community involved. I rather expect that 50 per cent of the people in our juvenile and adult institutions could be better treated in the community with the right kind of supporting programs. Part of my responsibility is developing crime and delinquency prevention programs. I am going to give a lot of attention to this. I believe the work you are doing and have helped to do in the past in bringing about more opportunities for jobs and education, and preparing people for job opportunities, will really start paying dividends in a few years. We have delved too long with the symptoms of crime and delinquency but haven't reached the roots or the causes. I would like to have an opportunity to have a real long talk with you along this line. There is so much to do; the opportunities are here and we must take advantage of them now.

I think of you often and I am always glad to read about the progress being made in the south--and I can see your hand in all of this! Please give my regards to John Wheeler and John Ehle.

Let me hear from you some time. Kindest personal regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

George W. Randall, Administrator
Corrections Division

GWR:glo

January 6, '53

Dear family Reeve,

My warmest thankyou for bed, breakfast, company, conversation, toting, and welcome.

Sincerely,

GSM

July 31, 1953
Americus, Ga.

My dear Editor,

I've just finished reading the July issue of the New South and I wish to say I am a Negro in my 82d year Personaly I have no more desire to associate with the white race than I do now. I am treated with more or less respect by all people.

If, however, during my youth there had been the opportunity for white and Negro children to grow up together educationaly as human beings this ignorance of superiority of race would have been settled.

As long as the high fence of prejudice is reared between the races, and we must deal with each other through the cracks in this fence we will see people instead of personality.

The change must come through youth who will acknowledge that God is the maker of mankind. The school room is a good place to start, I think.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. W. H. Reddick.

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO
1102 N. Lee St.,
Americus, Ga.

AMERICUS
JUL 31
1953
6 PM
GA.

New South,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
AUG 3
Southern Regional Council

October 22, 1953

Mr Harry Read
718 Jackson Place N W
Washington, D C

Dear Mr Read:

Paul Williams in Richmond tells me that he called to Washington this morning and in your absence talked to George Weaver.

We both want you to have copies of these two new S R C pamphlets.

We are working hard to get them picked up by local discussion groups all over the South. The first one, Questions and Answers, opens up the issue and the second, Check List, enables a local group to find the facts on the schools in their community. These are precious weeks in which to get an opinion built in the South favorable to whatever the Court may decide on the school changes which are to come.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures - 2

January 25, 1954

Principal M. L. Reese
304 Lexington Ave.
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Mr. Reese:

Dr. George Mitchell (with whom you talked several weeks ago at a meeting in Mobile) asked me to send you the names and address of a few companies handling canning equipment.

Dixie Cannery Co.
P. o. Box 1848
Athens, Ga.

Canning Machinery Division
Food Machinery and Chemical Corp.
19 Lakeshore Drive
Atlanta, Ga.

The director of the DeKalb County Cannery here tells me that the Dixie Cannery Company has a catalogue available and a travelling representative that you might be able to contact through the headquarters at Athens.

The secretary at the Canning Machinery Division, Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation says that they do not have a complete catalogue available but have leaflets on different types of equipment that they can send you, if you will let them know what sort of set-up you have in mind.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Name & address of Company ~~firm~~ in Ga.

Who ~~have~~ we may be able to purchase

Small or Large Canning machines or Factories

Write:

Principal M. L. Reese

304 Lexington ave. Mobile, Ala.

~~A member of the council.~~

Frank Lee

Green copy

March 9, '54

Dear Mr. Reddick,

There's a nice young guy in town named Joseph Fiszman. Lives at 855 Penn Street, N.E., where his phone is Vernon 3279. He's secretary of the Workmen's Circle, which is an ancient Jewish society, with friendly benefit and educational features, and with some ideological links with the social democratic movement. To my surprise they have over 200 membersin Atlanta, though, says Fiszman, the younger generation issdaly different in its views from the once-immigrant group which makes up the budy of the movement.

Fiszman has few links outside his own professional group, and would like to broaden his acquaintance. I've put him in touch with Skala, and Skala said he should know you, and I agree. If you would be good enough to give him a call, and offer some occasion when the tow of you could meet, I thi k it would be a proper kindness, and to everyone'" mutual benefit.

Married to pleasant wife, who works for one of the Jewish charitable agencies. F. has had odd experiences: Warsaw born, escaped through Japan, interpreted for the United Nations and I belive the U. S. Army, Japansese and Chinese into English. German, French, Italian a bit, Polish, Japanese, Chinese, Yiddish, and now learns Gawgia.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell

April 20, 1954

Mr. Louis Regenstein, Jr.
Hurt Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Louis:

It was as nice as could be of you to write April 12, and I appreciate it a lot. I tried to reach you by phone once or twice before the news broke. But I had no luck and got so swamped that I let the news release creep up on me.

It is a big and responsible job, but with the help of devoted people it can be done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

SMITH, KILPATRICK, CODY, ROGERS & McCLATCHEY
HURT BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MARTIN E. KILPATRICK
WELBORN B. CODY
ERNEST P. ROGERS
DEVEREAUX F. McCLATCHEY
LOUIS REGENSTEIN, JR.
HARRY S. BAXTER
A. G. CLEVELAND, JR.

SIDNEY HASKINS
HOKE SMITH
GEORGE B. HALEY, JR.
THOMAS C. SHELTON

HAROLD HIRSCH
(1881-1939)
MARION SMITH
(1884-1947)
A. STEVE CLAY
(1905-1945)

RECEIVED
APR 13 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 12, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I was delighted to see in the paper that you received a substantial grant from the Foundation for the Republic. I know that you have been looking forward to this for some time and I congratulate you on your efforts in obtaining its final approval. I am confident that it will now be possible for you to do an even finer job in this very essential field, and on a larger scale, than ever before.

With cordial regards,

Yours,

Louis

Louis Regenstein, Jr.

LR:lkb

Appointment?

September 23, 1954

Mr. Cy Wilson Record
Sacramento State College
Sacramento 19, California

Dear Cy:

Not long after our grant came in we began to cast about for people who could help us get the state programs going. The money is really to make the state shows go. Various of us thought of you and began to put out lines for getting in touch with you. But before any of the lines secured an answer, we had engaged, for the one good field supervision job we had, Fred Routh, who had been at the University of Miami. Seems to be a good choice, and he is doing the job well.

We begged the Ford people for money for a program in what we called, "research interpretation." They said no soap. So we haven't got any money for accompanying our action program with research observation, or for the even more important job of pulling together from the field people tips as to future knowledge needed for spreading the information around to places where it could materialize into actual research projects. Nor is there any money, except as we do generally anyhow, for collecting from the reams of intergroup relations' stuff done in the North and in the West, such of it as is applicable here, or translating it into terms which would produce progress in the South. We all grieve that we haven't got one, two, or three social science people to be doing these jobs. And if we had the money I am sure we would be asking for you.

I have asked somebody else for enough money to do it, at least on a beginning basis, but I won't know for some months whether I will get it or not. Meanwhile, I am glad you are well based and that you recall your roots here, and would, if temptingly approached, replant yourself in this soil. We are for you, and if we get where we can call for you we will.

Meanwhile, your address on our books is corrected to the present one. I think you are probably deeply delinquent in dues, so you ought to send us a check for those. I believe the total delinquency is the horrifying figure of $8.00. But we could restore you to standing for less than that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE

SACRAMENTO 19, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED
9/21/54
Southern Regional Council

September 16, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Several days ago I had a letter from John Schulter in which he said that the SRC had recently inquired concerning my whereabouts; it had something to do with the fair employment program which we discussed in Atlanta last year and in subsequent correspondence. I gather, however, that something went wrong and that the program didn't develop as planned.

First, I am alive and teaching sociology at Sacremento State College. I believe I forwarded a change of address at the time I moved up here from Berkeley; perhaps I forgot it. I think also - maybe - that I forwarded you copies of some articles I wrote dealing with the Negro intellectuals.

Soon after receiving Schulter's letter I read in the papers that the Ford Foundation grant for the SRC had been approved to the tune of about $200,000. Congratulations! Now you won't have to spend all your time raising funds, and you will have enough with which to undertake the long-range programs and spread out into the field.

I am still very much interested in anything that might develop down there in theresearch or program field. I would suspect that the recent Supreme Court decision on the schools has probably forced you to reshift your emphasis in some respects. I hope you will keep me informed on the development of the larger program and keep me in mind for positions which a sociologist might fill.

Sincerely yours,

Cy Wilson Record

June 23, 1955.

Miss Rebecca Reid
29 East Calhoun Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Miss Reid:

We are thankful that you are on the spot to express a concern about the vicious speech made by Hugh Grant to the Sumter Kiwanis Club and disseminated through the papers and radio.

Morris Abram is heavily involved at the moment, and, unfortunately, cannot take on the job af answering Grant. I have an alternative suggestion which, I believe, would be even more effective: that is, that Dr. Guy H. Wells be invited to speak to the Sumter Kiwanis on this same subject.

As you may know, Dr. Wells is Executive Director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. He has had a long and distinguished career in Georgia and is widely known and respected within and outside the state. He is President emeritus of Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville and, more recently, has served as representative to Liberia under the Point Four program. He is former Georgia governor of Rotary and a Kiwanian, I am sure, and has made many speeches to those groups in Georgia on the international importance of solving our racial problems.

I am told that Dr. Wells is pretty well known in some circles in South Carolina. It seems to us that he would be the ideal Georgian to answer Mr. Grant and that there should

be a good chance of his being invited to do so from the same platform.

If this suggestion seems good to you, let us know and we will ask Dr. Wells to supply a list of available dates on his schedule.

Meanwhile, kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

August 20, 1956

Miss Florence M. Read
Dickenson House
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Read:

So nice to have your letter and to know that you and Broadus are friends. You are neighbors; and I hope you will be often together.

I sent two or three pamphlets as you suggested to Broadus.

Here is the one about the church groups. It is hard for me as a employed person to draw distinctions between SRC and CORE and The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. Everybody does some good (some do the mostest).

I have told the Executive Committee of SRC that I will pull out along about January, 1957. If I can settle myself in Scotland you must come to see us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
New South, August, '54

Dickinson House
South Hadley, Massachusetts
August 15, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council

Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Last Sunday I had the privilege of having supper with your brother Dr. Broadus Mitchell and his family in their farm house near Wendell, Massachusetts. I had a most interesting time. I wish you would send him a copy of the last issue of "The New South." I spoke to him about the statement by William Faulkner and I would like to have him read it. I did not know that Broadus Mitchell was your brother until I found out by expressing shock ~~of~~ astonishment that he was not a subscriber to "The New South!"

I really hope that you are not thinking of resigning from SRC. You're surely needed there in this period of our history.

With best wishes for you and for the cause, I am

Sincerely yours,

Florence M. Read

I am here for a month - but will be in Princeton (Peacock Inn) after September 15th. I could use to advantage a copy of the issue that stated the resolutions passed by some of the church groups. I advise support of the SRC rather than of CORE or of the Southern Churchmen. Am I right? FMR

January 21, 1957

Mrs. Mabel Norris Reese
Editor, Mt. Dora Publishing Co.
Mount Dora, Florida

Dear Mrs. Reese:

Please forgive my long delay in answering your very kind letter concerning the recent Mount Dora events in connection with Sheriff McCall. I do appreciate your prompt assistance.

As I understand it, some newspapers are still interested in the cases; and something yet may be done about them. I do agree with you that the case of the Negro woman was as bad as any of the Sheriff's previous escapades, and I thank you for sending the clipping on that.

Again I do appreciate your aid and if I hear of any concerted effort in these cases, I will let you know.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Managing Editor, New South

JC:fc

THE MOUNT DORA TOPIC
DEDICATED TO THE WELFARE OF MOUNT DORA

Mount Dora Publishing Company
Letterpress and Offset Printing
MOUNT DORA, FLORIDA

PAUL H. REESE
PUBLISHER

MABEL NORRIS REESE
EDITOR

December 28, 1956

John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Av.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Constable:

At the request of Howard D. Roberts, associate director of the Florida Council on Human Relations, I am sending you clippings from my newspaper on the latest actions on Sheriff McCall of Lake county.

It is my understanding that he suddenly released the girl in the pistol-whipping case, with the judge, who is his ally, putting her on probation and in care of her parents.

I am sorry to say I have no more information on the status of the charge against the Negroes, nor do I have their names.

I believe the Leesburg Commercial would lend you assistance on this. The one to write to is Emmet Peter, the city editor. It was their expose and I merely gave them the boast of the enclosed story.

I thought you might also be interested in the case of the Negro woman, one I consider as bad as any on his spotty record.

Yours sincerely,

Mabel Norris Reese

R

April 23, 1957

Mr. Robert Reps
c/o Amalgamated Union Education Center
Cornwall, Pennsylvania

Dear Bob:

It was wonderful to receive a fat check from the Fund as a result of your efforts and your interest in our work.

The money is certainly needed and all here were greatly pleased at the expression of confidence that your singling us out indicated. Things keep moving here, with more than enough to do. Margaret continues to show improvement and is taking her first steps with aid of crutches and braces.

I hope all is going well with you; I would like to hear what you are doing and hope that we will soon have occasion to be together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

May 7, 1957

The Religious Weekly
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please add our Organization to your mailing list to receive the Religious Newsweekly.

Thank you very kindly.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:ej

May 23, 1957

Dean Percy F. Rex
Trinity Cathedral
Euclid at 22nd Street
Cleveland 15, Ohio

Dear Dean Rex:

Enclosed you will find material pertaining to the resistance group movement in the South. We are sending this material at the request of Mr. Hodding Carter. The enclosed special report on "Resistance Groups" is now being revised and more current information on the subject will be forwarded to you within the next several days.

If we can be of any further help, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Encl.

June 14, 1957

Mr. W. Emerson Reck
Vice-President
Wittenberg College
Springfield, Ohio

Dear Mr. Reck:

Mr. Harold C. Letts has written requesting that I send you, in quadruplicate, a biographical sketch, glossy prints, title of my address, and if possible, a manuscript or digest of the address.

The biographical sketches are enclosed. The title of the address is: "The Church, Race, and the Community." I do not have a prepared manuscript but enclosed you will find several pertinent comments from the first portion of the address. These will, I trust, serve adequately in the preparation of newspaper releases. Appropriate glossy prints are not available and in the interest of time I send this material. If prints can be secured within the next several days, I will forward them to you.

Unfortunately, I will not be able to be at the school for the entire week. I do hope to be there by Wednesday the 26th, and to remain through the 28th. As soon as possible, I will confirm my exact time of arrival in Springfield.

I look forward with much anticipation, to being a part of this very fine project of the Board of Social Missions and Wittenberg College.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures
cc: Blind to Mr. Harold C. Letts

June 21, 1957

Mr. W. Emerson Reck,
Vice-President
Wittenberg College
Springfield, Ohio

Dear Mr. Reck:

At the suggestion of Mr. Letts we are mailing, under separate cover, a collection of materials which may be of use at your conference. Mr. Letts particularly suggested back issues of our magazine, New South. We are sending approximately eighty (80) of these. You will note only a few of several of the publications and reports. These we do not have in quantity but we will be happy to see that persons particularly interested can receive them.

I am due to arrive by plane in Dayton at approximately 6:00 p.m. on Wednesday, the 26th. I shall proceed to Wittenberg College by the first available transportation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs

July 11, 1957

Miss Florence M. Read
Dickinson House
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Read:

It was very pleasant to hear from you and to have your order.

We have made note of your anticipated changes of address, and New South should reach you on schedule.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

November 7, 1957

Mr. Robert L. Reynolds
136-41 - 68th Drive
Flushing 67, New York

Dear Mr. Reynolds:

I have been to New York since I wrote you last, but my time was so limited that we probably lost little opportunity to get together.

I don't know how much I can help in pinning down the generalization about unevenness of performance over the region. But I am very much interested in your suggestion and would welcome a chance to talk with you about it. The likelihood is that I will be in New York again within a reasonable period, and I shall certainly be in touch with you then.

Meanwhile, If there is a heavy time factor and you want to put some specific questions to me, I will do my best to answer by mail. But I do think that a conversation is more likely to be helpful.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

136-41 68th Drive
Flushing 67, N.Y.

October 23, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your cordial and helpful letter of September 6th. I offer my apologies for my delay in answering it. I have recently changed jobs, and to make matters worse the Asian flu of a particularly lingering variety seems to have visited our family, so the past month has been hectic.

I have been in correspondence with Paul Williams and also with Father Maurice Shean of the Catholic Committee of the South. I know Mr. O'Connor, but was not aware of his researches; I'll ask him for a copy. Is Integration North and South the booklet the Fund for the Republic distributed some time ago? I have that one, but if the former is a booklet which the Council put out, I would appreciate receiving a copy of that, as well as copies of other Council material you think relevant to our study.

Your statement "that the militance and effectiveness of Catholic leadership in this field vary considerably from area to area" was to me what the advertising moguls call a "teaser;" it is precisely the variance, and the reasons therefor, which interest Dr. Osborn and me.

Your intention at the time you wrote was to come to New York soon. I hope my tardiness in answering your letter has not caused us to miss connections. If the trip is shaping up still, may I hope to hear from you and to arrange a meeting when you come? My home telephone number is BOulevard 3-7479 (after 7:00 p.m.); you can reach me during business hours at MUrray Hill 2-6551, Extension 35.

May I hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Robert L. Reynolds

Robert L. Reynolds

November 7, 1957

Mr. D. G. Redmond, Editor
Events Publishing Company, Inc.
108-10 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Redmond:

Please send us a copy of the May 1957 issue of Current History. Please bill us for cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

BC sent to Dorcas ~~Ruth~~ Ruthenburg

June 10, 1958

Mr. J. Owen Reynolds
Security Trust Building
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Reynolds:

This is to acknowledge your letter of June 5 concerning two copies of New South and a letter sent to you anonymously. I am at a loss to account for this, since there is nothing in the philosophy or tradition of the Southern Regional Council that sanctions anonymous correspondence. I am the recipient of a certain number of communications myself and find them both annoying and generally unworthy of any serious notice.

While I cannot shed any light on this mystery, I can assure you that these mailings did not come to you from any official of the Southern Regional Council, and I think it extremely unlikely that any of the leadership of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations was responsible.

Please be assured that if any of our information or material would be helpful to you, I should be happy to have you call on us for it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LAW OFFICES
J. OWEN REYNOLDS
SECURITY TRUST BUILDING
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

Rec'd 6/6/58
HCF

June 5, 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am in receipt of two issues of your publication, New South, and which I have noted with interest.

These have been sent to me by one of your subscribers or probably one of your own officials from Louisville, Kentucky.

Just prior to receipt of these two copies, this same party in Louisville wrote me raising some questions concerning my views about certain matters and failed to sign the letter except it was signed, "A White Kentuckian".

I know the copies were received from the same person as the two issues are post-marked at Louisville and there are several pages marked and notations written on them and they are in the same handwriting as the letter.

If you know who this is, I would appreciate it if you would give me his name and address as I would like to write him. We are all extremely interested in these matters and I expect to read the two issues at hand rather carefully.

I hesitate ever to reply to an unsigned letter but I concluded to attempt to do so in this instance.

Thanking you for your reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. OWEN REYNOLDS

JOR/chs

May 6, 1959

Mr. Fred P. Reuter
51 Spooner Street
Floral Park
Long Island, New York

Dear Mr. Reuter:

I owe you a hefty apology for not writing you sooner about the draft schedule for school administrators which you shared with us. After looking it over myself, I circulated it to other appropriate staff members here, and in the process it got lost in the inter-office logjam. I'm very sorry.

Our reactions are probably too late to be of any use. However, I pass on the two general points that seem to us most important:

(1) The statements are not all of a kind. Some are descriptive of community situations -- population make-up, "class" structure, types of leadership, etc. -- which are not subject to modification or control. Others deal with techniques or principles of desegregation among which some choices are possible. In the case of the first category, your rating system would hardly be applicable, since it is not possible to "use," or fail to use, an immutable fact about the community. Our suggestion would be that you divide the statements into at least two categories, reflecting this difference, with an appropriate rating system for each.

(2) We also felt that the language throughout needs considerable revision in the interest of clarity and precision. Many of the statements are ambiguous or obscure. We realize fully what a difficult task it is to reduce many of these concepts to a statement that is at the same time brief and clear and simple. But we did feel that a good deal more could be done in that direction.

Certainly the project is an imaginative and ambitious one. We wish you the best of luck and hope you will share your findings with us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

MF

LD

For your information
Please return for
filing —
MF

May 11, 1959

Mr. Fred P. Reuter
51 Spooner Street
Floral Park
Long Island, New York

Dear Mr. Reuter:

Thanks for your letter and the copy of the revised instrument. You have improved it enormously and have achieved a very high standard of clarity, succinctness, and comprehensiveness.

By all means pay us a visit when you pass through Atlanta this summer. I'll look forward to discussing your project further then.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

51 Spooner Street
Floral Park, LI, N. Y.
May 7, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You certainly owe me no apology. I know how office logjams are.

I was only too glad to hear from you as the tack you took in evaluating the propositions I gathered from here and yon corroborated my feelings exactly.

I finally got the idea to separate the statements into "plausible techniques" and "plausible conditions" , thanks to Melvin Tumin. I apologize to you for the wording, but that was exactly what I heard in my travels. Since then, I have edited and refined until I think the message in the statements is now somewhat clear. In some instances I feel the wording could still be improved, but I'm practically at my ropes end and have to move fast if I'm to get finished in time to teach in Florida this fall.

I shall enclose one of the pretest copies of the instrument as it appeared a short time ago. I think you will agree it is much better. If you want to comment, and I encourage you, I shall be glad to hear from you. However, I feel that I have imposed on you enough, so if you are busy, forget it.

At any rate I shall be glad to share the findings somehow, even if I have to mimeograph it myself and send you a copy. I should like to get the findings published and available should they prove worthwhile.

I shall try to take you up on your invitation to stop and say hello if it still holds. I shall be through Atlanta some time this summer on the way home. I live in Adel, in south Georgia and will pass through on the way to Florida. I only wish I knew when.

Again, thanks for everything.

Yours truly,

Fred P. Reuter

DIRECTIONS: Section I Plausible Techniques for Successful Desegregation

You will find below a list of propositions regarding plausible techniques gathered from educators like yourself. In the blank to the LEFT of each proposal, will you please place a plus sign (+) if the proposal was used in your community in successfully solving the problem of school desegregation. If you did not use it, please place a zero (0).

In the blank to the RIGHT of each proposition, please place a number from 1 to 5, depending on how you rate the relative value of the proposal to successful school desegregation. Even though you did not use the proposal rate it anyway as your opinion is still quite valuable.

May I suggest you use the following scale to help you rate the proposition?

1 = Reject the proposition as very harmful to successful desegregation.
2 = Reject the proposition as somewhat harmful to successful desegragation.
3 = Uncertain, no definite idea, do not know.
4 = Accept the proposition as somewhat helpful to successful desegragation.
5 = Accept the proposition as very helpful to successful desegregation.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

A TENDENCY TOWARD SMOOTH TRANSITION FROM
SEGREGATED TO DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS IS DEPENDENT ON:

I Techniques for Preparation

___Organizing a citizens' advisory committee to help with desegregation. ___

___Recruiting support from all the "liberals" in the community. ___

___Asking the community for suggestions on how best to desegregate, not whether. ___

___Preventing extremely prejudiced persons from disrupting planning procedures. ___

___Providing for unhurried and unpressured minority group leadership at planning sessions. ___

___"Re-educating" a few leaders and "key" officials rather than the entire community. ___

___Providing effective counseling and question-answering services for both Negro and white patrons. ___

___Restricting over-active pressures of groups such as the NAACP and the Urban League. ___

___Establishing effective in-service training programs so that the instructional staff will be familiar with the special problems attendant to school desegregation. ___

___Directing "re-education" efforts toward prejudice generally rather than toward race relations specifically. ___

___Preventing continual racist interpretation of individual differences between Negroes and whites. ___

(Over)

___Providing accurate statistics for all school patrons regarding the qualities of Negroes such as intelligence, susceptability to disease and moral responsibility. ___

___Providing an instructional program that really meets the needs of youth. ___

___Investigating desegregation procedures in other schools. ___

___Establishing a special agency within the system to handle the problem of desegregation exclusively. (Department or person) ___

II Techniques for Implementation

___Implementing the decision to desegregate as quickly as possible after the policy is accepted by the trustees or board. ___

___Allowing very prejudiced persons to transfer their children to other schools with fewer or no Negroes. ___

___Encouraging patrons and teachers to let children work out their own minor race relations problems. ___

___Giving unwavering, unequivocal support to subordinate school officials. ___

___Establishing local school responsibility and autonomy with regard to desegregation, as much as possible. ___

___Exposing and preventing subtle attempts at evasion. ___

___Stressing educational, not social desegregation. ___

___Desegregating summer schools 2 or 3 years prior to general school desegregation. ___

___Placing 2 or 3 specially selected Negro students in specially prepared classes in white schools. ___

___Getting local leaders and public officials to voice publicly their approval of and support for school desegregation. ___

___Starting desegregation (suddenly) on a district-wide basis in all grades at all levels. ___

___Starting desegregation (gradually) on a district-wide basis in only the lowest grades, progressing gradually one grade per year. ___

___Starting desegregation on a district-wide basis at the secondary and / or junior-high levels so as to begin with more mature youth. ___

___Starting desegregation district-wide at all levels but only in the lowest grade, thus progressing gradually one grade a year. ___

___Starting desegregation on a non-district-wide basis in a particular school or group of schools. ___

DIRECTIONS: Section II Plausible Conditions for Successful Desegregation of Schools

The following group of propositions deals with the conditions in the community rather than the procedures. In the RIGHT hand column, continue to rate their worth from 1 to 5.

However, in the LEFT hand column, use the letters A B X C and D to describe the extent to which that condition seemed to exist in your community. May I suggest the following scale to indicate your assessment of "condition"?

A = The condition was present to a high degree.
B = The condition was present to a moderate degree.
X = Uncertain, no definite conclusion, do not know.
C = The condition was present to a low degree.
D = The condition was evidently not present.

THE TENDENCY TOWARD SMOOTH TRANSITON IS DEPENDENT ON:

I Conditions Concerning Attitudes and Values

___Many people having a high respect for law and order. ___

___Large masses of middle-class white patrons with their attendant middle-class values. ___

___A high respect for moral and religious values, and for the rights of human beings. ___

___Many white people accepting desegregation as inevitable and acquiescing to a changing social pattern.

___Widespread liberal attitudes among citizens of various racial and religious backgrounds toward interracial housing, recreation and public accommodation. ___

___People tending to reject old patterns of behavior with regard to racial discrimination. ___

___Little prejudice in the community toward minority groups in general. ___

___Superficial and easily altered prejudices in certain "key" officials. ___

___Political leaders not exploiting the "race" issue for personal gain. ___

II Conditions Concerning Patterns of: Interaction

___A large amount of social interaction among Negroes and whites. ___

___Many opportunities for equal-status contacts between Negroes and whites. ___

___A long history of friendly race relations. ___

___Little or no apparent conflict between various agencies and levels of government. ___

___Many effective intergroup relations agencies. ___

___Little or no outside interference, outside publicity and attendant rabble-rousing. ___

___Many scattered Negro residential sections rather than one or two large sections. ___

___Many effective attacks on local pressures and conditions which lead to discriminatory behavior such as shortages in housing, jobs and play areas. ___

___A great amount of prior desegregation in other areas or institutions such as colleges, hotels, restaurants, busses and theatres. ___

___~~Little heavy concentration of Negro residential areas, rather than many scattered units.~~ ___

III Conditions Concerning Education and Knowledge

___A high level of educational attainment of the majority group. ___

___Many people who hold high respect and esteem for systems of free public education. ___

___An affirmative and effective local press in support of desegregation. ___

___Patrons believing that academic standards in desegregated schools will be affected only to the extent that achievement of incoming students prove exceptional. ___

___Many chances for outside news to reach the community from the press, T-V, or radio. ___

___A high "class" of Negroes, ambitious, intelligent, and hard-working. ___

___School officials and other leaders believing that verbal outbursts at the time of policy adoption have little relations to overt behavior at the time Negroes actually enter school. ___

___Effective and prompt law enforcement by personnel acquainted with basic "know-how" concerning human relations, intergroup conflict and group mob psychology. ___

___~~Showing the patrons~~ A predominating belief that dual school systems are generally wasteful of economic resources as well as human resources. ___

___Law-enforcement agencies well informed about impending resistance attitudes and movements. ___

IV Miscellaneous Conditions

___The appointment of the school superintendent rather than his election by the public. ___

___An impending court order to desegregate. ___

___A situation where nothing else can logistically be done. (A Negro school burning, the Negro bus breaking down, etc.) ___

___Little or no Negro and white competition for jobs. ___

SECTION III GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR COMMUNITY

(ALL information will be held strictly confidential)

Please give all answers as you saw them at the time when you desegregated your schools. Your answers need not be exact, approximations will do.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

When was the policy of school desegregation adopted by the trustees? (or the board) _____

Was the policy adopted on a district-wide basis? Yes_____No_____

How many schools do you administer?_____What levels are they?_____

How large was your community or city when you desegregated? Negro_____ White_____

How many children were in school at the time? Negro_____White_____

Do you now have racially mixed classes? Yes _____No_____How many classes?_

When did the first Negro enter a "white" school?_____Was there any overt resistance which resulted in an "incident"? Yes___ No____

How many Negroes are now attending schools with racially mixed classes?____

Do the Negroes tend to remain in their old previously segregated schools? Yes_____No_____

Do you think your schools could have desegregated regardless of whether or not the Supreme Court handed down the decision it did? Yes___No____

In order to desegregate successfully, what period of time do you think should elapse between the announcement of the new policy and the admission of the first Negro?_____

Do you think you should ask the community for suggestions on how to desegregate? Yes_____No_____

Do you think there is a limit to the number of Negroes that can be successfully brought in to previously white schools?Yes____No____ (If yes, what percentage?)_____

Do you think we need an excuse to desegregate the schools?Yes___No___ (An excuse other than the Supreme Court decision; such as a Negro school burning, a Negro bus becoming inoperative, or too far to transport Negroes economically.)

Did you grant transfers to white children to attend schools other than the one they would normally attend?Yes____No____

Do you feel you gained or lost stature in the community as a result of the stand you took on the desegregation issue? Gained_____Lost_____ Will you please explain briefly?

(Over)

Do you agree with the following statement? Yes_____No_____

"Human conflict is a concomitant part of, and a constant companion to social change."

Will you explain briefly please?

Describe your community very briefly please. (agricultural or industrial; rural, suburban or urban, progressive or provincial, etc.)

Describe briefly how you think desegregation should be accomplished. Be sure to include how you feel about items such as sudden versus gradual desegregation, where to start, or any other ideas you have that you think would be of value. In brief, if a good friend asked you how to desegregate his school system, what would you tell him?

Thank you so very, very much. FPR

August 18, 1959

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Alabama State College
Montgomery 1, Alabama

Dear Dr. Reddick:

New South has not received a review copy of your book Crusader Without Violence. We would certainly welcome one.

I am pleased that the book is going well and hope it will be very successful.

I often remember our dinner together with the Fiszman's at Bill Gordon's.

Mildred Flowers sends regards to you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf

The Alabama State College
Montgomery 1, Alabama
FOUNDED IN 1874

August 14, 1959

Gentlemen:

Because there have been a couple of slip-ups in the mailing out of review copies of my Crusader Without Violence,* I thought that I had better check with you to be sure that the New South had received its.

The book is going well--the first edition having sold out in two months but I am dying to know what a New South reviewer would think of it.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick

LDR:bcd

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

*Published by Harper & Brothers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

August 19, 1959

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Reddick:

I beamed with pride on yesterday as I typed a letter for John Constable to my ex-boss namely, "Chief." It's certainly good to know about your new book and I'm anxious to see our office review copy when it arrives. This achievement, along with others I've known you to make, gives me a wonderful feeling of prestige in having known and worked for you.

Enclosed is a reprint of a piece by Joseph R. Fiszman, published in The New Leader, 1955, (I'm sure you've seen this) which brought back memories of old times. I found this in our clip files and thought you'd like to re-new a few memories of your own.

Do let me hear from you occasionally.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
P. S. I got a letter from Delores Lefall the other day and she asked about you.

October 26, 1959

Mr. David M. Reimers
333 East 43rd Street, Apt. 703
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Reimers:

We will be happy to have you visit the offices of the Southern Regional Council when you are in Atlanta next January. Such information as we have on the churches and race relations will be at your disposal.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Oct. 19, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED OCT 21 1959

Dear Mr. Fleming;

I am a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin doing a PhD dissertation in American history on certain Protestant denominations and the Negro since the end of World War One. Althought I am currently in New York doing research, I am planning on going to the South, including Atlanta, sometime in January. I would like at that time to talk to you about my thesis and if possible have access to information that the Southern Regional Council might have relating to the churches and race relations. I have read the pamphlet, and in particular the section dealing with the churches, that you and Mr. David Loth wrote. I would greatly appreciate any assistance that you could give me.

Sincerely yours,

David M. Reimers

David M. Reimers
333 E. 43rd St.
Apt. 703
NY 17, NY

Nov. 7, 1959

RECEIVED NOV 12 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming;

I wish to thank you for your cooperation on my dissertation involving the Protestant churches and race relations. As I mentioned to you in my last letter, I will be in Atlanta sometime in the early part of January. I will contact your office when I arrive. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
David M. Reimers
David M. Reimers
333 E. 43rd St.
NY 17, NY

file

February 7, 1961

Mrs. William Resnik
Fox Hill Road
Stamford, Connecticut

Dear Mrs. Resnik:

We were pleased to receive your letter and are warmly grateful for your contribution to the work of the Council.

I am enclosing a copy of our report, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," There are encouraging signs that it is, at least, getting serious and widespread attention within the new administration.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures-2.

FOX HILL ROAD
STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am deeply impressed by your report to the President as summarized in today's New York Times. If you have reprints of it, would it be possible for me to get one?

I enclose a small contribution for your work.

Very sincerely,
Doraine S. Resnik
Mrs. William Resnik

Jan. 20, 1961

Check #25-00 PD

March 16, 1962

Miss Florence Read
22 Morven Place
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Miss Read:

How good of you to think to send me a copy of your Spelman history. My congratulations to you on finishing this work. I look forward to reading it soon and shall write to you again when I have.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

With my regards —

Florence M. Read

22 Norman Place, Princeton

MG - pls change address + return to me

LDV

22 Morven Place
Princeton, New Jersey
November 29, 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I think of you often and hope that all goes well with you and the Southern Regional Council.

Will you please pass on to the New South a change in address for me from Peacock Inn to 22 Morven Place. I go to the Peacock Inn usually for my dinners, and when the regular postman is on, he knows that my mail goes around the corner.

Sincerely yours,

Florence M. Read

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
8 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

changed address 12-14-62 MG

Credit Card Received 3/65

March 22, 1966

Realty Hotels, Inc.
Hotel Biltmore
Madison Avenue at 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Hotel Roosevelt (Accounts Receivable)

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a copy of Mr. Anthony's letter of February 23, 1966 in which he made application for a credit card with Grand Central Hotels, Realty Hotels, Inc. I am sure that this letter has been delayed in reaching you because we did not have an appropriate mailing address at our disposal. However, would you please process his application as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

February 23, 1966

Grand Central Hotels
Realty Hotels Incorporated
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is my application for a credit card with Grand Central Hotels. This is to be an agency account and billing should be arranged accordingly. Normally I use the Roosevelt.

The Council's bank references are the Citizens Trust Company and the First National Bank, both of Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

REALTY HOTELS, Inc.

HOTEL BILTMORE

Madison Avenue at 43rd Street

New York, N. Y. 10017

HOTEL ROOSEVELT
Accounts Receivable

File "Re" - gen.

June 8, 1967

Miss Bernice Reagan
334 Chappell Road, N. W., #C-4
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Dear Miss Reagan:

Simply as follow-up to our conversation here several days ago, this is to again express to you our interest in your work in encouraging folk art and preserving a record of it. This is very important, and I hope you are successful. Certainly, we will be happy to be of any possible assistance to you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Bernice Reagon
334 Chappell Rd NW #C-4
Atlanta, Ga 30318
872-0700

c/o Ulli Seltzer
15 Jefferson Rd.
Princeton, N.J.

---

also D Cales

Given "Re" gen

November 10, 1967

Miss Florence M. Read
896 West Harrison Avenue
Claremont, California 91711

Dear Miss Read:

Under separate cover we are sending you three copies of the issue of New South that carried in it Dr. Cook's article.

Your subscription is in order, and we are pleased to know of your interest in the magazine.

It is so good to hear from you occasionally.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MISS FLORENCE M. READ
896 WEST HARRISON AVENUE
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA 91711

October 27, 1967

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Anthony:

The other day I wrote to Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook to request a reprint, or two or three, of his article on "The Tragic Myth of Black Power". He suggested that I might get one or more from you. I thought his article was excellent. Inquiries come to me from time to time about the situation, and this article would help answer questions.

I believe that my subscription to the Quarterly is up-to-date. If not, I shall be pleased to make it so.

With good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Florence M. Read

$1. enclosed

$1.00 cash
10-30-67
Kathy

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RIVERSIDE

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

COLLEGE OF LETTERS AND SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA 92502

August 11, 1968

I made this change and unless you need the letter for your files, it can be put in the waste basket. Janet

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your August 2 reply to my letter of July 14 requesting information concerning the disposition of some of my books. I sent them to Miles College last week as you suggested. I am currently on the SRC mailing list and would appreciate having the label changed as follows:

John W. Reuss
Department of Political Science
Purdue University
Lafayette, Indiana
47907

J. S. note

Thanking you for your cooperation in this matter, I remain

Sincerely yours,

John W. Reuss

John W. Reuss
Political Science

Realty Hotels Inc.

THE BARCLAY/THE BILTMORE

THE ROOSEVELT/THE COMMODORE

EXECUTIVE OFFICES, THE BILTMORE, MADISON AVENUE AT 43rd STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OFFICE OF THE CREDIT MANAGER

(212) 687-7000

October 6th, 1969.

Mr. Paul Anthony
% Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In reply to your letter dated September 30th, 1969, enclosed you will find a photocopy of the Room Bill in question, for charges incurred during July 1969, in the amount of $75.32.

We trust you will find this enclosure in order, however, should you have any further questions regarding it, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Taking this opportunity to thank you for your valued patronage, we remain,

Very truly yours,

REALTY HOTELS INC.

James A. Mackey

James A. Mackey
Assistant Credit Manager
Extension 391

JAM/em
Enclosure

Acct #0101139

September 30, 1969

The Roosevelt Hotel
Madison Avenue at 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Gentlemen:

The enclosed bill indicates, I presume, that I was at your hotel on August 31st, which was not the case. Perhaps this is merely the billing date of some earlier stay which we have not yet paid. Our Secretary-Treasurer is away on vacation and it is difficult for us to check this here at this time. Would you be good enough to send me a copy of the original bill? Payment will be forwarded promptly on receipt of this.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

TELEPHONE: 687-7000

08	31	69

The Biltmore (1)
The Barclay (2)

REALTY HOTELS

MADISON AVENUE AT 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

The Roosevelt (3)
The Commodore (4)

MR. PAUL ANTHONY
SO. REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST. N.W.
ATLANTA GA 30303

DATE	HOTEL CODE	DESCRIPTION	CHARGES	CREDITS	BALANCE
08/31/69	3			BALANCE FWD.	75.32

THIS STATEMENT IS PAYABLE ON PRESENTATION
BALANCES MORE THAN 30 DAYS OLD ARE SUBJECT TO 1½% PER MONTH SERVICE CHARGE

RETAIN THIS PORTION OF STATEMENT - YOUR CANCELLED CHECK IS YOUR RECEIPT

PLEASE DETACH AND RETURN THIS STUB WITH YOUR REMITTANCE - IF PAYMENT HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE KINDLY DISREGARD

THE BILTMORE _____
THE BARCLAY _____
THE ROOSEVELT 75.32
THE COMMODORE _____

Famous Hotels with Great Tradition

REFERENCE NO. 0101139
PREVIOUS BALANCE 75.32
MONTHLY CHARGES .00
TOTAL AMT. DUE 75.32

3-08

HF

LWD
F.Y.I.
HCF

SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE

6000 JAY STREET
SACRAMENTO 19, CALIFORNIA

February 26, 1960

file

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of February 23. I appreciate very much your comments on the two documents submitted to the Civil Rights Commission in connection with its San Francisco hearings.

I am very pleased to learn that Elmer H. Johnson is doing a pamphlet on race and crime in the South. I certainly look forward to receiving a copy and if there should be any preliminary releases of portions of the material I would like very much to have them. I do not believe that I know Elmer Johnson but I would conclude that he is an extremely good man if he received a highly favorable recommendation from Rupert Vance whom I do know.

You might advise him that the next studies undertaken by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights will have to do specifically with race relations and the administration of justice. When these studies will get underway and when they will be completed I do not know. For this information Mr. Johnson might write to Mr. James Isbell, a young attorney on the staff of the C.O.C.R., 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D. C. The extra copies of the Chronicle letter and of my prepared statement for the Civil Rights Commission are enclosed for Mr. Johnson. Also I am enclosing for him a copy of a prospectus for a race and ethnic relations institute at Sacramento State College which contains some material on Negro crime and delinquency. I am sure he is familiar with the recent (1959) Yearbook of the Journal of Negro Education which is given over entirely to a discussion of juvenile delinquency among Negroes.

It is good to know that you are doing more research and of course I will be keenly interested in the various findings you turn up. Your releases as well as the regular publications and pamphlets have been invaluable to me and I am hoping to be in a position to reciprocate in some small way. If I can be of any help in connection with the work of the S.R.C. research program, please call on me.

Did this come in with it? Send Johnson - LWD to Johnson
Sec's Copy Sent by

Cordially yours,

Wilson

C. Wilson Record
Associate Professor of Sociology

CWR:vlo

Enclosures

via air mail

February 23, 1960

Mr. C. Wilson Record
Associate Professor of Sociology
Sacramento State College
6000 Jay Street
Sacramento 19, California

Dear Wilson:

Many thanks for copies of the two documents you prepared in connection with the Civil Rights Commission's San Francisco hearings. They are both excellent and very much to the point.

We have recently commissioned Elmer H. Johnson, assistant director, North Carolina Prison Department, to do a pamphlet for us on race and crime in the South. (Johnson is a sociologist and was highly recommended to us by Rupert Vance; I wonder if you know him.) We'd like very much to share your Chronicle letter with him, if you have no objection. Do you have an extra copy you could send me for this purpose?

As you may know, we have stepped up our fact-finding and research interpretation under the direction of Leslie W. Dunbar, who joined us as Research Director last year. I hope we may feel free to call on you for occasional advice and possibly collaboration in these efforts.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: L. W. Dunbar

SUNDAY

FEBRUARY						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29					

7

FEB. 1960

H F -

when you acknowledge, suggest you tell Record that we are doing something, then Johnson to put Negro crime in more fair focus. & that, if he has one available, we would like a copy of his Jan. 30 letter to send to Johnson

SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE
6000 JAY STREET
SACRAMENTO 19, CALIFORNIA

February 15, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed herewith are copies of two documents which may be of some interest to you since they concern race relations in education and law enforcement in California.

I believe the two are self-explanatory and will require no additional comments by me. I would appreciate your letting me have any comments you care to offer on them.

Sincerely,

C. Wilson Record
Associate Professor of Sociology

CWR:vlo

Enclosures (2)

April 18, 1960

Mr. C. Wilson Record
Department of Sociology
Sacramento State College
Sacramento 19, California

Dear Wilson:

Thanks for the copies of your speech to the Forum on Public Issues -- a fine treatment of the whole school segregation question.

It's good to discover that you're carrying on a one-man SRC on the west coast.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Wilson Record

HUMAN RIGHTS, LAW, AND EDUCATION*

It is appropriate that the Third Annual Forum on Public Issues sponsored by the Social Science Division of Sacramento State College has as one of its major themes, "The Law and Human Rights." It is equally appropriate, perhaps in the circumstances mandatory, that within that broad theme attention be given to segregation in the public schools.

Why? There are two reasons. First, for the citizen in a modern democracy there is no more important right than that which provides through education the opportunity to develop to the fullest his intellectual and moral potentials. Without such a right, established through law and supported by affirmative official actions, no individual or group can nowadays hope to realize the promises and fulfill the responsibilities of the democratic faith. Second, no other right has been so systematically denied to so many people for so long a time. Particularly have Negro Americans, who now number eighteen million - one-tenth of our population - failed to receive the benefits of liberal schooling that we consider essential for free men in a free society. All the more glaring is that failure when we realize that the denial to Negroes of equal access to the nation's educational resources was not accidental but purposive, not piecemeal but calculated.

The desirability, indeed, the necessity of free, universal, public instruction was recognized by many of our forebearers. Education, they thought, should have three broad purposes: first, to equip the citizen to make wise, informed choices on matters of public policy and to exercise choices in terms of public interest; second, to further his moral and spiritual development by giving him effective access to the great store of knowledge concerning man's relation to man and man's relation to the universe; third, to make him an effective contributor to the material development of society through the acquisition of scientific, technical, and mechanical skills and their application in creative, productive endeavor. These, then, were the three central aims that informed development of the American educational system.

True enough, these were ideals, and there was always a gap between what was preached and what was practiced. Gradually, however, more and more citizens — women, immigrants, the socially handicapped, the poor — reaped the benefits of learning which before had been the privilege of the well-born and the well-bred. Group after group asserted effectively their claims against the educational monopoly of elites. However, there were exceptions, the largest and most obvious one being the Negro. And, one of the great unfinished tasks dictated by those ideals was, and remains, according the Negro in America those minimal opportunities for education generally available to those of paler skin and more fortunate circumstance.

This is not to say, of course, that the Negro has been denied totally this basic human right; it is to insist that so many obstacles have been placed in his way that his chances of becoming a full citizen, an effective choice-making individual, and a creative contributor to the material growth

*Speech by Wilson Record, Associate Professor of Sociology, Sacramento State College, at Third Annual Forum on Public Issues, sponsored by Social Science Division, Sacramento State College, March 22, 1960.

of our society are, even today, slim. And one can hardly avoid surprise that as many Negroes as have, managed to wrest some learning from a society which, while it proclaimed the ideal of educational opportunity, developed concurrently an elaborate ideology and a set of legally-sanctioned institutions for keeping the Negro, permanently, in his uneducated place.

However, changes, big and dramatic, and sometimes violent, are taking place. The lights and shadows are so many and so shifting that one has difficulty in getting a clear image of the contemporary race and education scene. Nonetheless, I should emphasize that many of the events of recent years are culminations of certain gradual changes taking place over a long period of time, and further, that these changes will continue at an increased tempo. While we might like to review these historical developments as the context within which the happenings of the day might be seen more clearly, time does not permit such exploration. Accordingly, I will focus on the 1954 decisions of the United States Supreme Court and on some of the changes growing out of those momentous decrees.

Four major results are now apparent. First, the legal foundations of racial segregation in public schools, and by implication in other public facilities, have been wiped away. Up until 1954 those underpinnings, although eroding here and there, were still firmly imbedded, particularly in the Southern states. As a part of a "massive resistance" strategy legislatures in that region have tried to pass new laws that would provide new props for the weakened bi-racial system in education. Some of them have been willing to authorize abandonment of the public instruction programs, if by doing so they could deny Negroes equality of educational opportunity. In some cases they have had at least momentary success. However, the fact is inescapable that the humpty-dumpty of "separate but equal," which was certainly separate but never equal, cannot be put together again. Even the Southern die-hards — Russell, Talmadge, Eastland, Thurmond, Byrnes, and Faubus — now realize that "massive resistance" or perhaps more accurately, "nullification," is a failure. They fight a holding action, seeking to delay or sidetrack the desegregation process and to obstruct affirmative public policies. However, they now seem less confident of success while an increasing sense of guilt pervades their efforts.

A second result of the Supreme Court decision is that public schools in the South - and elsewhere - are being desegregated. Some of you may be impatient with the slowness with which this is being done. I share that impatience and lament the fact that the federal administration seems capable of doing no more than deploring violence while hoping, as the Bee pointed out recently, that the race and education problem in the South will somehow, "pass away". However, in spite of the multitudinous efforts to obstruct school desegregation and the laissez faire attitude of the federal administration, certain hard and encouraging facts stand out. In Governor Faubus' state 9,750 Negro pupils are enrolled in integrated school systems. In North Carolina the number is 41,000; in Texas there are 33,000; and in the District of Columbia there are no less than 93,000. Only in five states - Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina - are there no racially integrated public schools. Some of the integration is of a token nature, but it can be anticipated, now that the process has started, in most

states, it will continue. In the seventeen southern and border states and the District of Columbia more than a half million Negro pupils are now enrolled in integrated systems. Those who insist that law is not, and cannot be, an instrument of social change might well ponder these data.

A third result of the Court's decision is a general weakening of the ideology of white supremacy and of its institutional supports. While this development is more difficult than the first two to gauge, it is quite real and has far-reaching implications. The Court's ruling, and the specific actions growing out of it, posed moral questions for whites who theretofore had not bothered to ponder seriously the ethical premises on which their relations to Negroes rested. They were forced to confront and to act on issues which they would have preferred to forget. Few could find refuge on a segregated golf course. While southern white response has not been uniform, by any means, a great many white dwellers below the Mason-Dixon line now concede that racial segregation is morally wrong. Some, and I think their number is increasing, are prepared to accept, even initiate, practical actions that stem from that belief. Apparently, their ranks have been joined by the Governor of Florida. Simultaneously, they are led to question not only the "separate but equal" doctrine, so far as concerns schools, but also its desirability in all other areas of race relations. For example, resistance to Negro voting in the South is crumbling, in spite of the Senior Senator from Georgia, and the next generation of politicians from that and similar states will cultivate rather than suppress the Negro vote. The loudness of the Southern white segregationists reflects not so much their confidence but their uncertainty not only about events, but about themselves. A boy whistles in the dark not because he is secure, but because he is afraid.

A fourth result of the Court's decision is a growth of democratic militancy among Negroes in the South and elsewhere. Their protest does not assume violent form; on the contrary, it has been a legal, peaceful, and orderly challenge to prevailing race relations practices. For a disadvantaged people seeking to enter the mainstream of American life, knowledge that both morality and law are on its side is a great weapon. In the South today it is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress on Racial Equality, and the Southern Regional Council, not the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Councils, that can justly claim that their actions are sanctioned by the supreme law of the land.

Negroes in the South know that if desegregation policies are to be implemented, Negroes will have to assume much of the responsibility. Indeed, the rulings of the Court require that initiative be taken by those who deem themselves to be denied opportunities for equal education. In many cases where Negroes have made efforts to secure compliance by school boards with the law, they have been subject to the most willful, even violent, pressure. In the circumstances what must impress any sensitive observer is not how little, but how much, effective response one finds among Southern Negroes to the demands of desegregation procedures.

It is highly significant that in recent years student sit-ins, bus boycotts, school picketing, and other forms of non-violent, and frequently

spontaneous, collective action have occurred in the South, even in Mississippi and South Carolina. In large part the stimulus for this comes from two sources: the Supreme Court decision of 1954, and the resistance of white segregationists to the implementing of that decision.

Further, it is portentous that the response of Southern white officials has not taken the form of traditional mass and partially private violence, which leads one to conclude that they, too, have gained some added respect for law, or at least realize that observance of law is in the circumstances necessary. True enough, violence has occurred and Negroes have been the primary victims. More violence may occur in the future with the chief sufferers being Negro students. But their and other Negro protest will continue, assuming first one form and then another, and its basic rationale will be the Supreme Court decision of 1954. One reason why this protest will continue is that it is grass-roots in character. It cannot be dismissed as Communist conspiracy or Yankee interference. Like cotton, and corn, and sugar cane, it is Dixie grown. It is genuine and white Southerners know it. Perhaps that is why they cannot resist it more effectively.

In view of the four general results of the Supreme Court ruling that I have sketched above, I am sure you will concur that it was, indeed, a momentous decision. Further, I believe most of you would agree, that, given the issues at stake, the justices could not have ruled otherwise. The opinion of Mr. Chief Justice Warren, without doubt, will go down as one of the great pronouncements on human rights in this century. It speaks not only to Negroes and white southerners but to all of us here, and perhaps to all those who believe that human rights and the rule of law are inextricably linked.

But you have been told and told again that law can go only so far in changing social attitudes and human behavior. That, I am sure, is true. What disturbs me is the widespread notion that law must reflect only prevailing public sentiment. That, I am equally sure, is not true. Admittedly, law may be more readily enforced where there is concensus on its desirability. But one would hardly argue that old laws should be disobeyed or that new ones should not be adopted merely because some groups would try to evade them. The aim of law has never been to change men's morals directly, but to control certain aspects of their behavior in accordance with defined principles of the public interest and of the rights of individual citizens.

Well, Yankees, I have been looking away with you to Dixieland. Rightfully so, perhaps, for it is there that one of the most critical issues in human rights is being fought out. But before you indulge in an orgy of self-congratulation that you are not, thank God, Southerners, consider briefly some implications of the Court's decision for us in California. Although we are not angels, let us look homeward. I suggest you reserve a part of your indignation for racial segregation in California public schools. For here in the Golden State segregation in education, although not sanctioned by law, is nonetheless real and widespread. Indeed, there may well be taking place a <u>defacto</u> segregation which in many respects repeats those patterns in the South about which we protest. Perhaps, also, we might deplore school segregation in <u>Sacramento, California</u> as well as in Little Rock, Arkansas, Savannah, Georgia, and Birmingham, Alabama.

The establishment and exercise of the human right to education is as much the responsibility of students at Sacramento State College as it is the responsibility of students at Fiske University in Tennessee and Alcorn College in Mississippi. Surely, if they are willing to endure gas bomb reprisals by police, detention in jails and wire pens in near freezing weather, and the filthy insults of bigots in an effort to obtain equal educational opportunities, we can hardly stand idly by if we share the same moral commitments. We cannot evade that responsibility by closing our eyes to the realities about us or by mouthing pious incantations about the limits of federal power.

For us here, right here, in California the most significant result of the Supreme Court decision in 1960 may well be the opportunity, indeed, the necessity, to do what we have been insisting that Southerners ought to do. And if we act on the moral premises of the Court's ruling, we will not only strengthen the human right to education here, but in the South as well. As members of a democratic society, one of whose foundation stones is equality of educational opportunity, we can, in good conscience do no less.

May 2, 1960

Mr. Wilson Record
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology
Sacramento State College
Sacramento 19, California

Dear Wilson:

You are perfectly free to use Kenneth Clark's New South article, in whole or in part, in the collection of readings you are preparing.

I'll be grateful if you will arrange for me to be sent a copy (with bill) on publication.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WILSON RECORD
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE
SACRAMENTO 19, CALIFORNIA

April 22, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank your your letter of April 18. It came just as I was preparing to write you for permission to quote from Kenneth Clark's article which appeared in the June, 1958 issue of New South.

My wife (Jane Cassels Record) and I are editing a collection of readings on the school integration issue in Little Rock. We wish to use portions of the Clark piece since it will be an excellent item and will fit in well with the remainder of the collection.

Our publisher is Howard Chandler of San Francisco. The readings are to be published in paperback form, for use as supplemental texts in college English and social science courses. Because of space limitations we may be unable to reprint the Clark article in full. You may be sure, however, that we will choose excerpts in such a way as to preserve the author's meaning and the overall context of the article. Of course, we will make full acknowledgement of the source.

I would welcome the earliest possible reply.

I want to thank you again for making available the extra copies of your report on the sit downs.

With best wishes and warmest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Wilson Record

Wilson Record
Associate Professor

February 8, 1961

Mr. Wilson Record
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology
Sacramento State College
Sacramento 19, California

Dear Wilson:

Please accept my abject apologies for not writing you long ago about Little Rock, U.S.A., which you were kind enough to have sent to me. This is a superb documentation of the Little Rock episode. I am delighted to have it and to know that it is going to be used (widely, I hope) as a text. My delinquency in replying should be explained. I made the mistake of circulating your letter with the book to other members of our staff, and it has only just now returned to my desk. I may add, however, that my high opinion of the book is shared by others here.

We will run a note about the book in an early issue of New South. I hope that will help to call it to the attention of people in the South who can use it profitably.

I am enclosing a copy of our report, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," which we have recently submitted to President Kennedy and key persons in his administration. I'd be grateful for your reactions.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

COPY FOR LIBRARY

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

1 LWD ✓ interesting collection

3 MM

4 EW — Advice please

SM

PR

2 JC — would like back to review JC

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

MF

FILE

shelve

WILSON RECORD
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE
SACRAMENTO 19, CALIFORNIA

December 5, 1960

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council

Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Under separate cover Howard Chandler Publisher is sending you a copy of LITTLE ROCK: USA, a book on the school integration crisis edited by my wife, Jane Cassels Record, and me.

It may be of special interest to readers of New South since it uses material from and makes references to your publication. By the way, I thank you again for the quote permissions.

Wherther or not you think the volume is suitable for review, we would like to have your comments on it, although I am sure you have many more important demands being made on you at this time.

Best wishes for the holiday season.

Cordially yours,

Wilson

Wilson Record
Associate Professor

SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE
6000 JAY STREET
SACRAMENTO 19, CALIFORNIA

February 10, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of February 8th and for your most generous comments on our book, Little Rock U. S. A. . I do appreciate your considering mentioning it in a forthcoming issue of the New South.

Thank you also for sending the copy of the SRC publication, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights". It will require a bit of time for me to look it over but at the first opportunity I will do so and write you about it. Let us hope that President Kennedy reads it with the care and concern equal to that of the effort that you and your assistants made producing it.

Best wishes for continued success.

Cordially yours,

C. Wilson Record
Associate Professor of Sociology

CWR:wf

September 6, 1945

Director
State Department of Prisons
and Corrections
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is endeavoring to develop a current analysis of essential social statistics on the South. We shall be very pleased if you will send us a copy of your most recent published report and any oth r published materials that will indicate the scope and facets of your work.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR:imr

Regional - Southeast
Prisons - States
(Dr. Reid)

September 6, 1945

Director
State Department of Prisons
and Corrections
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

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Atlanta, Georgia

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Director
State Department of Health
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

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State Department of Health
Columbia, South Carolina

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Jackson, Mississippi

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Raleigh, North Carolina

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Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

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Septembe r 7, 1945

Director
State Department of Welfare
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

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The Southern Regional Council is endeavoring to develop a current analysis of essential social statistics on the South. We shall be very pleased if you will send us a copy of your most recent published report and any other published materials that will indicate the scope and facets of your work.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Directo

IDR:rha

September 7, 1945

Director
State Department of
Education
Charleston, West Virginia

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Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR:rha

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Director
State Department of
Education
Frankfort, Kentucky

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Ira De A. Reid
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Director
State Department of Education
Nashville, Tennessee

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Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

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Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR:rha

September 7, 1945

Director
State Department of Health
Austin, Texas

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Associate Executive Director

IDR:rha

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Director
State Department of Health
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is endeavoring to develop a current analysis of essential social statistics on the South. We shall be very pleased if you will send us a copy of your most recent published report and any other published materials that will indicate the scope and facets of your work.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR:imr

September 7, 1945

Director
State Department of Health
Nashville, Tennessee

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Associate Executive Director

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September 7, 1945

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State Department of Health
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

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Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR:rha

September 7, 1945

Director
State Department of Prisons
and Corrections
Austin, Texas

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Associate Executive Director

IDR:imr

September 7, 1945

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and Corrections
Charleston, West Virginia

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IDR:rha

September 7, 1945

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Frankfort, Kentucky

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Associate Executive Director

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September 7, 1945

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State Department of Welfare
Austin, Texas

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Charleston, West Virginia

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Associate Executive Director

IDR:imr

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Director
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

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Associate Executive Director

IDR:imr

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State Department of Education
Austin, Texas

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Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR:imr

PHONE MAIN 3048

Church of the Epiphany

502 SEMINOLE AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Rev. Norman Gore
RECTOR

mr ?

October 12, 1954

RECEIVED
10/13/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter dated October 8 is at hand, and I wish to thank you for your readiness to address the Y. P. S.L.

The young people enthusiastically voted in favor of having your subject discussed on November 7 and they look forward to your visit.

I will be seeing the President of the Men's Club during the week and find out what he has in mind. I note that you have already spoken several times to the Men's Club, but now the subject has become more actual and it would do them no harm to discuss the subject again. I will be in touch with you again after I have seen the President.

With kind regards and best wishes for your work, I am

Sincerely yours,

Norman Gore

Norman Gore
Rector

NG:W

October 8, 1954

Mr. Norman Gore
Church of the Epiphany
502 Seminole Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gore:

I have the world's worst record for coming to the meetings of the Men's Club. Most of the members heard me do a background talk on Southern problems some three years ago. I have some doubts that it was thought more than passably helpful.

Why not leave to the membership of the Men's Club if they want me to come. If they do, of course I will be most happy to get into any meeting that I can be in town for -- and most likely it could be worked out fairly soon.

Meanwhile, I will come for the November 7th meeting at 8:00 p.m., for the young people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

PHONE MAIN 3048

Church of the Epiphany

502 SEMINOLE AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Rev. Norman Gore
RECTOR

October 7, 1954

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your note of October 4.

The young people are looking forward very much to your coming to speak to them on the race problem November 7 at 8 P. M. This is a vital subject and I am wondering whether it would not be a good thing if you could give a similar talk to the Men's Club. Right now is the time for pressing the case relentlessly.

With all good wishes for your work, I am

Sincerely yours,

Norman Gore

Norman Gore
~~Rector~~

NG:W

April 1, 1955

Reverend Norman Gore
Rector
Church of the Epiphany
502 Seminole Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gore:

I am occasionally in touch with a pleasant and youngish layman named John C. Gleason, and he works in this building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., for the World University Service Fund. It is something hooked faintly to the YMCA, and it arranges scholarships for students in queer places.

Gleason lives at 120 The Prado, N. E., where his telephone number is VErnon 0192. Point is that he is a lay reader and a good preacher. Goes to All Saints. Preached once at Epiphany a couple of years ago and I thought he did outstandingly well. Thoughtful, depthful, earnest, but hit nobody's toes.

It may be that people in the vestry will remember him, or maybe not. In any case, I mention him as a resource.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 21, 1955

Mrs. Mildred Atkinson
14 West Madison Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Atkinson:

My $2.25 for the luncheon herewith.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

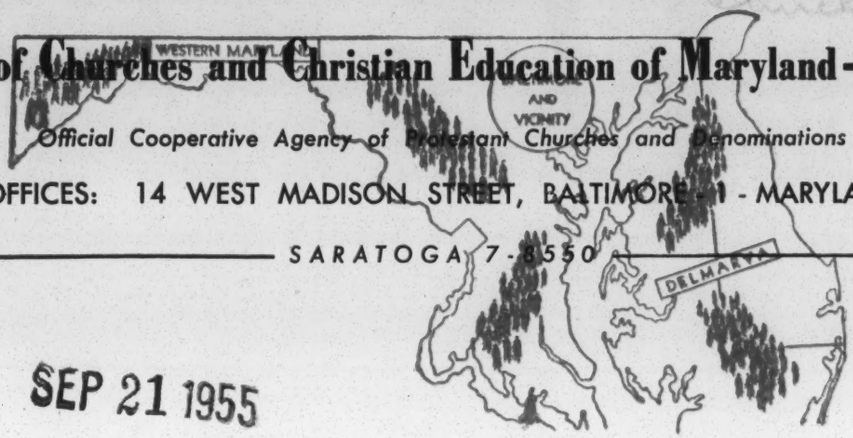
GSM/eab
Encl. GSM's personal check for $2.25

The Council of Churches and Christian Education of Maryland-Delaware, Inc.

Official Cooperative Agency of Protestant Churches and Denominations

OFFICES: 14 WEST MADISON STREET, BALTIMORE 1 - MARYLAND

SARATOGA 7-8550



Nov. 1-4

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Vice-Presidents

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THE REV. FREDERICK D. EYSTER
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THE REV. SAMUEL A. SNYDER
Director of Town and Country Church Development Program (In cooperation with the Sears-Roebuck Foundation)

THE REV. EDWARD WEGLEIN
Acting Chaplain of City and U. S. Public Health Hospitals (In cooperation with the Lutheran Inner Mission Society)

SEP 21 1955

September 19, 1955

To Delegates to the National Conference
on the Churches and Social Welfare

Dear Friend:

I am pleased to know that you are planning to attend the National Conference on the Churches and Social Welfare, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, in November.

A series of regional luncheons will be held at the Hotel Hollender, Cleveland, on Wednesday, November 2, 1955, at 12:15 p.m. It is hoped that these luncheons will encourage regional fellowship and provide some opportunity for consideration of regional concerns.

As Chairman of the South Atlantic Regional Luncheon, which will be held in the Rendezvous Room, I have been requested to ask you to make your reservations with me at the earliest possible moment.

The cost of the luncheon is $2.25, including gratuities. Because of space limitations tickets are being issued on a "first come, first served" basis. In view of this, I would suggest that you forward a check to me at once made payable to the Council of Churches. I shall promptly send tickets in the order in which checks are received.

Looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you personally at the Conference, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Mildred Atkinson

(Mrs. Mildred Atkinson)
Director, Christian Social Relations

National Conference on the Churches and Social Welfare

"The Churches Respond to the Nation's Needs"

Cleveland, Ohio November 1-4, 1955

The Call

RAPID SOCIAL CHANGES in recent decades have produced hardships for millions of people in our nation. Social welfare is a major concern in this generation.

The churches have long taught that no man lives unto himself. Social work had its genesis in the church. As long as there are people in need, the churches will have continuing responsibility and interest in every effort to improve their lot.

All social work should emanate from man's love for his fellowman, lest it degenerate into cold and unworthy professionalism that is an offense to personality and a cause of group conflict in society. Love contributes to understanding, and understanding is the first step in unravelling the complexities of circumstance that produce insecurity. The churches have a duty to arouse and guide the social conscience of the community for the maximum welfare of all people.

Local, state and federal governments have shared responsibility with voluntary agencies for mitigating the suffering of needy individuals and groups. However, local churches are also essential and significant community resources, and welfare services under religious auspices continue to have an important role. The respective responsibilities of government, the voluntary secular agencies and the churches for the welfare of citizens should be examined frequently and searchingly.

It also behooves the leaders of the churches' welfare programs to appraise the standards of their work. The standard set by Christ in the parable of the Good Samaritan far exceeded the welfare practices of His day. The churches should continue to impart new insights and point the way to exemplary social work practice.

Therefore, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America calls a National Conference on the Churches and Social Welfare, to be convened in Cleveland, Ohio, November 1-4, 1955, by its Department of Social Welfare and its Division of Home Missions. The theme of the Conference will be "The Churches Respond to the Nation's Needs".

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE is to consider the role and function of the churches in relation to the changing needs in social welfare. It will examine and evaluate the various historic and contemporary responses of the churches in

(a) operating welfare services,

(b) providing corporate worship, pastoral services, group programs, and spiritual leadership as community resources,

(c) relating their constituents and programs to those of other welfare resources,

(d) sensitizing the social conscience of the community for constructive action,

to the end that the churches may give more dynamic leadership in helping to meet the nation's welfare needs in this generation.

THE DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE are to be appointed by the member denominations and by state and local councils of churches. Presumably they will include the people responsible for administering, coordinating, and serving the welfare programs of the denominations and the parishes.

The Conference will speak only for itself, but it will report its findings and recommendations to member denominations.

I urge the churches to support the Conference and to cooperate both in the preparatory study and in the discussions of policy and program which will follow. May the Lord guide and use this Conference that it may redound to His glory and the welfare of our fellowmen.

BISHOP WILLIAM C. MARTIN, *President*
National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

February 20, 1956

Mr. Harry M. Wilson, Pastor
First Christian Church
Jefferson Avenue and Patton Street
Danville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Wilson:

As soon as the people at Lynchburg College told us that you were probably available we noted your name for a vacancy as Executive Director of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. Unfortunately despite telephone efforts the letter got there after the meeting and at their meeting they picked a man to run their show.

Meanwhile we have told Oscar Lee that we hear you are a good guy. I had word from Oscar last Thursday that he is trying to get your denomination to be helpful and is seeking solutions for you.

I am sorry to see Danville lose another brave man. It can use more than it has.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH

RECEIVED 15 1956

HARRY M. WILSON
Pastor

Jefferson Ave. and Patton St.
DANVILLE, VIRGINIA

February 14, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Prior to the now famous decision of the Supreme Court which outlawed segregation in the public schools, I tried through a letter published in our church bulletin and addressed to the congregation to condition my people's thinking to accept as Christians the full implications of the decision. On the Sunday following the decision, I preached on the social, religious and spiritual significance of the decision. A letter which I wrote to the Richmond Times-Dispatch was picked up by the local evening daily BEE and I was the subject of a rabble rousing editorial. There was not enough voting strength in our Board of Officers to require my resignation and not over ten percent in the congregation. The decision to accept my resignation could even now be reversed both in the Board and in the Congregation. I would not stay here now even if this were to be done overwhelmingly, and for quite personal reasons.

Before coming here I was for a little over five years Regional Director(Louisiana-Mississippi) of the National Conference of Christians and Jews with offices in New Orleans, and left that work thinking that the pastorate in these troubled times would afford a place of greater usefulness. Friends told me I was a fool for doing what I did and now I am in no argumentative mood, Dr. Mitchell!

Should the Southern Regional Council have an opening where my services could be used, I would be honored to be considered for such a post.My resignation is effective here finally on April 15.

With sincere regards and personal esteem, I am

Cordially yours,

Harry M. Wilson

Harry M. Wilson.

The Rev. Gaylord B. Noyce,
The United Church,
Hillsboro and Dawson Streets,
Raleigh, N. C.

March 13th, 1956.

Dear Mr. Noyce,

Your letter on the recent "Town Meeting" was much appreciated. I had already heard very favorable comments about it from people who were present.

Unfortunately, our small printing budget is already overcommitted, and it would be impossible for us to make the kind of subsidy which you need. If means should be found to print the presentations, we would be interested in buying at least a small number of copies for distribution to our key people. I wish we were in a position to do more, but please accept our warm congratulations and good wishes for your uniquely constructed program.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:rl.

The United Church
Congregational Christian - Friends
Hillsboro and Dawson Streets
RALEIGH, N. C.

GAYLORD B. NOYCE
MINISTER

March 7, 1956

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

A week ago last Monday here in Raleigh we had a very interesting "Town Meeting" to hear four very different points of view expressed on the integration question. I'm enclosing the write-up from Tuesday's Raleigh Times. There was something very constructive, I think, in having all of these views aired, prejudiced and narrow as some of them were. This meeting was part of the Institute of Religion which you may have heard of.

I feel there might be genuine worth in publishing a transcription of that meeting. We would include some introduction by George V. Denny, who moderated the meeting, and also some of the question and answer material which followed the four presentations. I'm wondering whether the Southern Regional Council would be interested in publishing this pamphlet or in guaranteeing us a sizable order if we were to undertake it ourselves. I think the cost can be kept down to about 10¢ per copy.

I wish you could have been here. There was a lot of emotion and some heckling at the meeting, but the audience was entirely unsegregated and well in its own control, so there was no difficulty experienced on that score. Certainly supporters of both W. C. George and Charles Jones were present in sizeable numbers in the audience, but Mayne Albright, a former candidate for Governor, received a simply tremendous ovation for his practical, sound and forward-looking stand.

Sincerely yours,

Gaylord B. Noyce

Gaylord B. Noyce
Minister

August 13, 1956

Mrs. Norwood Phelps
United Church Women of Florida
2405 Pineridge Road
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mrs. Phelps:

I think the enclosed clipping is the answer.

Warmest regards to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eah ← photo of
Encl. "NAACP Pamphlet Exposed as Phony"
from Pittsburgh Courier 6/9/56.

GEORGIA UNITED CHRISTIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT
of the
Georgia Council of Churches

TO: Georgia UCYM Representatives to the General Council
Provisional Council Members
Friends of UCYM

FROM: Robert T. Thomason, Convneor of the Provisional Council
Rev. Edward A. Driscoll, Exec. Sec'y, GCofCs

SUBJECT: Constituting Meeting of the Georgia UCYM

History is in the making on Saturday, September 29th, as we meet together to constitute the Georgia UCYM. As a denominational youth fellowship representative or related member you will want to participate in the Act of Constituting, to witness the signing of the Charter and to elect officers. Also, there are some important UCYM business matters needing your consideration and action.

In brief, the schedule for Saturday is:

10:00 Registration and Fellowship
10:15 Orientation; Aspects of UCYM
11:15 Break
11:30 Business
12:30 Lunch and Informal Recreation
Bring your own sandwiches if you wish
Beef Burgers 15¢; Coffee,Cola,Milk-available
Hot Plate Lunch and Drink 65¢
1:30 UCYM Program Plans
2:30 Election of Officers, Act of Constituting
Signing the Charter, Service of Installation

*** ***

DATE - Saturday, September 29th, 10:00 - 3:30

PLACE - Wesley Memorial Church Bldg., 63 Auburn Ave., N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia. Wesley is on the southeast corner of Auburn and Ivy across from the Telephone Bldg. Entrance is at the end of Wesley (on Auburn) next to car packing lot. Meeting room will be posted in lobby

LUNCH - See schedule, above.

WESLEY- Wesley is only a five minute walk from most of the downtown area. Ten minutes from the bus station.

*** ***

SEE YOU SATURDAY
*** ***

9/22/56

THE CONSTITUTING OF THE

GEORGIA UNITED CHRISTIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

of the

Georgia Council of Churches

Wesley Memorial Church Building, Atlanta, Georgia

September 29, 1956

Presiding: Robert T. Thomason, Convenor, Provisional Council UCYM

**** ****

10:00 - Getting Name Tags and Meeting New Friends

10:15 - Opening Prayer and Hymn
Greetings From the Georgia Council of Churches

What Is Your Name?

Review of the Work of the Provisional Council — Robt. Thomason

10:45 - The United Christian Youth Movement — Dot Willis
Discussion Period — UCYM Field Representative

11:10 - Checking Over Our Packet Material

11:20 - Stretching Time

11:30 - The National UCYM General Council Meeting — Andrew Dzirkalis

11;45 - Act of Constituting and the Signing of the Charter

- Election of Officers, Commission Chairmen, Adult Advisors

12:15 - Fellowship Luncheon

1:15 - Youth Week, Jan. 27 - Feb. 3, 1957. Theme: "Consider Your Vocation"

1:30 - Commission Groups

2:00 - Brief Resume From Each Commission Group

2:15 - Now It Is Time to Consider Such Matters as:

Interpret the Georgia UCYM. To Whom? How?
Georgia UCYM Newsletter. Sources of Material etc.
Development of local cooperative youth councils. How?
Financing the Georgia UCYM - Article XII, By-Laws
Recommended Budget goal - 1956-1957.
Clarification of Article IX - Commissions.
Halloween "Trick or Treat" Project. S-O-S
Youth Week Promotion.

3:15 - Service of Installation. — Presiding: Rev. Edw. A. Driscoll

3:30 - Adjournment of Constituting Sessions of the Georgia UCYM.

**** ****

3:35 - Meeting of the Executive Committee members to set date for the first meeting of the Committee.

GEORGIA UNITED CHRISTIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Nominations, 1956 - 1957

Officers

President	Robert T. Thomason	Methodist, No.Ga.	Dalton and Emory
Vice - President	L. Henry Whelchel	C. M. E.	Macon and Paine
Secretary	Carol E. Driscoll	Delegate-at-large	Decatur
Treasurer	Bill Wallwin	Presbyterian USA	Atlanta
Publicity Chmn	Larry King	Disciples	Decatur

Commissions

Youth Chairman and Adult Advisors

(The adult advisors to the Commissions are not members of the Executive Committee (youth chairman are) of the Georgia UCYM. However, the Council is asked to approve the advisors.)

Faith	Olin Ivey	Delegate-at-large	
	Rev. Maurice Cherry		Montazoma
Witness	George Pullen	Methodist, So.Ga.	Blakely
	Rev. Andrew Young		Thomasville
Outreach	Amelia L. Thornton	A.M.E.	Atlanta
	Rev. Annie Campbell		Atlanta
Citizenship	Andrew Dzirkalis	Presbyterian US	Milledgeville
	Rev. Bill Cole		Atlanta
Fellowship	Jane Malcom	Disciples	Monroe
	Rev. Paul Hanna		Athens

Two Adult Advisors
(by election)

Advisor	Mrs. A. L. Mayfield	C. M. E.	Atlanta
Advisor	Rev. Wytch Stubbs, Jr.	Methodist, So.Ga.	Macon

By-Laws - Article VIII

Chmn of the Committee on Youth Work	- L. H. Pitts	Atlanta
Executive Secretary, GCofCs	- Rev. Edw. A. Driscoll	Atlanta

"Additional delegates (delegates-at-large) not to exceed five, approved by the General Council at the time of the nomination of officers. Article VI-4A-5.

1. Ann Coulan
2. Olin Ivey
3. Carol E. Driscoll
4. Rev. Andrew Young
5. Rev. Annie Campbell

Respectfully submitted,

Amelia L. Thornton

THE ACT OF CONSTITUTING
THE GEORGIA UNITED CHRISTIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT
of the
Georgia Council of Churches

Hymn: The Church's One Foundation

Roll call of the delegations (The chairman will ask the denominational delegations to rise and will ask them:)

Do you, as members of the youth divisions of the churches of Georgia, declare that your fellowships have approved the formation of the Georgia United Christian Youth Movement and have agreed to become members thereof, and do now authorize your representatives to sign the charter?

Delegations will answer in unison: We do.

Chairman: Consent having been given, and authority having been invested in 7 denominational representatives to affix their names to the charter, I now call upon each of these duly appointed representatives to come forward and sign as the name of his communion is announced.

Ceremony of signing by representatives of the communions:

African Methodist Episcopal	Methodist - South Georgia Conference
Christian Methodist Episcopal	Presbyterian U. S.
Disciples of Christ	Presbyterian U. S. A.
Methodist - North Georgia Conference	

Chairman: The representatives of the communions have now certified their official intent to be members of and to share in the work of the Georgia United Christian Youth Movement. Therefore, as your presiding officer, I declare that the Georgia United Christian Youth Movement is officially constituted. Let us now dedicate it to the glory of God and to the service of mankind.

Unison: And now, as a fellowship of Christian Churches,
In the communion of the saints,
In love and goodwill toward all,
In gratitude for the labors and sacrifices of past leaders,
In loving remembrance of those who have finished their course,
acknowledging that without us their work is not made perfect,
We invoke the blessing of God upon this Georgia United Christian Youth Movement.
And dedicate it to His glory and the service of mankind,
In the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. AMEN.

Doxology

Prayer

****

Adapted from the service of the UCYM of Oklahoma. 9/29/56

January 7, 1957

Mrs. W. M. Rogar
1017 House Street
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Rogar:

The annual meeting of the United Church Women, as you know, will be the last Friday in this month and all recommendations for yearly work will have to be voted on at this meeting. Please send me the recommendations for your line of work not later than January 15. Mail them to me at:

63 Auburn Avenue
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia.

These, of course, will be mimeographed and put in the book of recommendations.

With the best of New Year's wishes to you,

Sincerely,

Dorothy Tilly

DT:mm

File

Georgia Council of Churches
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

OF VITAL CONCERN TO EVERY GEORGIAN, ESPECIALLY EVERY CHURCH MEMBER

About February 8th, House of Representatives Bill #143 was introduced. The bill is aimed at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations. To get the full import of HR 143 please read all of the following, especially paragraphs three and four. As the bill now stands any person(s) or organization could be investigated almost without cause.

HR #143 was referred to the State of the Republic Committee and is still in Committee but may be voted out very soon for action by the House and Senate.

An effort is being made to get the State ofthe Republic Committee to hold a hearing on Bill #143. If a hearing is granted it is essential that many, many, persons concerned about Constitutional procedures etc., be present. Expressing your concern regarding the purpose of the bill to your representatives and senators is extremely important.

The resolution (to become a bill), as worded, does not mention the NAACP or any other organization by name. It's stated purpose is "to create a joint interim committee of the House and Senate to investigate and hold hearings relative to the need, or lack of need, for legislation regulating and governing corporations, associations, organizations and other groups which seek to influence public opinion or encourage or promote litigation;.....to authorize said committee to issue subpoenas and require testimony; to prescribe misdemeanor punishment for failure to respond to any such subpoena, or failure or refusal of any witness to any question, without cause;....."

According to the Attorney General, the General Assembly is "reliably informed" that certain corporations and organizations are "fomenting strife and encouraging and promoting litigation", and that these (unnamed) organizations "have Communistic affiliations and backgrounds which have been withheld from the public" and are receiving funds from "well meaning but misguided zealots and liberals who are not aware of the subversive character of such organizations". The resolution recommends that the committee in its investigations collect evidence as to the need for legislation requiring these organizations " to register as lobbyists and divulge information to the public concerning their officials, memberships, finances, and other information..."; amendments to the Subversive Activities Act; and possible amendments to the State Income Tax Laws with respect to taxing donations to such organizations.

The resolution, as drawn, authorizes investigation of all groups "which seek to influence public opinion or encourage and promote litigation." It is possible to interpret this to include every group which in any way appears in the public eye as seeking to influence public opinion. Therefore, every kind of civic group, church group, labor union, religious group, newspaper, radio and television station, and even commercial advertisers are susceptible of investigation. Similarly it authorizes investigations of every kind of trade or industrial association since all such associations insofar as they act as defense agencies for their trade or industry to greater or lesser extent encourage or promote litigation in the State. Furthermore, the resolution makes an interesting equation of influencing public opinion with lobbying.

In essence, this resolution, which ostensibly seeks to impede one particular group, would require the whole state to abandon basic constitutional liberties which have been traditionally held by Americans ever since the Constitution was adopted. Obviously, if anyone who seeks to influence public opinion must submit to exhaustive examination, to register as lobbyists, and to disclose basic information as to finances, receipts, membership, etc., the result would be to make Georgia a complete police state. Certainly it means that every civic organization must recognize that if this resolution is passed, it will endanger the constitutionally guaranteed right of freedom of association. Similarly, every religious group and newspaper, for which there are no exceptions, can be subjected to the kind of dragnet investigation and hostile scrutiny which can serve only to destroy freedom of religion and freedom of the press.

2/14/57

COMMUNIQUE

United Student Christian Council
257 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

March 5, 1957 $1.00 per year Vol. XIII, No. 6

USCC VICE CHAIRMAN TO APPEAR ON NATIONAL TV HOOKUP

Mr. Pat Miller, Vice Chairman of the United Student Christian Council, will appear on the student panel of the College Press Conference program of the American Broadcasting Company Sunday, March 10 it was announced in Washington, D. C. today. Senator Herman Talmadge of Georgia will be the guest of the College Press Conference.

Moderated by the distinguished Mrs. Ruth Geri Hagy, the College Press Conference program is seen by millions of TV viewers regularly on Sunday afternoons at 4:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time, and heard by radio listeners at 5:30 p.m. over affiliated American Broadcasting and TV stations. Leading national and international diplomats, government officials and politicians are usually subjected to the most searching and candid questioning, so much so that the program is avidly followed by the interested public seeking clues to the personalities shaping the news.

Senator Talmadge, a former governor of Georgia, who is well known for his anti-integrationist views which he claims are consistent with Christian convictions, has only recently made his "maiden" speech in the Senate. Being the Georgia replacement for the noted internationalist Senator George his attempt to forward an extremely conservative point of view in international affairs will no doubt come under the closest of scrutiny by the panel of the College Press Conference.

Mr. Pat Miller, a native of Atlanta, Georgia, a graduate of Davidson College and presently a student at Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia was elected Vice Chairman of USCC last September at the XIII General Assembly in Green Lake, Wisconsin.

USCC TO HOLD SMALL CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN FAITH AND LAW

A small conference on implications of the Christian Faith for Law, the Lawyer, and the Legal Profession will be held the weekend of April 12-14 at the Episcopal Retreat Center in Whitinsville, Massachusetts, under the joint sponsorship of the United Student Christian Council and the Diocese of Western Massachusetts of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Approximately thirty law students, law faculty, lawyers and theologians have accepted the invitation to come to the conference. At the conference they will read and study the first draft of several monographs that have been prepared and which will appear in a publication to be issued next fall as a preparatory document for a national conference on law and the Christian faith which USCC hopes to hold in the spring of 1958.

C. FREDERICK STOERKER
TRAVELS TO EUROPE

The Reverend C. Frederick Stoerker, Associate Secretary for Ecumenical Voluntary Service Projects of the USCC staff, left early in January for a two month visitation to sites of the Ecumenical Work Camps to be held this summer in Europe. While in Europe Mr. Stoerker has been visiting Ecumenical Work Camp sites in Holland, Germany, France and Britain, as well as meeting with officials of the World Council of Churches' Youth Department responsible for the world-wide Ecumenical Work Camp program. Mr. Stoerker has also conferred with leaders of the World's Student Christian Federation, and has visited some of the refugee student centers in Austria. He is expected to return early in March.

In the meantime, under the leadership of Miss Virginia Howard, and other members of the USCC staff, the Committee on Ecumenical Voluntary Service Projects has been busy screening and selecting the many applicants for participation in both the domestic and overseas Ecumenical Work Camp programs. The approximately 125 participants selected for the domestic work camps to be held at Keyesville, Georgia; Accord Farms, New York; Los Angeles, California; Sitka, Alaska; Allentown, Penn.; Lancaster, Ohio; and La Plant , South Dakota will shortly be announced as well as the 150 participants in the over thirty overseas Ecumenical Work Camps to be held in over thirty countries in all parts of the world this summer.

USCC COMMITTEES
HARD AT WORK

Several USCC Committees are hard at work on many matters pertaining to the life and witness of the student Christian movements in the U.S.A. Meetings of the Committees have been or will be held as follows:

February 3-4	Committee on Ecumenical Voluntary Service Projects
February 28	Budget and Finance Committee
March 1-2	Ecumenical Advisory Committee
March 4	Committee on Ecumenical Voluntary Service Projects
March 8-10	USCC World's Student Christian Federation Committee
March 16	Special Committee of WSCF World Mission Emphasis proposal
March 21	Inter-Staff Committee on Work with International Students
March 22-23	USCC-SVM-Interseminary Consultation on possible merger
April 13	Study Committee
April 23-26	Ecumenical Work Camp Leaders' Training Conference
April 26-28	Conference on World Missions Task of the Church
April 29	Board of Directors, Student Volunteer Movement
May 3-5	Executive Committee, USCC

WSCF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
TO MEET IN APRIL

The Executive Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation will meet at the Ecumenical Institute in Bossey, Switzerland April 12-19. During the days April 15-17 it will be greatly enlarged to give consideration to the exciting proposal for a several years major emphasis program on the World Mission of the Church. Among those expected to be present from the U.S.A. are Mr. Paul Schrading, Chairman of USCC, Mr. Newton Thurber, Executive Secretary SVM, Miss Margaret Flory of the Board of Foreign Missions Presbyterian U.S.A. and Mr. Herluf Jensen, Executive Secretary, USCC. Also present will be Dr. D. T. Niles of Ceylon, Chairman of the WSCF and Dr. Carl Lundquist, Executive Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation and one of the Vice Chairmen of the WSCF.

The Christian Council of Atlanta
167 Walton Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 28, 1957

Dr. Harold Fleming
Director, Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This letter is to remind you that you are to meet with the DePauw University group Monday Morning, April 1st, at 9:30 at the downtown YWCA. The seminar will be held in the library. If you find it possible to bring one of your staff it would be appreciated. I would suggest either Mrs. Tilley or Paul Anthony.

I sincerely appreciate your meeting with this group and I will be there to introduce you to them.

Sincerely yours,

Lamar Clements

Lamar Clements
Director, Social Service Dept.

LC:jk

~~State Council~~
Religious
~~[illegible]~~

April 16, 1957

Mr. Howard Kester
Conference on
Christian Faith and Human Relations
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Buck:

Thanks for the note of April 10. Sorry I couldn't answer sooner, but I was out of the city. We will send material to the Rev. James Glasse.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

PROGRAM

CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN FAITH AND HUMAN RELATIONS

University Center

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

April 23, 24, 25, 1957

. . . toward the building of Christian community in a time of trouble—a post-Easter evaluation.

A CALL
to
CONFERENCE
on
CHRISTIAN FAITH AND HUMAN RELATIONS

Because the Christian faith testifies that God has entrusted to His people a ministry of reconciliation;

And **because** this ministry has peculiar urgency in these days when divisions and hostilities threaten our country and our churches . . .

We call this Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, to convene in Nashville, Tennessee, April 23-25, 1957.

This invitation goes to churchmen who are united in both a **commitment** and a **search.**

Our **commitment** is to Christ, who asks our loyalty and discipleship in all the walks of life. Through twenty centuries of human life His love has won men from their prejudices and resentments, their lesser loyalties and idolatries. Again today He asks that men worship not only with their lips but also with their lives.

Our **search** is for the specific meaning of Christian loyalty in our common life. Like all our countrymen, we are puzzled by many problems. We need to study, to pray, and to consult with each other about the meaning of our theological beliefs for our Christian living. Although we know that Christian faith impels us, not to withdraw from life but to serve God in the midst of His world, we need illumination on our present confusions as to how we can best serve God.

We call this Conference as a common testimony of churchmen to God's Lordship over life and as a common search for greater wisdom and strength in faithful living.

The Sponsors

GENERAL INFORMATION

Registration will be in the parlor of the Vanderbilt Divinity School

The main sessions of the Conference will be held in Wightman Chapel, Scarritt College, 1008 19th Avenue, South.

Persons planning to attend the Conference are requested to indicate their intention in advance on the accompanying self-addressed card. It is necessary that we have this information in order that we may make adequate arrangements for meeting and dining facilities.

Members of the Conference will be expected to secure their own over-night accommodations, breakfast and supper. Lunch will be available at the Cafeteria of the Methodist Board of Education Building, 1001 19th Avenue, South. A few private homes have offered hospitality.

A registration fee of $2.00 will be charged to help cover the costs of the Conference.

Upon notification of your plan to attend the Conference, we will send you all necessary information and be glad to put you in touch with others coming from your state so that, if possible, you may come by automobile.

Address all communications to: The Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, 1716 West End Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee.

PROGRAM

CONFERENCE ON
CHRISTIAN FAITH AND HUMAN RELATIONS
Nashville, Tennessee — April 23, 24, 25, 1957

Tuesday, April 23rd

3:00-5:00 p. m.—Registration: Vanderbilt Divinity School

7:30—General Conference Session: Wightman Chapel, Scarritt College

Service of Worship: The Rev. A. L. Currie, D. D., Pastor Westminster Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tennessee

Reading of the Statement from President Eisenhower

Address: The Rev. Blake Smith, Pastor University Baptist Church, Austin, Texas

Address: Dr. Benjamin Mays, President Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia

Wednesday, April 24th

8:45 - 10:00—General Session: Wightman Chapel, Scarritt College

Service of Worship: The Rev. Raymond T. Ferris, Rector Christ Episcopal Church, Nashville, Tennessee

Address: Dr. Everett Tilson, Associate Professor of Biblical Theology, Vanderbilt Divinity School, Nashville, Tenn.

10:00—Coffee Hour

10:30—Seminars:

1. Non-Violent Approaches to Racial Tension
2. Opening of Churches to All
3. The Church and the Public School Issue
4. The Church and Community Relations

12:00—Lunch

1:45—General Session: Stockham Chapel, Vanderbilt Divinity School

Report: Dr. Herman Long, Director, Department of Race Relations, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches, "What Churches in the South Are Doing About Race Relations."

2:30 - 4:00—Seminars: re-convene and continue discussion

4:15—Address: The Rev. Das Kelley Barnett, The Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest

6:00—Banquet for delegates, speakers, guests—Methodist Board of Education

7:30—General Session: Wightman Chapel, Scarritt College

Service of Worship: The Rev. Arthur Wayne Braden, Ph. D. Pastor Vine Street Christian Church, Nashville, Tennessee—Scarritt Choir

Address: Col. Francis Pickens Miller, Religious and civic leader, Charlottesville, Virginia

Thursday, April 25th

8:45 - 12:30—General Session: Wightman Chapel, Scarritt College

Service of Worship: The Rev. James W. Henley, Pastor West End Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee

PROGRAM

Reports of Seminar Findings
Address: Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, Dean Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas
Address: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Pastor Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama

11:30—Service of Communion: The Rev. T. B. Cowan, Pastor Union Church, Berea, Kentucky

SEMINAR LEADERS

Dr. William Van Til, co-ordinator of seminars, Professor of Education and Chairman Division of Curriculum and Teaching, George Peabody College

I—Non-Violent Approaches to Racial Tension
Discussion Leader: Dr. Langdon B. Gilkey, Professor of Theology, Vanderbilt Divinity School
Resource Leaders: Dr. Preston Valien, Professor of Sociology and Chm., Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University
Dr. John Rustin, Pastor Belmont Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee
Reporter: Mrs. John T. McCall, Immediate Past President United Church Women of Tennessee, Nashville, Tennessee

II—Opening Churches to All
Discussion Leader: The Rev. James D. Glasse, Associate Professor of Church Administration, Vanderbilt Divinity School
Resource Leaders: Dr. A. C. Miller, Executive Secretary Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention
The Rev. T. B. 'Scotty' Cowan, Pastor Union Church, Berea, Kentucky
Reporter: The Rev. Cecil Culverhouse, Pastor West Nashville Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tenn.

III—The Church and the Public School Issue
Discussion Leader: Dr. Harold B. Drummond, Professor of Elementary Education, Peabody College
Resource Leaders: Dr. Das Kelly Barnett, Professor of Christian Ethics and Moral Theology, Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas
Mrs. Charles S. Johnson, Past National Vice-President United Church Women of America, Nashville, Tennessee
Reporter: The Rev. C. Thomas Baker, Jr., Executive Secretary Tennessee Council of Churches

IV—The Church and Community Relations
Discussion Leader: Professor Gideon Fryer, Director of Research, University of Tennessee, School of Social Work, Nashville, Tennessee
Resource Leader: Dr. Herman H. Long, Director Race Relations Institute, Board of Home Missions Congregational Christian Churches, Nashville, Tenn.
Mr. Whitworth Stokes, Attorney, Nashville, Tenn.
Reporter: Dr. Robert McCan, Pastor First Baptist Church, Clarksville, Tennessee

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Immediate Past President United Church Women of Tennessee

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Greeneville, Tennessee

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Pres. Gammon Theological Seminary

Dr. John W. Rustin
Belmont Methodist Church
Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. H. Shelton Smith
Duke Divinity School

Dr. Roger Shinn
Vanderbilt Divinity School

Dr. Eugene Smathers
Calvary Presbyterian Parish
Big Lick, Tenn.

Dr. Blake Smith
The University Baptist Church
Austin, Texas

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Everett Tilson
Vanderbilt Divinity School

Dr. James Thomas
General Board of Education
Methodist Church
Nashville, Tenn.

The Rev. Walter Vernon
General Board of Education
Methodist Church

Dr. Melvin Watson
Dean, School of Religion
Morehouse College

Mr. Henry T. Ware
Blue Ridge, N. C.

Dr. W. D. Weatherford
Blue Ridge, N. C.

Dr. Wilson Welch
Fisk University

Dr. Dan C. Whitsett
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama

The Rev. Ted R. Witt
Knoxville, Tenn.

Miss Louise Young
Scarritt College

LOCAL

Tennessee Council of Churches
Nashville, Tennessee

REGIONAL

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Black Mountain, N. C.

CONFERENCE ON

Christian Faith And Human Relations

1716 WEST END AVENUE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Telphone ALpine 5-3842

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Mrs. Dewey Grantham
Raymond T. Ferris
Cecil Culverhouse
Bertram W. Doyle
William Van Til
James Thomas
Glenn Gothard
Gideon Fryer

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Roger Shinn, *Chairman*

PROMOTIONS COMMITTEE
C. T. Baker, Jr. *Chairman*

ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE
James Glasse, *Chairman*

April 10, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

Just a brief word to tell you how very glad we are to know that you will be here for the Conference on April 23-25.

We expect between 300-400 people and we would be happy to have the Council send us any literature which could be displayed or made available to those attending the conference. It would help us if the material were addressed to:

The Reverend James Glasse
Vanderbilt Divinity School
500 Twenty-first Avenue, So.,
Nashville, Tenn.

It will be good to see you again.

Sincerely,

Howard Kester

Howard Kester

CONFERENCE ON

Christian Faith And Human Relations

Past Sp. engts

1716 WEST END AVENUE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Telphone ALpine 5-3842

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Roger Shinn, *Chairman*

PROMOTIONS COMMITTEE
C. T. Baker, Jr. *Chairman*

ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE
James Glasse, *Chairman*

April 1957

Dear Friend:

Thank you for advising us of your intention to attend the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations. We are delighted to be able to count on your participation in what promises to be a most fruitful event in the life of our Southern churches. Registration will be from 2:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M. at the Vanderbilt Divinity School. There you may refresh yourself and secure a sizzling cup of coffee while you talk with fellow-members of the Conference. Those concerned about available accommodations will please consult the enclosure.

It will encourage you to know that we have received registrations from every Southern state, and in keeping with tradition, it appears that the largest delegation will come from Texas. We here are rather pleased that the Wyoming Council of Churches has asked to send its President, and, of course, we said, "Yes, come by all means." It has occurred to us that you may not have seen the recent editorial in The Christian Century which is quoted below.

As the hour for our gathering together draws near, won't you join us in prayer for the guidance of Almighty God?

Sincerely yours,

Howard Kester

Howard Kester

The Church Moves In

CRITICISM and legislation are the radical social surgery that sometimes comes from the outside. But healing must always come from within. That is why a meeting projected for April 23-25 in Nashville is one of the most promising developments in all the worrisome history of integration efforts in the south. There and then will meet a Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations to "seek not agitation but education." The assembly will bring together white and Negro churchmen from all over the south "in a deeper search for God's love and wisdom," in the hope of evolving "from our common faith a plan and strategy on how to face and solve the practical problems of integration in the face of stubborn opposition." The conference is sponsored by the Tennessee Council of Churches along with seventy religious leaders from throughout the south. Those who will lecture to and lead the various sessions are absolutely top drawer: the list of their names is a Who's Who of the whole southern church. Seminars and workshops will develop "the implications of Christian faith for responsible citizenship, the teaching of the Bible on segregation and the evolution of Christian strategies and tactics in the elimination of segregation." External pressures of law and of public opinion may not be yet be lifted. But it is on such meetings and leaders as this that most hope for real reconciliation must be pinned. Meanwhile all Christians will rejoice in the imagination and resourcefulness of leaders who are creative and courageous enough to put the church back in the lead. All praise to the sponsors. All prayers for their success.

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

March 20, 1957

PROGRAM

CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN FAITH AND HUMAN RELATIONS

University Center

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

April 23, 24, 25, 1957

. . . toward the building of Christian community in a time of trouble—a post-Easter evaluation.

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Address: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Pastor Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama

11:30—Service of Communion: The Rev. T. B. Cowan, Pastor Union Church, Berea, Kentucky

SEMINAR LEADERS

Dr. William Van Til, co-ordinator of seminars, Professor of Education and Chairman Division of Curriculum and Teaching, George Peabody College

I—Non-Violent Approaches to Racial Tension
Discussion Leader: Dr. Langdon B. Gilkey, Professor of Theology, Vanderbilt Divinity School
Resource Leaders: Dr. Preston Valien, Professor of Sociology and Chm., Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University
Dr. John Rustin, Pastor Belmont Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee
Reporter: Mrs. John T. McCall, Immediate Past President United Church Women of Tennessee, Nashville, Tennessee

II—Opening Churches to All
Discussion Leader: The Rev. James D. Glasse, Associate Professor of Church Administration, Vanderbilt Divinity School
Resource Leaders: Dr. A. C. Miller, Executive Secretary Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention
The Rev. T. B. 'Scotty' Cowan, Pastor Union Church, Berea, Kentucky
Reporter: The Rev. Cecil Culverhouse, Pastor West Nashville Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tenn.

III—The Church and the Public School Issue
Discussion Leader: Dr. Harold B. Drummond, Professor of Elementary Education, Peabody College
Resource Leaders: Dr. Das Kelly Barnett, Professor of Christian Ethics and Moral Theology, Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas
Mrs. Charles S. Johnson, Past National Vice-President United Church Women of America, Nashville, Tennessee
Reporter: The Rev. C. Thomas Baker, Jr., Executive Secretary Tennessee Council of Churches

IV—The Church and Community Relations
Discussion Leader: Professor Gideon Fryer, Director of Research, University of Tennessee, School of Social Work, Nashville, Tennessee
Resource Leader: Dr. Herman H. Long, Director Race Relations Institute, Board of Home Missions Congregational Christian Churches, Nashville, Tenn.
Mr. Whitworth Stokes, Attorney, Nashville, Tenn.
Reporter: Dr. Robert McCan, Pastor First Baptist Church, Clarksville, Tennessee

GENERAL INFORMATION

Registration will be in the parlor of the Vanderbilt Divinity School

The main sessions of the Conference will be held in Wightman Chapel, Scarritt College, 1008 19th Avenue, South.

Persons planning to attend the Conference are requested to indicate their intention in advance on the accompanying self-addressed card. It is necessary that we have this information in order that we may make adequate arrangements for meeting and dining facilities.

Members of the Conference will be expected to secure their own over-night accommodations, breakfast and supper. Lunch wil be available at the Cafeteria of the Methodist Board of Education Building, 1001 19th Avenue, South. A few private homes have offered hospitality.

A registration fee of $2.00 will be charged to help cover the costs of the Conference.

Upon notification of your plan to attend the Conference, we will send you all necessary information and be glad to put you in touch with others coming from your state so that, if possible, you may come by automobile.

Address all communications to: The Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, 1716 West End Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee.

A CALL
to
CONFERENCE
on
CHRISTIAN FAITH AND HUMAN RELATIONS

Because the Christian faith testifies that God has entrusted to His people a ministry of reconciliation;

And **because** this ministry has peculiar urgency in these days when divisions and hostilities threaten our country and our churches . . .

We call this Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, to convene in Nashville, Tennessee, April 23-25, 1957.

This invitation goes to churchmen who are united in both a **commitment** and a **search.**

Our **commitment** is to Christ, who asks our loyalty and discipleship in all the walks of life. Through twenty centuries of human life His love has won men from their prejudices and resentments, their lesser loyalties and idolatries. Again today He asks that men worship not only with their lips but also with their lives.

Our **search** is for the specific meaning of Christian loyalty in our common life. Like all our countrymen, we are puzzled by many problems. We need to study, to pray, and to consult with each other about the meaning of our theological beliefs for our Christian living. Although we know that Christian faith impels us, not to withdraw from life but to serve God in the midst of His world, we need illumination on our present confusions as to how we can best serve God.

We call this Conference as a common testimony of churchmen to God's Lordship over life and as a common search for greater wisdom and strength in faithful living.

The Sponsors

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(Professional relationship given for identification only)

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Southern Regional Council
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REGIONAL

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Black Mountain, N. C.

CONFERENCE ON

Christian Faith And Human Relations

1716 WEST END AVENUE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Telphone ALpine 5-3842

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C. T. Baker, Jr. *Chairman*

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James Glasse, *Chairman*

April, 1957

Dear Christian Friend:

I am writing this letter to invite you to attend the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations to be held in Nashville, Tennessee, April 23-25, 1957.

For your study and consideration I am enclosing a copy of the Call, the Program and a partial list of sponsors. The spirit and objectives of the Conference are stated in the Call.

Inasmuch as the planning committee is composed of Southern churchmen we have focused our attention on the tensions in human relations in the South. We have limited our search for leaders, sponsors and speakers almost exclusively to the South. The leaders of the Conference, without exception, have won wide recognition for their Christian leadership through participation in the life and work of their respective denominations.

One of the Conference highlights will be the reading of a special message from President Eisenhower, prepared specifically for this occasion.

The members of the planning committee together with the sponsors join with me in expressing the hope that you will share in this meeting which has such great promise for the common welfare of the family of God in the South.

Cordially yours,

Everett Tilson

Everett Tilson
Chairman, Planning Committee

I will attend the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations.

Please reserve a place for me at the Supper on Wednesday evening at the Cafeteria of the Methodist Board of Education Building.——

Please send me information on available motels——Private homes——

I will mail you my registration fee——pay on arrival——

Name _____

Address _____

_____

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IN NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

August 9, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Fleming:

I want to thank you for your gracious note of July 15th.

I have an impression that I met you at the NAIRO Meeting in Boston several years ago. I am looking forward to seeing your materials.

As a parish minister I have found it very helpful and very challenging to serve on the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission. It has given me new interests and much valuable information. I hope I am a little bit less "in the rut" than I would have been without such a challenge.

Gratefully yours,

David N. Beach

David N. Beach hi

DNB:hi

January 2, 1958

Church of the Crossroads
Social Action Committee
1212 University Avenue
Honolulu, T. H.

Dear Friends:

We are most grateful for your good and thoughtful letter of December 8th. It was especially good to know of your thoughts at the Christmas season.

It must seem to you of Honolulu, whose way of life so well expresses the dignity of all men, that conditions in the South are indeed distressing. Certainly this is true. Yet there are many thousands of persons here whose faith, like yours, is leading to an ever increasing expression of the ideals of a democratic society. Many of the deplorable headlines read by the world are an expression of the conflict which so often accompanies progress and the changing of the old to the new. Even we are inclined to forget this, and letters such as yours give us strength and encouragement.

You might like to keep abreast with some of the positive events of the region. Therefore, we are placing your name on the mailing list for our monthly publication, New South.

It was good of you to think of us and most thoughtful of you to write.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

January 2, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: A. L. Rivers

From: M. F.

Please see that the following is placed on our complimentary mailing list for NEW SOUTH:

Church of the Crossroads
Social Action Committee
1212 University Avenue
Honolulu, T. H.

NOTE: Extra postage will be needed for mailing New South.

RECEIVED DEC 26 1957

Church of the Crossroads
1212 University Ave.
Honolulu, T. H.
Dec. 8, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have heard of the good work you are doing in the field of race relations, and we want you to know that we are with you in our thoughts and in our prayers. While we cannot fully appreciate the trying moments and the frustrations you face, nevertheless, we recognize the complexity of the problem and the need for people like you to stand up and be counted for what we all know is God's will among men.

We hope that our moral and spiritual support will sustain your courage and endurance for the long struggle ahead. We are indebted to you and the many others who are on the front lines.

Sincerely yours,

Susumu Fujii
gat

For the Social Action Committee
Church of the Crossroads

COPY

Rec'd 2/12/58

Ga. Council of Churches

COPY

DEKALB COUNTY COUNCIL
of
The States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc.
P. O. Box 766
Decatur, Georgia

February 8, 1958

Reverend Edward A. Driscoll, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Reverend Driscoll:

We have carefully read and studied the Race Relations Manifesto which appeared in the November 3, 1957 edition of the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, of which you are one of the signers.

Whereas, we cannot agree with you on the issues involved, we do not hesitate to recognize and most assuredly do not begrudge any of you, individually or collectively, your constitutional right of expression.

However, we question the over-all results of its publication in view of the manner in which the national press and certain organizations have used the document to promote their aims and purposes. In our opinion, your theme of moderation has been deviously surplanted and used by these groups to advance their own means.

We are enclosing a sermon by the Reverend Mr. Henry T. Egger, Rector, St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Charlotte, North Carolina, which we would appreciate your reading, and in the event that you would be kind enough to comment upon it, we would be interested in receiving your impressions.

With kindest personal regards, we remain,

Yours for States' Rights and Racial Integrity

DEKALB COUNTY COUNCIL

W. L. Carbine, President

Thomas E. Johnson, 1st Vice Pres.

G. J. Towns, 2nd Vice Pres.

Jim E. Jones, 3rd Vice Pres.

Ann Malmberg, Sec. and Treas.

*****

Note: Sermon by Mr. Egger entitled " What Meaneth This: There is No Difference", Sept 15th, 1957. Distributed by Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, 405-A East Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia. I understand Thousands and thousands of reprints have been made.

E.A.D.

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

DIXIE HIGHWAY AT S. W. 29th ROAD
MIAMI 36, FLORIDA

GLENN O. CANFIELD
MINISTER

HELEN F. WILLIAMS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FRANKLIN 4-7472

June 12, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred-

I have had another thought concerning the Tennessee Council job which might solve the problem of an adequate salary.

Did you tell me that the Kentucky Director is soon to resign ? If so, I should like to propose that the two states be combined under one Director. An office could be set up in a central place, such as Nashville, Tenn., or Bowling Green, Ky. To cover two states would mean more travelling, and a larger travel expense allowance, but I would enjoy doing it.

Here are some comparative figures which make the plan feasible:

Kentucky -	40,395 sq. mi.	15 cities over 10,000 pop.
Tennessee-	42,244 sq. mi.	16 cities over 10,000 pop.
	82,639 sq. mi.	31 cities over 10,000 pop.
Georgia -	58,876 sq. mi.	25 cities over 10,000 pop.
Florida -	58,560 sq. mi.	32 cities over 10,000 pop.

In other words, if Guy Wells can take care of 25 cities, and if Bill Williams can take care of 32 cities, I should be able to take care of 31 cities, even though the area would be somewhat larger. See what you can do about this.

Further, I would like very much to get settled in a new job by September 1, if at all possible, so our daughter can enter her senior year in a high school at the beginning of the term. Also, if either the Tennessee or Kentucky officers, or both, want to interview me this summer, I could work that in on a planned vacation trip to Kansas. I hope something can be worked out before long. Let me hear from you.

Cordially,

Glenn

Glenn O. Canfield

June 13, 1958

Rev. Edward A. Driscoll
Executive Secretary
Georgia Council of Churches
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Driscoll:

Many thanks for sharing with me the enclosed report on the Presbyterian minister and his work. This kind of positive development within the denominations does my morale a world of good.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure 1

REPORT OF RECOMMENDATION ON THE MINISTER AND HIS WORK

III - At the request of the Assembly's Committee, which was transmitted to the Assembly by the Standing Committee, the General Assembly appointed Dr. Peyton N. Rhodes, Mr. W. E. Price, Dr. Milton W. Carothers, the Rev. James L. Fowle and the Rev. William M. Elliott to prepare a statement concerning the freedom of the pulpit which will become the official position of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. on this matter. The statement is as follows:

"It has come to the attention of the 98th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States that there has been embarrassment to some ministers as well as to the church officers concerning the question of the freedom of the pulpit.

'In accordance with the action of the General Assembly which took recognition of the need for a clear statement concerning the Protestant heritage and Presbyterian concept of the freedom of the pulpit, this Committee has endeavored to perform its task in light of the teachings of the Scriptures and the Standards of our Church as contained in the Book of Church Order and the Confession of Faith.

'As we read the Scriptures of the Old Testament dealing with the lives and teachings of the prophets, we are struck with their sense of divine mission to proclaim, without fear or favor, the whole of God's truth as it was revealed to them. The phrase, 'Thus saith the Lord,' represented a feeling of their commitment to a command of God. The prophets, convinced that they were commissioned to speak for God, avoided no moral or social problems of their day.

'Our Church acknowledges our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, to be the true Head of the Church and emphasizes the great commission of our Lord wherein he said, 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'

'The teaching of our Saviour, so clearly set forth in the Sermon on the Mount, the Golden Rule and the Parables of the Kingdom, apply to all of life and its relationships.

'In apostolic times Saint Paul in his letters to the Churches dealt with Christian life and conduct as related to the moral and social structure of his time. He gave to the young ministers, Timothy and Titus, such counsel as 'Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all longsuffering and doctrine," Also '.....endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry..' And 'These things speak and exhort and rebuke with all authority.'

Return to: A Committee

Georgia Council of Churches
Rev. Edward A. Driscoll, Exec. Sec'y
Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

'Our Confession of Faith gives strong support for the point of view that a minister should preach in accordance with the "whole counsel of God," that is, his teaching and preaching must proclaim the relevance of our faith for everyday living. Chapter I, Paragraph VI, states, "The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture.....'

'Our Book of Church Order, Chapter IX discusses and describes in considerable detail the qualifications expected of 'the Minister of the Word.' In his ordination vows the minister promises to 'be zealous and faithful in maintaining the truths of the Gospel and the purity and peace of the Church...." Likewise a congregation assumes the obligation of receiving the word of truth from the minister 'with meekness and love,' and 'promises to submit to him in the due exercise of discipline.' Further, the congregation promises to encourage the Minister in his labor, 'and to assist his endeavors for their instruction and spiritual edification.'

'Nowhere in the Standards of our Church is there any justification for binding the conscience of either minister or layman. Indeed, it is expressly stated in the Confession of Faith, Chapter XX, 'God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his word.....'

'According to the Scriptures, we must conclude that a minister is one called and set apart under God to 'proclaim the whole counsel of God.' If the ministry of our church is to be anything more than the priestly preservation of tradition, it must involve not only the proclaiming of the 'Good News' of the Gospel, but also something of a prophetic nature, in that each minister, feeling the burden of the Lord upon his heart, must speak forth, 'Thus saith the Lord.'

'The Scriptures, the Book of Church Order, and the Confession of Faith do not warrant the dictation by session or congregation to an ordained minister as to how he shall interpret the message of salvation and its application to life. A minister of our Church has the right and obligation to teach and interpret the Scriptures, provided only that his teaching is not out of harmony with the Scriptures or the Standards of the Presbyterian Church. If question is raised as to whether his teaching is out of harmony with these guides, such a question should be raised in the Presbytery of which he is a member, and in accordance with the provision of the Book of Church Order.

'While maintaining the right and obligation of the minister to preach and teach the Scriptures, the General Assembly urges its ministers to remember that there are restraints which they should place upon themselves. On an important matter of

principle, the minister's position should be unequivocal. However, it is possible to speak boldly yet with humility; to take a position without emphasizing it out of proportion to its proper place; to teach persuasively; to maintain the authority of the Word of God without claiming infallibility in interpreting it. The minister should speak in love. "The servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.....' While seeking to quicken the conscience of church members and to bring light from the Scriptures to the question, the minister should remember that God alone is Lord of the conscience and Judge of our deeds and hearts.

'The members of a congregation, and particularly the officers, should avoid taking offense at the faithful preaching of the whole Word of God. The Scriptures contain much to disturb us as well as much to comfort us. Even in the lives of earnest Christians there are areas of thought and conduct that are still not in harmony with the teachings of the Scriptures and the mind of Christ. Instruction and admonition by the minister are used by the Holy Spirit to lead us into 'all truth,' and to contribute to our growth in grace."

Comments

VOL. II, NO. 6 JUNE, 1958

A Christian Action Council commentary and information service on citizenship and public affairs.

"Love God with all your heart . . . and thy neighbor as thyself."
—LUKE 10:27

COUNCIL'S ROLE

Considerable attention was given to the Christian Action Council's questionnaire during the last two weeks of the election campaign — and in spite of our not "taking sides" in the governor's race. We believe our readers would like to have the whole story.

In May the Citizenship Committee of the Council submitted a questionnaire to all candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor and the legislature. This "survey of opinion" concerned their views on laws relating to adoptions, gambling, marriage, alcohol and religious freedom. All candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor and over fifty per cent of the candidates for contested seats in the General Assembly took this opportunity to make their positions known on these issues. Factual reports of replies were released before the first primary and were given wide coverage in newspapers, on radio and television. This service seemed to have been very favorably received and we have subsequently heard many expressions of appreciation.

Late in May the Council president, Dr. R. Wright Spears, made public a statement of the Council's position "not to enter political campaigns — either state or county — to work for the election of any person for public office." This was issued to make it clear that the Christian Action Council had not endorsed Mr. Russell; such an endorsement had been distributed widely by an independent "temperance crusader."

A statement by Sen. Robert C. Wasson of Laurens County during the last week of the campaign unfortunately gave the impression that the Council was endorsing the candidacy of Lt. Gov. Hollings. Since our organization had been specifically named, the Executive Director released a denial that Hollings had "satisfied the Council" with his stand on Local Option and repeated our stand against endorsing *any* candidates. A final "Fact Sheet" was released to the press and distributed widely concerning the stands taken by Hollings and Russell on the question of Local Option.

These are the facts in the case. We hope that the general public has a better understanding and appreciation of the Council's role in political campaigns: namely, to obtain facts, to help spotlight issues, but not to endorse candidates.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

Special attention and recognition of the Christian Action Council's "25 Years of Service to South Carolina Churches" will be given during the last six months of 1958.

Dr. Neil Truesdell of Newberry is Chairman of the Special Twenty-fifth Anniversary Committee. A number of different means will be used to emphasize the contribution made by the Council during this period.

A Council representative will be available to speak to your church, civic or other group on "What the Christian Action Council means to South Carolina."

FLIP CHART READY

"Why a Commission on Social Concerns in our church? What would it do anyway?" These questions more and more pastors and church leaders will be asking as they make plans for a Commission on Social Concerns (or Community Relations) this summer and next fall.

Prepared just for this purpose is a new flip chart entitled "Your Church Serves Its Community and World." This 25-page chart was originally prepared by the Rev. Bryan Crenshaw, Methodist Minister in Charleston, and the Rev. Howard G. McClain, Executive Director of the Christian Action Council.

Write the Council for information about its purchase or use.

CAMPAIGN ISSUES

We have been asked why the issues raised before the second primary of the governor's campaign affected so few votes. The Council's Citizenship chairman, Dr. Harry L. Harvin, Jr., offers this interpretation. First, elections in the South (where unity of the white leadership is an overriding objective following a primary) tend to force divisive issues into the background and center attention on personalities. As one individual aptly put it, "Isn't it a shame that they had to introduce issues into the campaign!" Second, the endorsement of Hollings by many legislators, plus leaders of the Citizens Councils, was probably decisive.

An effort to make Local Option a major issue was attempted after the first primary. Russell's strong stand on this question probably lost him some votes. There is little doubt that this caused more intense activity by beer and liquor dealers to defeat him. We are certain, however, that this issue gained him far more votes than it lost him, although not enough to win the election.

Local Option, therefore, remains an issue of considerable interest to South Carolina citizens, but not one on which a majority of the voters will base their choice of candidates.

INTERDENOMINATIONAL CONSULTATION

The second interdenominational Christian Action Consultation was recently held at Columbia College. It was sponsored this year by the S. C. Baptist Christian Life Commission.

Its purpose was again to make possible the sharing of ideas, problems, and program by members of denominational committees of Christian social concern. The Lutheran Committee on Social Action, Methodist Board of Temperance, Methodist Board of Social and Economic Relations, United Church Women, and Christian Action Council were represented, as well as the Christian Life Commission.

Prof. J. Benjamin Bedenbaugh of the Lutheran Seminary climaxed the morning's discussion with a stimulating address on "Biblical Directives for Christian Action."

CRIMINAL REHABILITATION

"The coming of Mr. Ellis MacDougall as deputy-warden at the State Penitentiary is an important step forward in the rehabilitation of prisoners in our state," a Council spokesman recently stated.

Mr. MacDougall became deputy-warden in charge of education and personnel on July 1. He comes to this new position from Greenville County where he has been in charge of the first "honor camp" for law offenders in South Carolina. His background of professional training and outlook of Christian humanitarianism will make him a most valuable public servant.

WHAT'S YOUR INTEREST?

What are the areas of moral and social concern in which YOU are especially interested? Much informative material — which we would like to share with you — comes to the Council but we are limited by not knowing "just who is interested in what."

Please check below your main interests, clip the bottom of the page (which contains your name), and return to the Council. Special information will be sent occasionally to you related to that interest.

___Alcohol Problems	___Counseling Alcoholics	___Gambling
___Human Relations	___National Legislation	___Political Action
___Religious Liberty	___World Peace	___Other

"DON'T BE RIDICULOUS!" A little girl came into her daddy's study. In her most pious tone she asked, "Daddy, has God called you to serve Him?" (No one could be more pious on occasion or more boisterous at other times!)

This conversation followed. "Yes," the daddy said, "He has called me to serve Him all the time. Has He called you to serve Him?" "Yes," she replied, with all seriousness, "to be a Home Missionary." After some brief discussion, daddy said, "and do you mean also that God has called you to be a missionary in your home — here. Do you think that maybe God has called you not to yell at your mother, or snatch your toys from your little sister, or swing your golf-club at your big brother" (an episode a couple of hours earlier).

"Why, daddy," she replied, beginning to cry, "don't be ridiculous!"

How many of us consider God "being ridiculous" when He expects us to be obedient to Him in our daily attitudes and thoughts and actions. I wonder! Howard G. McClain

---

NOTES AND QUOTES *COMMENTS* is being quoted. *Royal Service* (June, 1958) publication of the Southern Baptist WMU did so. It prefaced its lengthy quoting from the editorial on Frank Lauback (January, 1958) with this statement: "Pertinent news is not confined to the pages of the big daily papers."

We are delighted to report the 1st Conference on Community Problems related to Alcohol at U. S. C. was very successful.

SUMMER STUDY Two very helpful volumes can provide the interested Bible reader the basis for some very beneficial study — this summer or as soon as you can get to it!

Understanding the Old Testament (Prentice-Hall, 1957) by Bernhard W. Anderson and *Understanding the New Testament* (Prentice-Hall, 1957) by Howard Kee and Franklin Young — both present a framework for reading and "understanding" the Bible, as well as an informed interpretation to "tie the books together." It is not necessary, of course, to agree completely with the authors to find these volumes both useful "study guides" and "reference handbooks."

For those interested in Christian Action these volumes have two special values: (1) a stimulus to Bible study, going again to the Scriptures in a comprehensive "digging" for its continuing commands for moral obedience as a citizen of the Kingdom of God; and (2) a guide to appreciating the theological and historical value of "community" to the Christian faith.

EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS Vance Packard, *Hidden Persuaders*. Study of how "motivational research" is being used in Public Relations. The "why" and "to what end" of most advertising. This should be carefully read by every person — and it is fascinating as well as important reading. 35¢ in Cardinal paper-back edition. (Originally $4.00)

"Speaking for God: The Prophetic Role of the Church" is the title of the very excellent 1958 report of the Council on Christian Relations of the Presbyterian, U. S. denomination. 10¢

CHRISTIANS ARE CONCERNED....

ALCOHOLFAX Nearly 60% of the more than two million arrests reported in the F. B. I.'s Uniform Crime Report for 1957 were related to alcoholic beverages. The continuing seriousness of alcohol problems was thus again reflected in the following record of arrests last year in the United States:

Drunkenness — 832,268
Disorderly Conduct — 241,167
Driving while intoxicated — 101,099
Liquor law violations — 43,347

The number of alcoholics in the U. S. passed the 5 million mark for the first time in 1956, according to the latest report from the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies.

CRIME: Arrests of persons under 18 have increased 55% since 1952, compared to the 22% population increase during the same period for the 10-17 year age-group. Persons under 18 were arrested in 10.3% of all "crimes against persons" and 53.1% for "crimes against property."

The F. B. I. estimates there was a total of 2,796,400 major crimes in 1957 — nearly 10% (9.1%) more than the previous year. Since 1950 crime in the United States has increased nearly 4 times as fast as the population.

FREEDOM OF PULPIT "The Scriptures contain much to disturb us as well as much to comfort us. Even in the lives of earnest Christians there are areas of thought and conduct that are still not in harmony with the teachings of the Scriptures and the mind of Christ. Instruction and admonition by the minister are used by the Holy Spirit to lead us into 'all truth,' and to contribute to our growth in grace." (concluding statement in the formal resolution, "On Freedom of the Pulpit," passed by the (southern) Presbyterian, U. S., 1958 General Assembly, and ordered to be read to local Sessions and congregations.)

GAMBLING "Texas should not make the same mistake twice" is the response of the Texas Council of Churches to the current efforts to legalize gambling at horse races in the Lone Star State. An editorial in the Council's recent bulletin said in part: "Doping, wire-tapping . . . rapid growth of book-making . . . unpaid bills . . . skimpy grocery purchases . . . embezzlements to try to recoup betting losses. These were the sorry accompaniments to the pari-mutuel machines" (when Texas had legalized gambling for a few years during the 1930's).

HIGHWAY SAFETY *"Religious Traffic Safety Weekend"* was proclaimed in Minnesota for June 28-29. In Gov. Orville L. Freeman's official proclamation he urged "every Minnesotan to join in this united religious campaign to awaken in the conscience and mind of every driver the realization that negligence at the wheel of an automobile is a transgression of God's command, 'Thou Shalt Not Kill'."

South Carolina's highway death toll, January-May, 1958, was 203 — a drop of 26% compared with the same period of 1957. Nevertheless during this 5-month period there were 12,034 accidents, 3,917 persons injured, and an estimated $10 million economic loss.

SOCIAL JUSTICE "Principles of Social Justice" is the title of the very important series of Sunday School lessons for the next quarter. A very helpful outline of the lessons and their aims has been prepared by Dr. D. D. Lewis, acting director of Baptist Sunday School work in South Carolina, and is available for 15¢ per copy (or 10¢ per copy for 6 or more). This subject reminds us of a statement by the world famous English churchman, the late William Temple, who said, "It is time Christians stopped bleating fatuously about love and started doing something about justice."

COMMENTS is published monthly, except July, by the Christian Action Council, 1420 Lady St., Columbia, S. C. 2nd Class Mail privileges authorized in Columbia, S. C.

COMMENTS and other information services of the Christian Action Council are made possible by voluntary contributions from interested individuals, churches, and denominations.

R. Wright Spears, President
Howard G. McClain, Editor

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

July 21, 1958

Mr. Thomas J. Barrett
Inter-Racial Church Movement, Inc.
P. O. Box 8132
Washington 24, D. C.

Dear Mr. Barrett:

Your letter of June 23 has been brought to my attention. I note that my good secretary, Miss Sandefur, has already sent you several publications which should be of help to you.

Several things come to mind about working in an inter-racial field: (1) It is important to work with people, not on or for them. Working for people is paternalistic; working on people is manipulative. (2) It is important to work for the creation of a more democratic society. Special pleading or work for the self-interest of any group is not as effective as working for the good of all in creating a democratic society in which each individual is accorded recognition of equal human dignity. (3) It is important to remember the sanctity of the individual spirit and the sacredness of individual personality. Each person is a child of God and should be treated accordingly. (4) It is important to work in cooperation with other like-minded individuals and organizations in our day-by-day tasks of bringing about the goals we hold.

If we can be of any further help to you please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

J. R. MARTIN
President

T. J. BARRETT
Vice President

IDA ELLIOTT
Secretary

Inter-Racial Church Movement, Inc.

P.O. BOX 8132, WASHINGTON 24, D. C.

Working For The Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency

June 23, 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir,

Please give me what information you can concerning work for an Interracial Group.

My organization is five years old and doesn't seem to have made much headway.

I hope that you can help God answer my humble plea for more knowledge.

Hoping for more Light at your convenience, I am,

Sincerely,

Thomas J. Barrett

June 26, 1958

Mr. Thomas G. Barrett
Inter-Racial Church Movement, Inc.
P. O. Box 8132
Washington 24, D. C.

Dear Mr. Barrett:

Thank you for your letter of June 23 requesting information concerning work an interracial group. The person on our staff who would be able to give you much information and help is Mr. Fred Routh, who is away on an extended trip.

In Mr. Routh's absence, we are sending you some general information and publications which we trust will be of help. Your letter will be called to Mr. Routh's attention upon his return to the office.

Best wishes in your endeavors.

Sincerely,

Luleen Sandefur
Secretary to Mr. Routh

Enclosures: NEW SOUTH
CHANGING PATTERNS
NEXT STEPS IN THE SOUTH
THE LOUISVILLE STORY

young christian workers

national headquarters • 1700 jackson boulevard • chicago 12, illinois • seeley 8-1715

November 7, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director,
Southern Regional Council, Rm. 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh,

Through talking to Ted Zelewsky, I was informed of your interest towards learning more about the workings of the YCW. With this in mind, I am sending you our annual programs covering the years 1956, 1957 and 1958. Reviewing these programs will give you a more definite picture of the work we are doing.

Ted also mentioned that you are acquainted with many clergy from various parts of the south. With this fact in mind, might I ask a favor of you Mr. Routh. If you are familiar with any clergy whom you feel desires information of any sort concerning the YCW, please give them my name and address. If you have time to send me their names and addresses, I would be only to happy to contact them myself. Realizing your efforts towards creating racial justice in the south must keep you quite busy. I will certainly appreciate any efforts you can make.

Please feel free to request any further information you may desire, and if you have the time I would certainly be encouraged to realize more fully the job in which you are involved.

Hoping to hear from you.

Respectfully,

Frank Ardito

Frank Ardito
Growth Organizer

Encl:
(Under separate cover)

UT OMNES UNUM SINT

united student christian council

United States Member of the World's Student Christian Federation

257 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 4-6407 • *Cable Address:* UNISTUD, N. Y.

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Assistant Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ECUMENICAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE PROJECTS

November 10, 1958

Mr. Frederick Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh,

Through Mr. John H. Marion, I received your name as a person who would be very interested in the Ecumenical Voluntary Service program.

If I understand your position correctly, your interest might take two forms. One would be the general promotion of participation in our projects, and for this reason I am asking that you immediately receive announcement of the 1959 program. It should come off the press within the next two weeks. Just as important would be your help in the development of such projects in the southern area in future years. We would be delighted to have your suggestions and want you to know that our concern is simply to be more helpful.

With every good wish to you in your work, I am

Sincerely,

Fred Stoerker

C. Frederick Stoerker

CFS:ef

Member Agencies and Movements of the United Student Christian Council: National Student Council of the YWCA, National Student Council of the YMCA, Student Volunteer Movement, Interseminary Movement, Lutheran Student Association of America; and the student work departments and student movements of the following churches: American Baptist Convention, Southern Baptist Convention (fraternally), Disciples of Christ, United Church of Christ (United Student Fellowship), Evangelical United Brethren, Methodist, Presbyterian U.S., Presbyterian U.S.A., Protestant Episcopal.

Related Committees: Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, J. Benjamin Schmoker, General Secretary; Student Volunteer Movement, L. Newton Thurber, General Secretary; University Christian Mission, Paul Jaquith, Director; World University Service, W. J. Kitchen, Executive Secretary.

The Related Student Movement of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

November 25, 1958

Mr. Albert Vorspan, Director
Commission on Social Action of Reform
Judaism
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Vorspan:

Your recent letter to George Mitchell has been turned over to me. Dr. Mitchell has retired and moved to Scotland.

We at the Council are favorably impressed with the "Declaration of Conscience" which you have sent us. We will distribute it to key clergymen in a number of Southern states.

With thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending us the Declaration I am,

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

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Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

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National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods · National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
National Federation of Temple Youth

838 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 21, N. Y. · REgent 7-8200

November 19, 1958

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Americans of all faiths have reacted with indignation and shame to the bombings of synagogues, churches, schools, and homes in various parts of the country. Many religious leaders, especially, have sought concrete ways to join with members of other faiths in giving voice to the deep emotions which have stirred all of us in this situation.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of a Declaration of Conscience which has been drawn up by the Commission on Social Action as the basis for possible inter-faith statements. This Declaration in now being circulated by the Council of Churches in Nashville, Tennessee, and will be released over the signatures of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders. Several other communities, North and South, are also developing such a project around the statement. In some cases, it is contemplated that the statement will be published as an ad in the local newspaper.

We have distributed this statement to rabbis and social action leaders throughout the country. In addition, I understand that the National Conference of Christians and Jews has passed the Declaration on to some of its leaders for possible use. You may wish to call this to the attention of key leaders in your groups, and you are, of course, welcome to make any possible use of this Declaration.

With every kind wish, I am,

Sincerely,

Albert Vorspan

Albert Vorspan
Director

Mimeo
100 copies
send 5 to each
state org.

A DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

We are Christians and Jews. We are laymen and clergymen of many denominations. We live in the South and in the North. We join in a sense of outrage at the recent dynamitings of Houses of God. But we join to express something more than a sense of shock, more than a sadness that these things have happened in our land. We join to give voice to our religious conscience. We wish to declare: These bombs are aimed at all of us. They are aimed at the heart of our democracy. They are aimed at all of our churches and temples. They are aimed at the principles for which religion stands. They seek to blot out the teachings of Moses, Jesus, and Isaiah. The bombs are intended to silence our religious conscience.

But we say this: the bombers, in their frenzy, have sensed a truth -- that the church and the synagogue are the ultimate enemies of evil and hatred. Our faith is built upon the rock of conviction that all men are created equal because they are created in the image of God. The hate-mongers may blow up our churches and our temples, one by one, but the rock will remain. They may burn the Bible and the prayerbooks, but the flame within cannot be quenched. Nor will they silence us. They will not stifle the spirit of free men. We will join hands and lift up our voices until peace will reign in the land and justice will flow as a mighty stream. And God will bless the work of our hands.

The Church Welfare Bureau

THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
OF GREATER HOUSTON

9 Chelsea Place
Houston 6, Texas
JA-6-2247

The Rev. James R. Noland
Executive Secretary

December 9, 1958

Rev. James R. Noland
Executive Secretary
The Church Welfare Bureau
The Council of Churches of
Greater Houston
9 Chelsea Place
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Jim:

I had intended to get this letter off the end of last week, but things of a crisis nature piled up on us and I had to delay a number of non-crisis activities.

I am sending along now a copy of the by-laws of the Greater Atlanta Council. I will send along some sample materials later in the week.

I trust that you will have some observers at the Faubus rally. I would be interested in the reaction and size of the crowd and also the editorial responses of the newspapers. I hope the statement proposed by the Race Relations Committee of the Council of Churches gets many, many signatures and makes quite a splash when it is released on Sunday, the 14th.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

SAINT ANDREW'S CHURCH

BEACON, NEW YORK

June 9, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Life has been rather hectic since my return to Beacon and I have not had a chance to write until now. I realize the time has come for Fred Rauth to be in Detroit and so I hope you will allow me to be in correspondence with you.

When I talked with Fred, he said he would give me some of the literature there at your office concerning your purposes and aims and then in the rush of getting to my next appointment, I forgot to ask him for these papers. Would you be so kind as to forward whatever you might have on (a) the background of your organization, (b) the areas of endeavor in which you seek to work and (c) anything current you might have. I should like to receive your Newsletter and if there is a fee for this, I will forward some money.

As a result of this trip, I am now in contact with various people within the Episcopal Church interested in forming a society for racial minorities. You probably know the Rev. John Morris and Rev. Neal Tarplee. I think that such a society would be very helpful to the life of the Church.

If you have occasion to be in New York, I would enjoy visiting with you. I am always interested in discovering the principles on which people operate in the field of human relations outside the Church. Your position requires a ~~the~~ courage I admire but cannot buy. It seems to me you miss the joy which is at the heart of the matter.

Pax,

(The Rev.) G. W. Humphrey

BRETHREN–dwell together in unity

June 29, 1959

The Rev. G. W. Humphrey
Saint Andrew's Church
Beacon, New York

Dear Mr. Humphrey:

Delighted to hear from you.

Under separate cover we are sending you the types of information and materials you requested. Samples of our monthly magazine, New South, are enclosed. Subscription rate is $2.00 per year and we would be happy to have you join our list.

If you have an opportunity to return South or if I get to New York, I too would enjoy further conversations. In the meantime, do not take too literally my comments of our last meeting. During our luncheon you and Fred were approching a position of "pure goodness" and I could not resist injecting something of "other worldliness" into the conversation for balance; my own off-beat, and no doubt unfortunate, brand of humor. My "position" or that of any decent person is, in my mind at least, the desirably commonplace and martyrdom or sainthood can cheapen many an otherwise run-of-the-mill virtue. In short, the antithesis of sin is not necessarily salvation - and I doubt that our positions would differ a great deal.

If we can help with other factual information, let us know. I promise it will not be accompanied by (my) interpretation.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

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MORTON R. KURTZ
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

North Carolina COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

BOX 5637 COLLEGE STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

TELEPHONE 681-8731

Forward

file

1961

November 9, 1961

RL 11/14/61
11/15/61

Mrs. Stephen R. Currier
Currier & Company
666 - 5th Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Currier:

Two years ago we were very pleasantly surprised and deeply grateful to receive a check from you and Mr. Currier in the amount of $1,000. This came, I understand, through the Reverend Will Campbell of the National Council of Churches in recognition of our work in the field of race relations.

I quite understand that this gift was not intended to be an annual affair. In view, however, of the very serious condition of our finances I am taking the liberty to write and ask if you might not be in a position and feel led to renew such a contribution before the end of 1961.

Part of our finance problem is caused by the fact that we have been dropped by churches and individuals from their benevolence list because of our well-known position on race relations--the evidence of which is shown in the enclosed.

I could cite specific examples of this to show that we are losing a very considerable amount of support each year and our program is thereby weakened.

Any help you can give will be appreciated and put to good use.

All good wishes,

Sincerely,

Morton R. Kurtz

Morton R. Kurtz
Executive Director

inter-racial "revolution"

MRK/mt
Enclosure - 1

not tax-deductible

appreciate

Rd 7-25
Gen

July 23, 1962

Mr. Carl J. Landes
United Church
Board for Homeland Ministries
Box 8112
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Landes:

We can let you have several hundred copies of the April New South at .10 per copy. This is slightly below our printing cost.

You may reprint the article if that is more convenient. However, if this is done we would prefer having the entire article reprinted rather than excerpts.

We are pleased that you can make use of this material and will be happy to assist you in any way possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PN/mmj

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
HOWARD E. SPRAGG, TREASURER

DIVISION OF CHURCH EXTENSION
PURD E. DEITZ, GENERAL SECRETARY
287 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CARL J. LANDES, COMMUNITY CONSULTANT
BOX 8112, GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

PA
photography

July 19, 1962

Editor Of The New South
5 Forysthe Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

For some reason I overlooked the April issue of the NEW SOUTH. I read with a great deal of interest Margaret Long's "Strickly Subjective" note, and I wonder if this is available for reprint.

I would appreciate having several hundred copies if they are available.

If reprints are not available, could I have permission to mimeograph certain portions to go out to my mailing list and to use otherwise?

Sincerely,

Carl J. Landes

Carl J. Landes

CJL:va

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Ahavath Achim Congregation

600 PEACHTREE BATTLE AVENUE, N. W. • CEDAR 3-3222 • ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

February 22, 1963

file

RECEIVED
FEB 22 1963

Dr. L. W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St N.W.
Atlanta, Geergia

Dear Dr. Dunbar;

We welcome this opportunity to personally invite you to attend a very special Brotherhood Service at our Synagogue on Friday night, March 1st, at 8:15 P. M..

The Service will be dedicated to the spirit of Brotherhood Week - an occasion that focuses attention to the fine community and "good neighbor" spirit that distinguishes our city.

The Officers of the Synagogue join me in this welcome, and we are indeed hopeful that you will find it possible to join many good friends and spend this hour with us.

Please try to attend, and by all means, bring along any friends who will do us the honor of being their hosts for the evening. Everyone will be most welcome.

Cordially,

Irving H. Goldstein

Dr. Irving H. Goldstein, President

IHG:jf

1.

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DEAN ALFANGE, New York, N. Y.

SECRETARY-TREASURER
The Rev. KARL BAEHR, New York, N. Y.

April 25, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As one who is interested in foreign affairs and in the advancement of better inter-group relations, you would surely be pleased to learn about our Association.

It is our conviction that a Christian organization is vitally important in keeping basic issues and problems of the Middle East in proper focus so that understanding of Israel may ensue and an Arab-Israel peace be advanced.

If you are in basic agreement with our Statement of Principles, which is enclosed, we would welcome you as a member of the American Christian Association for Israel. The annual dues, you will note, is $3.00 per year.

For your information, I am enclosing some of our current educational materials which you may find instructive.

We would value any ideas or suggestions you may have which will assist us in bringing to Christians a fuller understanding of the vital role that democratic Israel is playing in our world today.

Sincerely yours,

Howard M. LeSourd

Dr. Howard M. LeSourd
President

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Encls.

Christians and Israel

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Dr. Howard M. LeSourd, President of ACAI • The Rev. Karl Baehr, Editor

DECEMBER 1962

NEW BEGINNINGS

Life is full of endings and beginnings. "Christians and Israel" is a beginning. It comes to life shortly after the ACAI was launched in order to report the organization's program and bring you material of interest on Israel and the Middle East.

Our first issue is cut out for us. It should logically contain (a) The Statement of Principles of the ACAI, (b) List of Officers, (c) Statement by Dr. Howard M. LeSourd, President, and (d) the speech of Dean Heinrich Gruber of Berlin, the man to address the first ACAI public meeting held at the Inter-Church Center, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, on October 9.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

The ACAI is a national educational and philanthropic organization seeking to promote friendship and understanding between the Christians of America and the people of Israel.

We believe that each Middle East nation will benefit from a peace that will include regional cooperation through the joint development of the area's natural resources. We therefore shall work to advance the cause of peace and welfare in the Middle East.

We shall devote ourselves to the presentation and interpretation of Israel's vital role in the world of today as a democratic force, and as a nation with an indispensable mission in saving a people and redeeming the Holy Land.

Israel has brought dignity and freedom to over a million refugee and oppressed Jews. In her successful efforts to reclaim a wasted land and to absorb neglected and persecuted peoples, Israel has gained skills which are now being shared with other newly developing nations in Asia and Africa.

Israel has demonstrated the ability of a democratic society to overcome difficult problems and to build a vital industrial civilization and also one of inspiring cultural and spiritual attainments.

In the troubled context of our current world we hail Israel as a land of freedom under God. It is on the side of free men in the struggle against totalitarianism of all kinds. We count it among our allies as a nation dedicated to liberty, justice and peace. We assume as part of our Christian duty the obligation to welcome its contribution and to contribute to its growth.

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STATEMENT BY DR. HOWARD M. LESOURD, PRESIDENT

All who have been concerned with establishment of Israel and its growth as a unique nation among the nations of the world will need no introduction to Dr. Howard M. LeSourd. Dr. LeSourd was formerly Dean of the Graduate School and later of the School of Public Relations and Communications at Boston University and is currently consultant to the Development Department of the Protestant Council of the City of New York. From 1944 to 1947 he was Director of the American Christian Palestine Committee. He has lectured on Israel and the Middle East in hundreds of communities from coast to coast. Dr. LeSourd's founding statement of September 18, 1962 follows:

"The American Christian Association for Israel is an educational organization seeking to foster a positive understanding of Israel and to help overcome hostile or prejudicial attitudes wherever they exist.

"Israel, created by act of the United Nations, is performing an indispensable function; as the haven of the survivors of Hitler's Europe and in more recent years as the sanctuary of hundreds of thousands of dispossessed Jews from behind the Iron Curtain and from the Arab and Moslem Lands. With only 8,000 square miles of territory - about the size of New Jersey - and a receiving population of 650,000, Israel has successfully absorbed a population of refugees and displaced peoples that totals well over a million persons. Dignity and opportunity are now the possession of these people who otherwise would even today represent an unsolved problem for the free world. They are an arresting exhibit of the power of democratic institutions and values to remold lives and rebuild a wasted land.

"Israel's example has already proved an inspiration to a significant number of Asian-African lands. Indeed Israel has demonstrated that an under-developed land, with assistance - well managed - and hard work, can become a sharing nation. No wonder Russia, anxious to prove the sterility of the Western democracies, finds Israel's phenomenal success such a threat to her hopes of a Communist conquest of under-developed areas and peoples, and therefore expands its efforts to encourage continued Arab hostility.

"The American Christian Association for Israel hopes that the Arab states will, in like measure, come to manage their tremendous resources - land, oil and manpower - so that their many peoples, both refugee and non-refugee, may enjoy the fruits of a prosperous and peaceful civilization.

"Accordingly the American Christian Association for Israel will seek to advance the cause of peace and brotherhood in the Middle East that both Israelis and Arabs may, in fellowship, overcome the ancient and pressing problems of this storied area of the world."

"CHRISTIANS AND ISRAEL"
BY DEAN HEINRICH GRUBER OF BERLIN

Dean Gruber, anti-Nazi Evangelical pastor from Berlin, in 1940 was thrown in Concentration Camps (Sachsenhausen and Dachau) for helping the Jews. Often described as a saint, he is a man who "would not pass by on the other side," and to this day he labors to overcome the spiritual rot of the Hitler era in Germany and anti-Semitism at home and abroad.

He testified at the Eichmann trial and begged forgiveness of the Jewish people for the crimes of the Germans. Despite his 72 years, he carries on with fortitude, for he sees far too much anti-Semitism and too little earnest repentance.

Out of gratitude for his selfless and fearless aid of the Jewish people, a Heinrich Gruber Forest has been planted in the hills of Jerusalem -- a lasting memorial in the land of Israel.

Christians the world over owe Pastor Gruber a deep debt of gratitude for the fact that he -- among far too few -- upheld the faith and honor of the Christians.

Dean Gruber's noteworthy address, "Christians and Israel," given on October 9th before the first ACAI gathering, follows:

"There is always tension between the forces of division and conflict, and the forces of reconciliation. Religion must be on the side of reconciliation. This is not easy, for the evil of the past carries its infection into the present. The evil virus of the Nazi era is with us today and will not easily die. Healing will come when all of us possess a compassionate and understanding heart and a forgiving spirit. Patience will also be required. But the results of good souls working together should be the reknitting of the wonderful sinews of our common humanity.

"I have again and again begged forgiveness from the Jewish people for the horror that descended upon them from Nazi Germany. And I will continue to ask it until all the Christians of Germany, and of the world, shall ask it.

"But the mere asking for forgiveness is not enough. There must also be strong resistance to any racialism and there must be deeds of goodness. Two propositions commend themselves to me:

"First, the churches, and every Christian, must be in the forefront of the battle against anti-Semitism. The prejudiced ideas against Jews that are still too often held by Christians can bring only evil. In this connection I should like to propose that Christians the world over set aside a special day of atonement for the nightmare that anti-Semitism over the ages has brought to the Jewish people. Perhaps "Kristallnacht", November 9, when the Nazis launched their attack upon the synagogues of Germany, would be an appropriate day for such a time of self-examination and renewal. Such a day of penitence would remind us all of the depths to which man can fall when prejudice reigns. It can call us powerfully to labor at those unfilfilled tasks of brotherhood-building that abound.

"My second proposition is that Christians must give vigorous support to Israel, a nation born out of the recent holocaust and out of the sufferings of past centuries. One can hardly be involved in a great concern for the Jewish people without also being involved in a profound way with the welfare of Israel. The needs of the Jewish people are great, and they include a vibrant Israel. What would have happened to the victimized Jews of our day -- in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa -- had there not been Israel's open doors of compassion? Few are the Jews who do not see and understand the vital role of Israel for the good of the Jews and the health of the nations. Unfortunately, there are more Christians who do not yet understand. But I am confident that they will, for they must. And let it by said emphatically that this necessary concern for Israel should not in any way diminish our compassion for the needs of the Arab peoples, who fortunately have nations and lands and resources with which to work out their salvation, with our help and with God's.

"I feel strongly that Israel is a special matter, deserving special attention. Let me therefore warn all people in the world not to take the question of the existence of the state of Israel lightly, and not to deal with this subject marginally, as they dealt with the fate of the Jews in Germany and German occupied countries during the time of Hitler. I am convinced that in case the Arabs one day carry out their threat and put an end to the State of Israel, most of the governments of the world would just stand by and watch as they did in the 1938 pogrom in Germany.

"If the Jews are once again forced to flee, or are murdered, a still greater curse will come upon humanity than it is suffering now. It is not only that 2 to 3 million people will become homeless. Far more is involved, for I do not believe that God has forgotten His promises to the People of His Covenant.

"Positive acts with reference to Israel are called for, speedily. For us Germans it means that we should recognize our moral responsibility for Israel and establish diplomatic relations with Israel immediately. Here too, considerations for Arab countries should not prevent us from doing that which we recognize as a moral responsibility. I am happy that many young people in Germany have again and again called for the recognition of Israel. We have in Germany a large segment of wonderful young people who are willing to make good that which their fathers and grandfathers neglected. Many of these young people have gone to Israel to work selflessly in the Kibbutzim and elsewhere to help the people of Israel build the land and absorb those who come with heavy hearts seeking a home.

"Next month I expect to lead a group of German Christians to Israel so that they may see this wonderful land and great people, and so that they may come to dedicate themselves to aid the Jewish people and the people of Israel.

"Let us stand together in the fight for freedom, humanity, and the well being of the world, and also for the security and welfare of the State of Israel. . . . Shalom for Mankind; and for Eretz Israel!"

ARAB REFUGEE PROBLEM

The United Nations must again debate the future of "The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees" whose mandate expires in June, 1963. Most of the world's many and tragic refugee problems have moved steadily toward solutions. The Arab refugee problem is a glaring exception. This failure to solve a fifteen-year-old problem may be due to the fact that the U.N. is so effective in its aid program -- including educational and health services -- that imaginative and permanent solutions are resisted. Or the failure may be due to the fact that efforts to solve it have unrealistically been isolated from a general Arab-Israel peace. Solving the refugee problem was to be a first step toward peace. Well and good! Only the Arab governments haven't seen it that way. For them the refugee camps have been, and are, their big guns in anti-Israel warfare. The U.N., and the nations contributing to UNRWA, have been deluded. Their aid program is not only supporting refugees -- who need and deserve assistance -- but is being used by Arab leaders to further their drive against Israel -- against peace! An unhappy dilemma indeed, but one that the members of the U.N. will do well no longer to avoid meeting!

So long as the Arab governments do not desire peace, so long as they seek Israel's destruction, there is no road but frustration open to those who seek an end to the Arab refugee problem and a forty-million-dollar annual U.N. budget. Israel cannot be expected to accept repatriation in such charged and threatening circumstances. And the Arabs officially will not tolerate resettlement of the Arabs in Arab lands. Even such a compromise plan, such as that recently proposed by Dr. Joseph E. Johnson, which would allow some refugees to return to Israel and others to be resettled, is being opposed by Arab leaders. This opposition comes as no surprise because it would mean the inevitable recognition of Israel and even the strengthening of Israel by removing the refugee problem as a focus of disaffection, hostility, and warfare.

It would appear, therefore, that the U.N. might move more rapidly toward a solution of the Arab refugee problem by urging immediate Arab-Israel peace negotiations. Many of the African and Latin American states have already seen the issue clearly and last year joined in sponsoring a U.N. resolution calling for peace negotiations. Unfortunately, our government opposed this resolution, still clinging to the self-defeating "first-the-refugee-settlement" timetable.

For an interpretation of the 1962 report of Dr. John A. Davis, UNRWA Commissioner, please read the excellent analysis entitled "Frustration" prepared by the Near East Report, Inc. (1737 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.) in its October 23 issue.

A FINAL NOTE

For those of you who may not yet have joined the ACAI, the requirements are as follows: an assent to the Statement of Principles and the payment of $3.00 annual dues. We hope you will want to associate yourselves with this important effort to advance an understanding of Israel in the Christian community and to work for a peace that will bring security and new opportunities to both Arabs and Israelis.

Perhaps, too, you -- members and, as yet, non-members -- know of other leaders who would welcome an opportunity to associate themselves with our work. If so, please send us their names or have them get in touch with us.

And won't you help by sending us experiences you have had in building bridges of understanding for Israel? What are the special problems you find in such bridge-building? How much of a factor is anti-Semitism in preventing Christians from viewing Israel with sympathy and understanding?

And tell us, too, what subjects you would like discussed -- issues and problems that you feel cause the most misunderstandings.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Would you and/or friends be interested in joining a tour to Africa and the Middle East sponsored by "Promoting Enduring Peace" and to be led by Karl Baehr? The tour will leave New York on July 7 for a 32 day trip. The following countries will be visited: Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Sudan, United Arab Republic (Egypt), Jordan, Israel, Greece. All expenses ... $1558 ... by the group rate which means that the party leaves and returns to New York as a group.

Those interested please write to Karl Baehr for additional details. This will be a unique and exciting study tour.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ISRAEL

• 515 PARK AVENUE •

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Christians and Israel

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Dr. Howard M. LeSourd, President of ACAI • The Rev. Karl Baehr, Editor

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BROTHER DANIEL

The question "Who is a Jew?" is a perennial one discussed inside and outside the Jewish community. That discussion, ranging from the religious and anthropological to the anti-Semitic, was of minor consequence in the pre-State of Israel days. But today there is an Israel and Israel has a "Law of Return" which grants to every "Jew" the right of automatic citizenship. This law, an unprecedented liberalization of the usual immigration requirements, was, among other things, designed to facilitate the absorption of Jews into the life and work of the new state. These displaced and persecuted people were given both the duties and the privileges of citizenship without the usual restrictions and waiting periods.

But this automatic privilege forced the courts to make a decision as to who may qualify as a Jew. Could a man born and raised as a Jew who later converted to Catholicism and is now living as "Brother Daniel" in Israel, qualify as a Jew and be granted automatic citizenship under the law of return? The religious, or rabbinic approach to this problem has been that a Jew remains a Jew even when he is unfaithful. The Israel Supreme Court, however, faced with the more precise requirements of a nation state, ruled that a Christian is not a Jew, just as a Jew is not either a Moslem or a Christian.

Brother Daniel has now applied for citizenship through regular channels and will be welcomed as a citizen of Israel, joining the 55,000 Christians who are now Israelis.

Commenting on the case, Brother Daniel had the following to say: "My Christendom has not removed me from the Jewish people. Indeed Christendom itself has sprung from the Jewish people, and no dispute on my case could warrent any incitement against my people. My rights as a future subject of Israel have not been affected in the least by the outcome of the case, and to exploit the occasion for villifying the State of Israel is unwarrented."

A YEAR OF ANNIVERSARIES

This year marks the 2500th anniversary of the return of the Jews from Babylon. Cyrus of Persia freed the Israelite captives in 537 B.C. and they returned to Palestine, rebuilt Jerusalem, and reestablished their national life. Celebrations to mark this act of humanity in both Iran and Israel are expected this year.

This is also a year for unhappy memories. Just thirty years ago in January, Hitler came to power and madly used the trust of leadership to destroy. He set the landscape of the world ablaze and perfected the barbarous art of genocide. Six million Jews were systematically hounded to their death. Though Hitler perished in the blaze he ignited, his philosophy of Jew-hatred continues to smolder and here and there around the world it bursts into flame again. Russia has recently embarked upon a side-show of anti-Semitism in an apparent attempt to divert attention from the failures of the Communist system and to blame a group of people the Russian peasants have habitually blamed for every affliction from pestilance to poverty. Though Jews make up only about 1.09% of the population, out of about 100 recently done to death for "economic crimes", sixty-nine are Jews. In Argentina the anti-Semitic organization Tacuara, supported by many of the "good" families, and some members of the Catholic clergy, are not being brought to book by the government. And the Arab lands, in recent years, have provided propaganda, leadership, and funds to advance the cause of the Jew-haters wherever they are. The fires of hate are not easily extinguished and, apparently, there are not yet enough firefighters.

While this evil of Jew-hatred goes on, forces are at work -- and they need to be greatly strengthened -- to turn the tide against this mania. Twenty years ago the Warsaw Ghetto uprising declared clearly -- no uncertain trumpet this! -- that the intended victims would no longer submit like sheep to murder. And fifteen years ago this year (December) the Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly of the U.N., attesting to the fact that the Ghetto fighters for their rights and dignity did not die in vain.

Fifteen years ago, in May, Israel was born and refused to submit to the destruction by military might promised her by the surrounding Arab States. For the audacity of its victory Israel to this day is being subjected to Arab boycott, blockade, border warfare, and a never ending flow of invective. But Israel has risen above this hostility and has vividly demonstrated the correctness of the U.N. judgment in voting for her establishment. She has taken in more than

a million Jewish refugees from Europe and the Middle East (largely Arab lands), reclaimed waste lands, and built the industries necessary to support the dispossessed peoples. And she has already begun to share the knowledge gained in this epic achievement by sending over 2000 experts to Asian and African lands to help them open their many doors of opportunity and progress.

This is a year of anniversaries. What is most important however, is that 1963 also be a year of achievement for inter-group understanding and peace, at home, in the Middle East, and around the world.

ANTI-ISRAELISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM
AN APPRAISAL

By Claire Huchet Bishop*

We are fast approaching the time when the genocide of six million Jews will seem more remote than the First World War is to youngsters of today. Already few are those who spontaneously connect the rise of the State of Israel with the Nazi's persecutions. Speaking with people and reading, one can but wonder why so many Christians sympathize more readily with the Arabs' plight than with that of the Jews. This is not to minimize the individual Arab tragedies, but only to try to view the whole picture in a fuller perspective. Arab refugees have some 4,350,000 square miles on which they can settle. Most Jews who are refugees, on the other hand, have, in the main, nowhere to go except the 8,000 square miles which is Israel.

Scratching beneath the surface of this widespread Christian reaction which points to the quasi instinctive use of a different set of scales when it comes to the Jews, one discovers that antagonism to Israel is often but a convenient cover-up for a too obvious anti-Semitism. Today, many are the Christians still ashamed -- except for a lunatic fringe -- at being labelled anti-Semitic, who can safely bask in anti-Israel feelings, leaving their own consciences untroubled and neighborly relationships unruffled. Such people become relentless critics and merciless judges of the State of Israel, and, thereby, succeed in fooling everybody, including themselves, as to their real feelings toward the Jews.

Since most Christian anti-Israel attitudes are actually anti-Semitism in disguise, it must be that anti-Semitism has deep roots in the Christian's subconscious. Uncovering these roots is a task which has been undertaken in Europe, especially in France, since 1947. The trailblazer is Jules Isaac, outstanding historian, distinguished scholar and noted educator. His books have awakened a number of Christians from their criminal lethargy, and a whole movement is now under way for a NEW APPROACH TO JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN RELATIONSHIP. There are already some known results both in Rome and in the European Protestant churches.

In the United States, in 1950, Beacon Press published THE FOOT OF PRIDE by Malcolm Hay, since reissued under the title of ISRAEL FOR 1900 YEARS. Written by a well-known Scotch Catholic, this book boldly denounced the age-old Christian anti-Semitism of Western Europe which, in no small way, contributed to a psychological atmosphere conducive to Hitler's "final solution."

Last year I was given the opportunity to lecture on this question in various American colleges -- denominational, State, girls', boys', and co-educational. Though the subject did not deal directly with the State of Israel, it seemed to me that many of the students' questions revealed a kind of conditioning which is bound to lead them eventually to an antagonism toward the State of Israel.

The reader can judge for himself by the following examples whether or not I am correct:

First, let me list those questions that reveal evidence of a religious rejection of Jews:

You said that the high priest and the elders, and not the Jewish people, shared the responsibility of Jesus' condemnation. That's not true. The Gospel says that "the people" clamored for his death!

If the Jewish people did not kill Christ, who did?

I am a Catholic, and know what I was taught when I went to catechism, that the Jews killed Christ. This is what my church teaches. I don't like it -- I have several friends who are Jewish. But what can I do? I have to believe my church.

You said that present day anti-Semitism has roots in Christianity. If so, how can you explain that Jews are persecuted in Russia?

You said that Jews were expelled from one European country after another throughout the centuries. Something must have been wrong with them. What was it?

Why do Jews who do not go to the synagogue, even atheists, insist that they are still Jews?

You said that Jesus was a Jew and a good one. If so, why did not his people recognize him?

You said that the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls proved that Judaism was not a degenerate religion at the time of Jesus. I cannot see this at all. How can you say such a thing?

I do understand that we cannot hold present-day Jewish people responsible for Jesus death. I don't think I ever did, yet my Jewish friends do not become Christians. Why?

Were not all Jews deported from Palestine at the time of Titus?

Did not the Romans forbid the Jews to live in Palestine?

Second, there are those questions which would indicate that religious rejection and prejudice elicit categorical negative judgments about Jews in secular areas:

Don't you think Hitler had to do what he did? The Jews were too powerful.

I have heard it said that Hitler had to do what he did because the Jews held all the money in Germany. Did you know that?

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*Mrs. Bishop is an outstanding writer and lecturer, a Catholic who contributes frequently to the pages of Commonweal. She is a Danforth lecturer and among her books are ALL THINGS COMMON. She will be lecturing on contemporary French civilization at the N.D. E.A. Summer Language Institute to be held at the University of Rennes in France.

Why are all Jews rich?

Don't you think that we have to protect ourselves in the universities because Jews push -- they crowd out other students?

Why are all spies Jews? What about the Rosenbergs?

Why are killers of heads of States Jews?

Third, there are those questions which show that this basically hostile reaction carries over to judgments about Israel. (And it should be remembered in this connection that these questions arose despite the fact that my talk did not deal directly with the Arab-Israel issue):

You speak of being fair to the Jews, but when they get a chance they are not fair to other people. What do you think of the State of Israel and the Arab refugees?

Aren't Jewish Christians persecuted in Israel?

If the Jews have such a high ethical code, as you said, why do they act the way they do toward the Arabs?

Jews are supposed to love freedom; but they don't give it to the Arabs in Israel.

Why cannot Israel take the Arab refugees back?

Many of the above questions were asked under marked emotional strain -- some students were belligerant, some were downright spiteful, others were distressed and confused. the 2000 year old Christian responsibility in the chain of events which culminated in a hurried creation of the State of Israel and, subsequently, in the Arab refugee problem, seemed hard for the students to encompass, let alone acknowledge. Everywhere there were signs of deep-seated religious indoctrination, both Catholic and Protestant, which conditioned all reactions toward the Jews.

These questions reaffirmed my conviction that, as long as we do not begin to reappraise the traditional Christian teaching regarding the Jews, the safety of the Jews in Israel as well as elsewhere will remain precarious, and the Arabs will continue to feel, among other grievances, that the existence of the State of Israel is a convenient way to free ourselves of our sense of guilt at their expense. Only a willingness to purify our age-old attitude toward the Jews can demonstrate a genuine concern for Israel. We must come to the realization that our interest in the State of Israel cannot rest solely on the fact that the existence of such a State serves the Western democracies. It is we who have an obligation to serve Israel, because we are inescapably involved in its development, which clearly grows out of twenty centuries of Christian inhumanity.

The annual meeting of the American Christian Association for Israel will be held on Thursday, May 16, from 12:30 to 3:00 P.M. The place will be announced. Please hold the date.

AFRICAN STATES ASSUME STATESMANSHIP ROLE IN U.N. ARAB REFUGEE DEBATE

By Karl Baehr

Those who listened to the United Nations debate on the "Report of the Commissioner General (Dr. John W. Davis) of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East", or read the provisional verbatim reports (about 300 pages and 100,000 words), were exposed to a sour and most depressing display. Of special interest was how few times the Arab refugees figured in the discussion. They were the forgotten people in a downpour of accusation, denunciation, and vitriol against Israel. All the Arab League states (having for this display buried all their inter-Arab quarrels), plus a representative of the Palestine Arab Refugee Office, united in their attack against Israel. Hopelessly outnumbered, even Israel's "right of reply" became a feeble defense because Arab states would immediately demand a "right of reply" to the reply.

If the Arab states are genuinely interested in a solution to the Arab refugee problem which will give these victimized people an opportunity for a new start, this intent did not emerge from the torrential downpour of invective. Their intemperate charges, fabricated history, and downright hostile demeanor in this "debate" proved something quite different: (1) that the basic future of the Arab refugees is scarcely their primary interest, but rather the hope of isolating and eventually destroying Israel through her vilification; and (2) that Israel would be foolish in the extreme to agree to the repatriation of any Arab refugees or to any scheme of compensation without first securing genuine peace agreements with the Arab states.

A further depressing aspect of the debate was the relatively few times other nations entered in to correct the record or to call the Arab spokesmen to task for vicious and baseless charges that should have had no place in United Nations proceedings. The times such corrections were offered are so few -- and, for that reason, valuable enough -- to quote:

Mr. Hermod Lannung of Denmark, on December 10, stated (as recorded in the U.N. General Assembly Provisional Report of the debate) "that the contention of certain representatives that Israel was to be equated with the Nazis of Hitler Germany, and that the Israelis had behaved like the Nazis could not be left unchallenged. Those who made such a contention were either unaware of the true nature of Nazism and of the crimes committed by the Nazis or were indifferent to Nazism and its true character, which was even more deplorable.

The Nazi treatment of all Jewish people was one of the darkest and most shameful chapters in human history. It seemed indecent to equate Israel, whose people had suffered so much, with those who had inflicted so much suffering upon them. He did not think that by implying any similarity between those atrocities and the matters under discussion the representatives in question in any way strengthened their own case. He appealed to members of the Committee to refrain once and for all from such accusations." (This appeal went unheeded by the Arab states.

Mr. Don Raymon Huidobro of Chile, on December 3rd, noted (as recorded in the General Assembly Provisional Report) that "despite the Argentine representative's conclusive statement on behalf of his country, the representative of Saudi Arabia had repeated his hope that the so-called Tacuara (a neo-Nazi) movement in Argentina would spread to all Latin America. He wished, therefore, to state on behalf of his own delegation, that Chile could never condone genocide or totalitarianism. The Government and people of Saudi Arabia and of the other Arab countries respected the laws of other nations and were well acquainted with the history and traditions of Latin America. He could not believe, therefore, that they shared the hopes that had been expressed for the growth of a movement that was contrary to the laws of friendly countries and undermined the very foundation of the inter-American system, which was built upon racial and religious tolerance and coexistence. The spread of those Latin American principles to the rest of the world would do more to promote the cause of the Palestine refugees and of peace in general than the dissemination of doctrines of hatred and genocide." (Mr. Shukairy of Saudi Arabia followed by asserting that Zionism was, in itself, a movement of genocide.)

Those diplomats offering the most constructive statements were from newly independent African States. (These quotations are again from the General Assembly Provisional Report):

Dr. Tosumu Johnson of Liberia offered the following opinion on December 10th: "It seemed to his delegation that the issue could not be solved unless those concerned dispelled from their minds all preconceptions and prejudices and tried to view the question from the ethical and humanitarian rather than the legalistic standpoint. It would surely be agreed that both Israel and the Palestine refugees had a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and that it would be a travesty of justice to act in such a way as to prolong a situation in which one side suffered from malnutrition and abject poverty while the other lived in constant anticipation of destruction. The foundations of peace must rest upon a new social attitude that disregarded colour, race, religion and previous status.

"If decades of humiliating conditions under colonial rule and domination had not broken the will to survive of Asians and Africans, he failed to see how a handful of Jews, willing to work with their neighbours on the basis of political equality and economic interdependence, could prevent them from being what they wished to be. Who could say, indeed, that it was not the will of Divine Providence that Israel should come into being at a time when all of Africa and Asia was becoming independent and would benefit from having the accumulated experience of world Jewry concentrated in the Middle East?"

Mr. Michel Gallin-Douathe of the Central African Republic, on December 11th, "urged the Arab countries to understand that such an attitude would divert them from the course leading to the peaceful settlement of a dispute of which the Arab refugees were the standing victims. The adoption of that attitude meant condemning thousands of human beings to remain in a status midway between slavery and freedom. It was necessary to negotiate, even without hope. If the negotiations proved fruitless, they would at least have had the merit of replacing violent language with diplomatic dialogue, and would perhaps make it possible eventually to approach the problem in a constructive spirit. It was only through the concerted efforts of the Arab countries and Israel, with the material assistance of other States, that a true solution for the refugee problem could be found. For that reason his delegation urged the Arab States to understand the urgent need for direct negotiation, for which Israel continued to proclaim its readiness, in order to settle that tragic problem once and for all."

Mr. Arsene Assouan Usher of Ivory Coast on December 13th, in an excellent address well worth quoting in its entirety for soundness of scholarship and earnest seeking for peace and the lasting welfare of the Arab refugees, said, "without prejudging their rights or the final settlement of the problem, the refugees could agree to develop the area in which they lived. The real solution would be to provide them with the means of becoming self-supporting and living on the fruits of their labour. Yet nobody wanted that solution, as the report of the Commissioner-General of UNRWA indicated.

"For some, the refugee problem was a trump card which they would play at the appropriate time; for others, it was an instrument of their policy of maintaining the world balance of power -- all at the expense of the refugees, who were pacified by illusions. But it was impossible to deceive all the people indefinitely.

"Apparently, the real problem was not the refugee problem. If that had been the only problem, a solution would have been found with a little good will on both sides. The real problem was the continued refusal to recognize the 1947 resolution on partition .....

"In asking for the application not only of paragraph 11 but of resolution 194 (III) as a whole, his delegation wished to explain how it understood paragraph 11. In its view, the use of the words 'their homes', in the plural, indicated that the reference was to houses and estates rather than to the Palestinian homeland. Moreover, by imposing on Governments or authorities the duty of paying compensation in accordance with international law, the paragraph confirmed the recognition of the existing Government. Furthermore, during the debate paragraph 11 had not been quoted in its entirety. The second sub-paragraph dealt with repatriation, resettlement and economic rehabilitation. Accordingly, a formal committment to live at peace with their neighbours must be secured from the refugees, and they must be assured of peace in return. Lastly, there should be negotiations with the States in which the refugees lived, in accordance with paragraph 5 of resolution 194 (III). His delegation could not allow some delegations to quote out of context the provisions favourable to their own line of argument.

"The immigration of Jews into Israel could not be prevented, not only because such immigration was one of the purposes of the partition resolution but also because immigration policy was a matter within the domestic sovereignty of States ....."

For the most part the Big Powers remained silent. Apparently Britain, France and the United States did not

feel it necessary to refute the charge iterated and reiterated by Arab spokesmen that Israel was a colonialist creation, the result of a conspiracy between the colonial powers and the Zionists.

The U.S. opposed the resolution calling for direct negotiation between Israel and the Arab states, supported by 21 nations (12 African, 6 Latin American and 3 European) on the ground that this was not the time. Also opposed was the resolution calling for the appointment of a U.N. representative to administer abandoned Arab property in Israel. The Hon. Carl T. Rowan, U.S. Representative, expressing opposition to this resolution, said that it "offers no realistic basis for adjustment, or for helping the refugees. In fact, it would be a gesture of retrogression, for it is clearly designed to strike at the very foundation of Israel's sovereignty." While the U.S. delegation asked for only a year extension of UNRWA, they went along with a two year period with the suggestion that its mandate be reviewed each year.

It is obvious that the Arab refugees need assistance, if not by the Arab states and Israel as an outgrowth of positive programs of peace and development in the Middle East region, then certainly as a relief measure by the U.N. and voluntary agencies which have so far donean excellent piece of work. What should trouble the nations, however, is that the U.N. increasingly should be made the forum for invective and threat. Its own principles are compromised in the process -- especially when almost no efforts are made to keep the discussion germane to the topic -- and the conflict is only deepened. So long as the hostile atmosphere displayed by the Arab States -- involving outright Jew hatred -- continues, the Arab refugees will not be warmed by jobs and hope, but will be victimized by despair and hate. And that prospect is dangerous indeed, for the refugees, for Israel, for the Arab States, and for the nations of the world.

MINORITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Review of A Lonely Minority by Ed Wakin
William Morrow & Co., New York, 1963, $4.50

Nationalism in the Arab Middle East finds its foremost enemy to be colonialism and the second feudalism. Unfortunately, the West has been identified with both, the former by exploiting governments, waterways, industries and business, and with the latter by supporting Kings and pashas of the old order. The West is Christian. Accordingly, colonialism and its "ally" Christianity, come in for serious condemnation by Radio Cairo, the voice of Arab nationalism. Almost inevitably the force of this anti-West drive has been to identify the minorities in the Arab world with the West and this identification has led to their exploitation and dispossession. The Jews have been the first victims because of their special association with Israel as well as the West; next have come the British and French nationals and their interests; then the Greeks, Italians, and even Lebanese -- all Christians; and finally the Copts. The two or three million who remain of the ancient Christian Church of Egypt are coming under increasing pressure. Despite assurances in Egypt (and other Arab lands) that "in Egypt we are all brothers" and constitutional provisions calling for a liberal, pluralistic society, the nationalist surge carries with it a Moslem cast which tends toward the suppression, if not the complete elimination of minority peoples as well as minority opinions.

Christians in America forget -- or perhaps have never fully realized -- that Christians in the Middle East are tarred with exactly the same brush of colonial exploitation as are the Jews. To think that the Christians -- including "Christian" oil companies and other interests -- will be saved by trying to place both the real and imagined guilt of the West upon the Zionists and Israel is folly -- morally, intellectually and practically. This policy is not winning and is not likely to. Already the issue is joined in the Sudan and in other parts of Africa where Zionism is not around to serve as a scapegoat. To date at least 100 Catholic priests and Protestant missionaries have been expelled from an aggressively Moslem Sudan. Their properties have been confiscated and strict limits placed on their work with children. Also they must be licensed each year.

It is within this setting that Edward Wakin's book, A Lonely Minority, The Modern Story of Egypt's Copts, must be placed. Mr. Wakin, Professor of Journalism at Fordham University, and a Roman Catholic of Lebanese background, spent considerable time in Egypt studying the Copts and tasting the experiences to which they are subjected. He first became interested in this ancient Christian community in 1955 when he lived in Egypt working as a reporter. In 1958 and again in 1960 he visited Egypt and gathered material for this study.

The Copts are often called the "True Egyptians" for they were the Egyptians long before Islam moved in with the Arab conquest in 641 A.D. Gradually over the years their numbers have shrunk until today they number between two and three million out of a population of around 26 million. They have had to contend with a Moslem society which placed a premium on conversion to Islam but outlawed conversion of a Moslem to Christianity. In any dispute between Christian and Moslem the Moslem is favored. Accordingly, the Copt male finds an easy way of escaping problems at home by becoming Moslem, divorcing his wife, gaining custody of property and children. The offended wife has no recourse. Conversions also take place for economic reasons: to secure jobs or retain business interests.

This inequality of status has placed a strain upon the Coptic church. Weakened, it has become a fawning institution, seeking favors and gratefully embracing any that come its way in the vain hope that there may yet be a new era of equality with Islam. Internal dissension and weakness of leadership have also invaded this ancient church which naturally manifests the characteristics of an insecure, second class, minority status.

Mr. Wakin has done the Copts and the Christians of the world a service in writing this book. In a sense, his manuscript represents an indictment of official church

leadership -- both Catholic and Protestant -- for it was a journalist who had to write this book. Could it be that the silence of official church bodies has been inspired by a prior concern for "oil" or "politics?"

The Wakin story should also make a contribution to the advancement of basic Human Rights in our world. Moslems have equal rights in America -- witness the beautiful mosque in Washington with its program -- and the Christian Copts in Egypt (the historic Egyptians) deserve no less security and absolute freedom. As Mr. Wakin puts it, "the Copts are a major test of modern coexistance between a large Christian minority and a Moslem majority."

A Lonely Minority deserves a wide readership.

STUDY TOUR OPPORTUNITIES

1. The Inter-University Committee on Israel, in cooperation with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has outlined an intensive period of travel and study in Israel covering its educational, economic, sociological, scientific, political, archaeological, and religious institutions and programs. Dates: leave New York July 17 - return August 15. Cost: only $897. Trip includes a four day stopover in Rome. Those interested should write to the Inter-University Committee on Israel, 515 Park Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

2. Academic Travel Abroad, Inc., in cooperation with the Inter-University Committee on Israel, is sponsoring a Study Tour to Israel which will include stops for sightseeing and special-interest study in London, Paris, Geneva, Athens and Rome. Dates: leave New York July 25 - return August 22. Cost: New York to New York (except for dinners in London, Paris and Rome) is $1,025. Those interested should write Academic Travel Abroad, Inc., 550 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, New York.

3. Dr. David Wesley Soper, Chairman of the Department of Religion, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin, is leading a tour entitled "Exploring the Christian Mind" through the following countries: Holland, Italy, Egypt, Jordan, Israel, Greece, Switzerland, France, England and Scotland. Dates: June 11 to July 5. Cost: $1,410. For further details write to Dr. Soper at Beloit.

4. American Seminar to West Africa and the Middle East, sponsored by Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc., and to be led by Karl Baehr. Countries to be visited are: Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, United Arab Republic, Nigeria, Sudan, Jordan, Israel and Greece.
Dates: July 7 - August 15. Cost: $1,558, New York to New York: For details write Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc. 489 Ocean Ave., West Haven, Conn.

If you can't go on any one of these tours, please pass on the information to friends who are contemplating a trip this summer.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF THE ACAI

The ACAI is a national educational and philanthropic organization seeking to promote friendship and understanding between the Christians of America and the people of Israel.

We believe that each Middle East nation will benefit from a peace that will include regional cooperation through the joint development of the area's natural resources. We therefore shall work to advance the cause of peace and welfare in the Middle East.

We shall devote ourselves to the presentation and interpretation of Israel's vital role in the world of today as a democratic force, and as a nation with an indispensable mission in saving a people and redeeming the Holy Land.

Israel has brought dignity and freedom to over a million refugee and oppressed Jews. In her successful efforts to reclaim a wasted land and to absorb neglected and persecuted peoples, Israel has gained skills which are now being shared with other newly developing nations in Asia and Africa.

Israel has demonstrated the ability of a democratic society to overcome difficult problems and to build a vital industrial civilization and also one of inspiring cultural and spiritual attainments.

In the troubled context of our current world we hail Israel as a land of freedom under God. It is on the side of free men in the struggle against totalitarianism of all kinds. We count it among our allies as a nation dedicated to liberty, justice and peace. We assume as part of our Christian duty the obligation to welcome its contribution and to contribute to its growth.

We invite those of you who are not members of the ACAI and who subscribe to our principles, to notify us of your assent and send along a check for $3.00 in payment of annual dues. We very much desire an enlarged fellowship.

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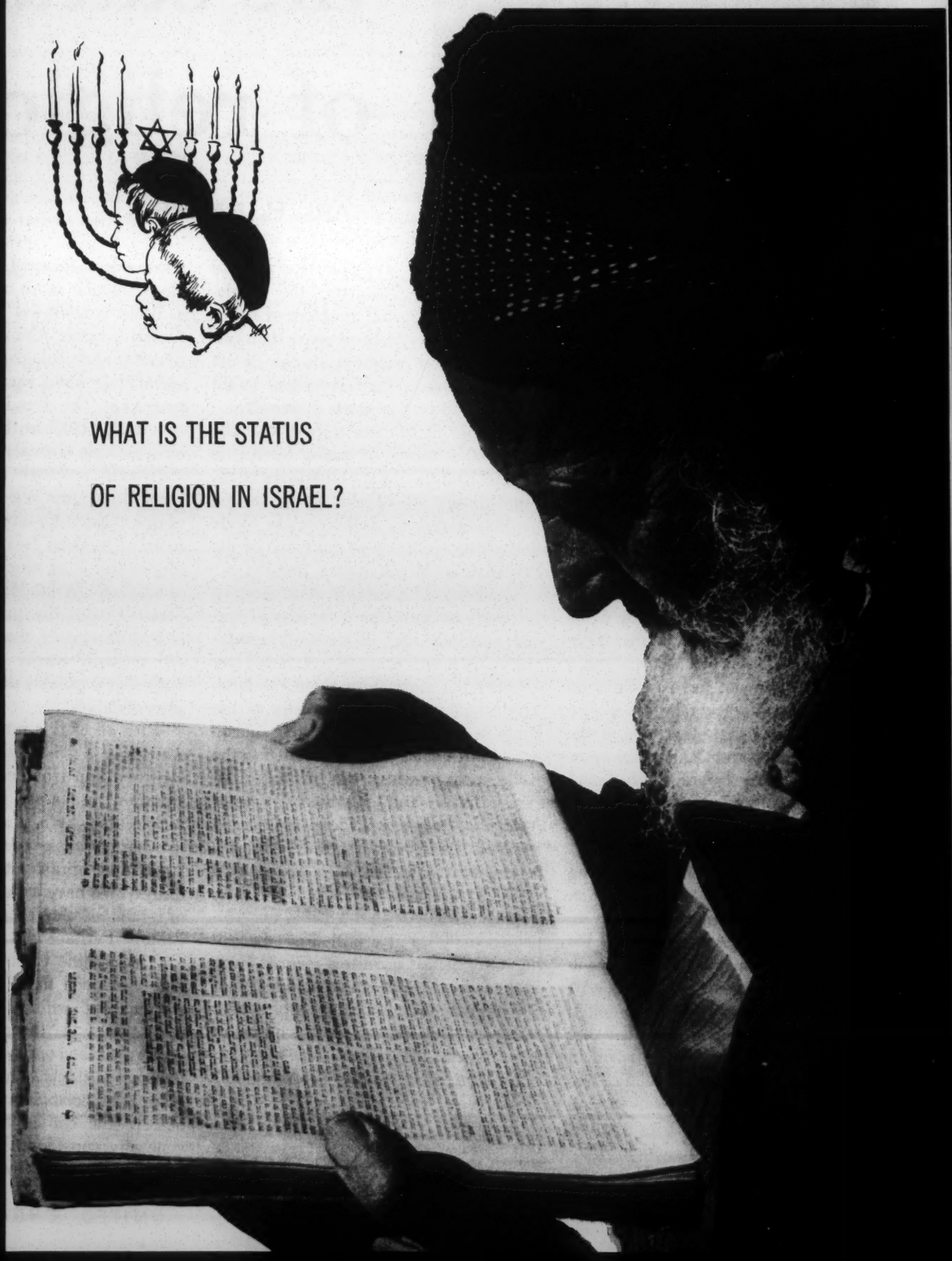
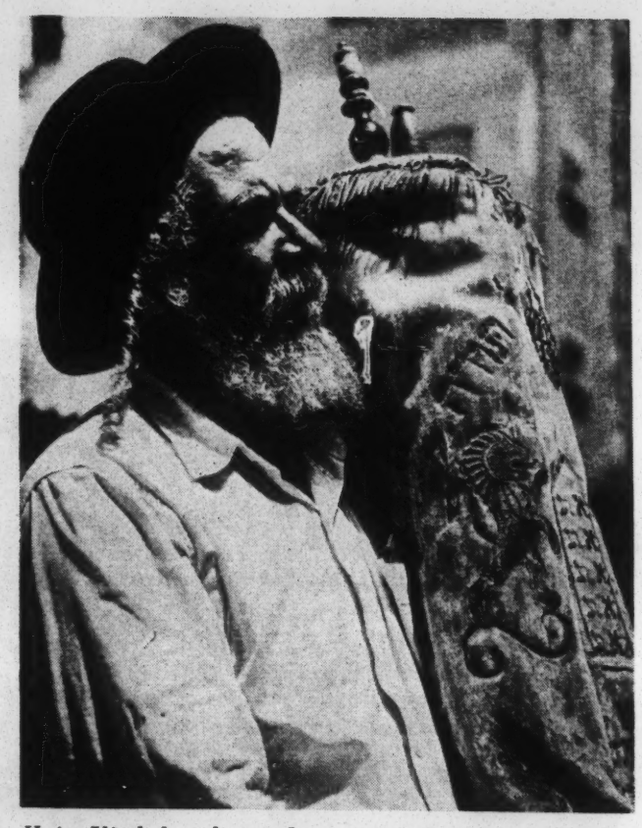
WHAT IS THE STATUS

OF RELIGION IN ISRAEL?





Haim Yitzhsk, a devout Jew, went to Israel from Yemen.

What is the status of religion in

KARL H. BAEHR

WHAT OTHER NATION than Israel could ever get involved in a situation in which the government is challenged by a motion of "no confidence" because its Prime Minister expressed an unorthodox view of the Bible?

Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, the philosopher-statesman who has led Israel in all but a brief interlude of its life as a state, won the day on that occasion because the Knesset (Parliament) voted that it did not have jurisdiction over historic matters or religious law!

The particular issue that caused the debate and censure motion was the question of how many Hebrews left Egypt under Moses approximately 3,000 years ago. In *Numbers* 1:46 the figure given is 603,550 not counting women, children and the tribe of Levi. According to Orthodox Jews, there were more than two million people involved. Not so, said Ben-Gurion. According to his theory, no more than 600 Hebrews followed Moses into the desert. To support his position the Prime Minister cited *Exodus* 6:16-25 where it is noted that twenty-five males had been born in Egypt to the tribe of Levi. Doubling this figure to account for the women and then multiplying by twelve to account for the twelve tribes of Israel, Ben-Gurion arrived at his figure. Moreover, argued the Prime Minister, the "logistic" problem of maintaining more than two million in the desert for forty years would be quite impossible.

Whether or not one agrees with the Ben-Gurion thesis, of major interest is the fact that the debate took place at all. Significantly, the opinion was advanced by Ben-Gurion in a Bible-study circle that meets regularly at the home of the President of Israel, Itzhak Ben-Zvi.

The heads of a modern state meeting for study of Scripture is worthy of special note but such Bible-study groups are by no means unusual in Israel. They exist by the score throughout the land. The attachment of the Israelis to the Bible is also indicated by the inordinately large sales of books related to the Bible, most of which are printed in Israel. Bialik and Ravnitsky's *Sefer Ha'agada (Book of Legends of Israel)* has sold 180,000 copies; the Bible with commentaries by S. L. Gordon sold 100,020; the Hebrew Encyclopedia by Massada, 62,000; and a Bible encyclopedia, 10,000. For a nation of two million citizens this is quite a record! Even in the United States with a population of 180 million to sell 25,000 copies of a religious book is considered quite an achievement.

Bible research and scholarship has taken a leap forward in Israel. Archaeology—which more often than not has a Bible content—is considered a national pastime. Almost everyone is an amateur archaeologist and many people spend their brief vacations on such expeditions. The Dead Sea scrolls, discovered in 1947 in the Dead Sea area, have become virtually a national shrine.

Israel's national and international radio Bible Quiz is a natural outgrowth of this consuming interest in the ancient roots of modern Israel. The winner of the contest is as much a hero in Israel as baseball's Willie Mays is in the United States. During the quiz program, which is broadcast over the radio, the streets are virtually empty of traffic and the book sellers quickly dispose of their supplies of Bibles.

With all of this interest in the Bible, American Christians are nevertheless confused and troubled by the religious situation in Israel. Often Christians judge Israel by a standard not applied to other nations or to so-called Christian lands. One minister told me quite candidly: "We have a right to expect more of Israel, for didn't its people give us the Bible?" Perhaps it is not strange, therefore, that some visitors return from Israel convinced that Israel is a "nation without God" while others are convinced that Israel is a "theocracy."

Why all the confusion? Why the conflicting testimony? One of the problems, I am convinced, is a matter of semantics. In the United States a person is generally considered "religious" if he attends church (or synagogue) and ac-

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Mr. Baehr, a Congregational Christian clergyman, is the executive director of the American Christian Palestine Committee. He has traveled extensively in Israel. Photos by courtesy of the Israel Office of Information, New York City.

Israel?

cepts the basic doctrines of the church. In Israel this definition breaks down completely. There, the term "religious" is synonymous with "orthodox" and "orthodox" means the observance of the rituals and practices of the Orthodox tradition. Accordingly, when Israelis are asked by visiting Christians "Are you religious?" the response is very likely to be "No." As many as 75 per cent of the people in Israel would be non-Orthodox in these terms. This does not mean, however, that they are nonreligious or atheists, for there are few atheists in Israel. Nor does it mean that they have no regard for or interest in the ethical, moral and religious precepts of the Hebrew prophets and of Judaism!

Of course, traditional or Orthodox elements in Israel do consider the nonobservant person as "nonreligious." For them there can be no other interpretation; no compromise is possible. However, from the vantage point of the Christian, who stands outside this ritual tradition, other standards are necessary. What, for instance, is the Israeli's attitude toward love, forgiveness, sacrifice for the welfare of others and a devotion to the ethical and moral precepts of the Bible? Questions such as these usually produce a most satisfying response. They point to their sharing in the *kibbutzim* where they care for the widow, the orphan and the elderly even though they are not productive and are a financial responsibility.

But even in these more or less secular circles religious attitudes and practices are undergoing change. Dedication to the task of "rebuilding the land," which fired the early pioneers with zeal, is not in itself enough. Even the most "secular" *kibbutzim*, which have in the past prided themselves on their nonobservant tradition, are beginning to light the Sabbath lights and to celebrate the holy days of Judaism—although not in the strict Orthodox tradition. The young people also hunger for something more than work, study and play. The rebellion of their parents against what they once considered a sterile Orthodoxy—a rebellion that was filled with daring and emotion, grounded in the liberalism of the Socialist philosophy—today arouses no comparable feeling in the hearts of this new generation.

Many of the older pioneers have believed that ceremony and tradition are not necessary in Israel, that Orthodoxy is a ghetto development and necessary only in alien countries for purposes of self-preservation. In Israel, they say, the Holy Land is at one's feet; the spirit of the Bible is breathed continuously! This reaction against Orthodoxy had a richness of meaning for those who suffered much of their lives on other less holy soils—in Russia, Germany or Middle East lands—and for whom "autoemancipation" from repression and prejudice became a life mission. But the children who have not had direct association with these less holy lands and who have not known anti-Semitism need something more. And so the Sabbath lights are lighted and the holy days are celebrated anew for their historic and spiritual value.

Not only is religion beginning to touch the more secular quarter in Israeli society but the development of religious interest can also be seen in the fact that during the past year 339 synagogues have been established in Israel, of which twenty-one are special youth synagogues. Tel Aviv alone has more than 400 synagogues only one of which is an imposing structure, the "Big Synagogue" on Ben Yehuda Street.

If we can agree that the Israelis are not godless, what about the assertion that Israel is a theocracy? Nation states are a recent innovation in the Middle East. Less than fifty years ago this vast, sprawling area, richly diverse in peoples and cultures, was a part of the Ottoman Empire. Under the Turkish system a person was identified by his religion. He was not first a Syrian or a Palestinian, but a Muslim, a Christian, a Jew or Druse or Bahai. Communities were organized around these religious groupings.

The legal structure of the empire, known as the "millet system," assigned to each religious community a great measure of autonomy. Matters of a religious nature, even in the broad family and community senses, were the pre-

Christianity is represented in Israel by such sanctuaries as the Church of the Gospel at Kfar Kuma, where tradition says Jesus performed his first miracle.

Religion in Israel

rogative of each group—Muslim, Christian, Jewish. Marriage, divorce, burial, matters of personal status and child welfare all came under the jurisdiction of the religious community and its religious courts.

The Ottoman approach to religious diversity and communal self-sufficiency was quite logically perpetuated by the British mandatory administration after World War I. The British felt no call to impose the British state-church system on the land. Moreover, stability could be achieved far more easily by accepting the indigenous and deeply imbedded customs.

In 1948 the new State of Israel suddenly inherited the political and legal structure of the mandatory government. Building a new state out of the wreckage following the British withdrawal, the swift Arab attack on the new state and the United Nations' inability to enforce its decision was a difficult undertaking. Motivated by a strong desire to give all religious groups freedom, including cultural and linguistic freedom, the new government hesitated to break with tradition. Then, too, the new state had proclaimed in its Declaration of Independence: "The State of Israel . . . will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will insure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the holy places of all religions. . . ."

To abolish the religious communities, their separate courts and historic prerogatives would have smacked of "cultural imperialism." Moreover, none of the religious groups, whether Muslim, Christian or Jewish, was ready to accept the transfer of a measure of its authority to the state as would have been the case if secular marriage before civil magistrates had become law. Even to this day a crisis of no small proportions might erupt if this Ottoman "millet system" were revoked.

What becomes clear from this is that Israel is not a "Jewish" state in a religious sense. The various religious groups have equal status in law and in fact. Jewish customs, by virtue of the fact that 90 per cent of the citizens of Israel are Jewish, have of course a certain pre-eminence. This is most visible on the Sabbath when the cities and communities take on a quiet that suggests worship, meditation and study—a quiet that incidentally has no parallel in Europe or the United States. Christians in Israel have the legal right to take Sunday as their day of rest and the Muslims, Friday.

Curiously, the Ottoman "millet system" has worked the greatest hardship upon the Jews. And this is where the charge of "theocracy" arises. The Jewish religious organizational structure is controlled by the Orthodox. Reform Judaism is a European and American development. Therefore, it is Israel's Orthodox rabbinate that decides what is religiously Jewish and what is not —views that often have been under attack both from ultra-Orthodox and liberal circles alike. In fact, so incensed are members of the N'turei Karta (ultra-Orthodox) group located in the Mea Shearim area of the New City of Jerusalem that they would prefer to live in Jordan rather than in Israel. Because they refuse to profane the sacred Hebrew language by using it in common speech, Yiddish is their everyday tongue.

On the other hand, liberal Jews resent rabbinic interference with their "personal" affairs such as riding or smoking on the Sabbath, Kosher food in the Army and the determination of who may qualify as a Jew and who may perform religious rites and ceremonies. Reform Jews have no standing in Israel because the Orthodox do not consider the Reform tradition true Judaism. The Orthodox thus are the custodians of Judaism in Israel with the sanction of the state, just as the Roman Catholics define what is or is not Roman Catholicism.

With religious liberty guaranteed why doesn't the government recognize liberal or Reform Judaism as another religious group with the right to administer its own affairs? This is not a likely possibility. While most Jews in Israel are "liberal" they do not feel the need for liberal synagogues. More importantly, they fear that such a development would hopelessly divide the Jewish community. They prefer to hope that time will bring a liberalization of Orthodox views.

Evidence exists that this policy of quiet resistance and open discussion is bringing results. The latitude in the degree of orthodoxy acceptable in a synagogue is growing. The Orthodox rabbinate, long withdrawn and defensive, is beginning to re-examine its role in the developing nation. Lectures on religion are being promoted; study subjects are being printed. The role of the rabbi is shifting so that the concept of a "pastoral rabbi" is gaining support. New forms are being sought without giving up the substance of tradition.

Of course, such changes do not make headlines, whereas appealing copy piles up as correspondents report the vigorous opposition to a swimming pool for both sexes in Jerusalem, or the symbolic sale of land to a non-Jew every seventh year when the land is to lie fallow, or the symbolic sale of all food and materials related in any way to leaven during the Passover festival when only the unleavened bread of affliction is permitted.

Judaism is obviously in a state of flux in Israel and the development of a modern industrial and democratic state will inevitably force more changes in these and other Orthodox religious practices and customs. The end result will not be American Reform Judaism; it will be something distinctly Israeli. Whatever develops, however, will have a profound effect on the practice of Judaism in lands outside Israel.

A second area of controversy, which also contributes to the notion that Israel is a theocracy, is the realm of interreligious association. Here the problems are almost exclusively the outgrowth of mixed marriages. Since there is no civil marriage in Israel, marriage between a couple representing different religious groups is not possible unless one partner converts to the religion of the other. However, a number of Christian-Jewish marriages did take place in Europe before the Hitler era and several thousand of these families are now in Israel. Are the offspring Jewish or not? Are they Christian?

Some months ago the case of little Aaron Steinberg, who died of tuberculosis, became a vivid illustration of the limitations of the "millet system." Since his mother was Christian, the Orthodox rabbinate would not accept the boy's body for burial in a Jewish cemetery. This refusal was both supported and denounced. Some who wished quickly to seize upon this tragic situation as a means of "proving" that Israel is a "theocracy" called it "pitiful cruelty" and an "act of clerical fanaticism." But what was not at first reported was the fact that the parents had first sought burial in a Christian cemetery and were denied this solace because the child was not ritually or legally considered a Christian!

It is hardly just to refer to either the priest or the rabbi in this situation as being a "religious fanatic" for ritual and tradition are not lightly set aside by any religious group. Of course, this does not solve the problem faced by the parents of Aaron Steinberg, who was accepted for burial in the cemetery of a "secular" *kibbutz*. A host of other problems beset families who are neither Christian nor Jewish—problems concerning divorce, inheritance and the rights of the child.

This general situation stirred up a recent controversy as to "who is a Jew." Liberal elements, including Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, were willing to accept anyone as a Jew who considered himself a Jew. The Orthodox rabbis could not accept such a definition, just as most Christian groups would not accept a corresponding definition of a Christian for membership in their respective churches. The definition generally accepted by many people in Israel today is that a Jew is a person who is Jewish by faith and was born of Jewish parents, at least a Jewish mother. A person may also become Jewish by conversion.

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This definition resolves a problem within the Jewish community, at least for the time being, but it does not resolve the problems of those families in which the Christian mother is unwilling to become a Jew. The only solution, other than conversion, is emigration—a course taken by some divided families.

And there is no immediate solution to the problem in sight. Secular marriage is not an answer yet because Muslims and Christians (Roman Catholic and Orthodox) are opposed to it along with the Orthodox Jews. Southern Baptists, on the other hand, are so vigorously in favor of breaking the clerical hold on marriages (in their view, a form of union of church and state) that they perform mixed marriages in defiance of the law. Others wishing to defy the tradition go to Cyprus for a secular marriage ceremony. Such defiance, however, only postpones the problem, for eventually children come and with them various problems as to which of the various religious courts alone has jurisdiction.

Serious Problem

Change in Israel is not likely to occur speedily for yet another reason. Not only are Christians, Muslims and Orthodox Jews opposed to a departure from tradition but the Orthodox religious parties in Israel (National Religious and the Agudat Israel) have a balance of power in Israel's coalition government quite out of proportion to their numerical strength. The religious party bloc in the 1959 election won a total of eighteen seats in the 120-seat Knesset. Over the years the votes of the religious bloc have been critically important to the Ben-Gurion (Mapai) government. Where possible the dominantly non-Orthodox governing Mapai party has made it a point not to court the opposition of the Orthodox on religious matters. Moreover, they fear a *Kulturkampf*, which would inevitably and perhaps hopelessly divide the Jewish community.

In this setting Christian missions seek the final answer through conversion. And herein lies the next most serious problem in the field of religion in Israel. Confusion and a good measure of animosity reign. The confusion arises out of the multiplicity of Christian individuals, orders and denominations at work there. I doubt that there are any accurate figures available as to the number of "missionaries" in Israel. Many have no supporting denominations but are in search of that "special grace" that is theirs for converting Jews to Christianity.

A few have sold their possessions abroad and moved to Israel to welcome the returning Messiah, and in the meantime they seek success in proselytizing. The established churches and denominations function mainly through schools. The Roman Catholics have thirty-eight schools and the Protestant groups twelve. Protestant activities are carried on largely by fundamentalist or Evangelical bodies: the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Southern Baptists, the Church of God and various Hebrew-Christian groups.

Competition, even conflict, is almost inevitable. The Catholic groups are eager to seek out the Christian members of families who sought refuge in Israel from Europe under a depraved Hitler. Naturally, they desire not only to preserve these Christians' faithfulness but also to convert their husbands and the children. The Jewish community is equally eager to see that the Jewish members remain Jewish and that the members of their families accept Judaism.

The resentment against missionaries to the Jews of Israel is understandable. Having just emerged in independence and freedom from centuries of persecution, which culminated in the destruction of six million of their people in "Christian" lands, Jews are not eager to accept Christian missionaries or to surrender the faith that sustained them and brought them to freedom. This natural resentment is compounded by the conviction that some mission groups take advantage of the hard living conditions in Israel by enticing the young people into their institutions with extra food, clothing and so forth. Some missionaries also help Jews who accept conversion to escape the rigors of Israel through emigration to other lands. Resentment is evident also in the ostracism, both subtle and overt, of those Jews who do convert to Christianity. Such persons are considered opportunists, if not actually traitors to their people. It is somehow assumed, especially by the Orthodox, that a Jew who converts cannot be an officer in the army or remain a truly loyal Israeli.

The more liberal Jews are not especially distressed by Christian missionary activities. They do not feel that the mission groups have much to offer or that the average Jew in Israel will respond.

The problem is serious enough, however, to have arrested the attention of many of Israel's outstanding leaders. A Committee for Interfaith Understanding in Israel and the World, whose roll of supporters reads like a "Who's Who" of Israel's Jewish, Christian and Muslim leaders, has been established to promote an understanding of all religions. It is headed by Dr. Benjamin Mazar, president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Dr. Maurice Fisher of the Foreign Ministry, who was chiefly instrumental in organizing this "brotherhood" group, asserts that the proposition is not true that people who have suffered persecution and minority status will automatically know how to accept other minorities once they become a majority.

Since Israel is not a "Jewish state" but a mixture of religions and peoples, such an interfaith organization has an important role to play. It is encouraging that Israel's leaders have taken note of this problem. The Ministry of Education has issued a circular to all schools inviting them to promote understanding of all religions among their students.

Christians can also do their part, both in Israel and abroad, by promoting a truer understanding of Judaism and of Israel, and by discouraging the chaotic and divisive activities of the fundamentalist and similar mission groups. The Christians who can be most effective in Israel are the indigenous Hebrew Christians who are at home in Jewish culture and who are themselves Israelis. Even for them the mission role will be difficult because they must bear the burdens of an incredibly unchristian Christian history. Their first and most important task will be to win acceptance as Christians and as Christian Israelis.

Rich Diversity

Religion in Israel is richly diverse. A dozen or more synagogue patterns of service were brought in from the Middle East and Europe. Each is rich with colorful tradition, yet is essentially Orthodox. Of two million Israeli citizens, 140,000 are Muslims, 52,000 are Christians (mostly Arab) and 20,000 are Druses (an offshoot from Islam, although they trace their religious ancestry back to Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses). Then there are a few Samaritans and the world headquarters of the Bahai sect is also in Israel.

For all these groups the Israel Government provides assistance. The judges of the religious courts are paid by the government; churches and mosques have been repaired at government expense. Muslims and Christians, as do Orthodox Jews, have the use of the government radio for special religious observances and for regular broadcasting. The Government maintains a special department for religious affairs and during the days of austerity this department saw to it that extra rations were available to Christians at Christmas.

Israel is indeed the land of the Bible. One must be very insensitive not to feel the ubiquity of religion in a host of garbs or no garb at all. The Bible is central. As Harold Fisch wrote in *The Jewish Forum* of December 1959: "The Bible is, after all, accepted as the source of all material and cultural values by secularists and religious folk alike. It is clearly the most important bridge standing between the divided parts of Jewry." And one might add the Bible is also the link between Jews and Christians and to a great extent with Muslims as well. Religion in Israel is multifarious; it is both intense and marginal, rigid and in a state of flux, liberal and Orthodox. But the Bible is central for all!

IN SEARCH OF BROTHERHOOD IN THE HOLY LAND

By Karl Baehr

I. AN AGE OF DISPLACED PEOPLES

IN THE LAND of the Book and the Land of the People, so sacred to Islam, Jewry, and Christendom, so redolent of Jesus and the Hebrew prophets in all their ethical passion and God-centered zeal, there are today regrettable tensions and conflict. Yet despite inflamed passions, brotherhood in the Holy Land is not a mirage amid Middle East desert wastes, but rather a very real possibility, and this, within our own lifetime.

Displaced peoples, the Arab refugees in the Middle East and Jewish refugees from half a hundred lands throughout the world, are certainly an affront to brotherhood. In this storm-racked era, this uncertain fate is matched by the homelessness of many more tens of millions, all of them in a tragic, seemingly hopeless plight, for this has often been described as an "age of displaced peoples." And not without justification.

Estimates of the total number of refugee and displaced peoples as a result of World War II run as high as 30 to 50 millions—a figure staggering in its dimensions, and, therefore, difficult to comprehend. In the India-Pakistan theater, fifteen million refugees with all attending misery and bitterness faced the necessity of establishing new lives in strange if not unfriendly surroundings. Years of patient efforts at resettlement will be required before this problem may be considered solved. In South Africa, racial tensions mount ominously. In Western Europe, the ten million or more German "expellees" have gradually been settled in West Germany or elsewhere—a hope-filled solution to their long and bitter plight. In Korea, Indo-China, Indonesia, Burma, Algeria, the refugees seek stability and peace in new homes and lands.

II. ARAB AND JEWISH REFUGEES

In the Middle East, somewhat less than two million of these dislocated peoples are to be found. Almost 350,000 are in Turkey where the government of Turkey has carried out a most effective resettlement program for the people of Turkish extraction who have been expelled from Communist Bulgaria.

Over 1,000,000 are to be found in Israel, a land of refuge to which dispossessed, rejected, and persecuted people of Jewish background have been streaming during the past fifteen years. Of this total, some 400,000 came from Europe, survivors of the Hitler horror under which 6,000,000 perished. By some miracle, this remnant had escaped the gas chambers, the furnaces, and had survived the fantastic tortures of the "medical" and "scientific" experiments conjured up by Nazi madness. Over 500,000 have entered Israel from Arab and Moslem lands of the Near East and North Africa, where their situation was precarious and untenable. Recalling the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, 125,000 have come from the "Waters of Babylon," namely, Iraq. In a second exodus from Egypt some 60,000 Jews fled their unhappy plight in Nasser's militantly nationalist and state socialist land. Fifty thousand forsook a second-class status in far-off, primitive Yemen at the southern end of the Arabian peninsula.

The Epic of the Jews from Yemen

The departure and entry of the Yemenites into Israel is already one of the great epics of all times. So emaciated were these Yemenite Jews that planes normally carrying 47 passengers took as many as 127, for the average weight of an adult was 60 pounds. These people, lost in the backwaters of history with almost no outside contacts, had clung to their Torah since the days of Solomon, 971-931 B.C. Century after century, they were buoyed up by the simple and complete faith that one day they would be caught up on the "wings of the eagle" and taken to the Holy Land. Had not the Torah so promised? These primitive people, who had never seen an airplane, were thus not the least startled when the giant birds of a modern airline gracefully left the ground and flew to the Holy Land. After falling on their faces to kiss the holy soil of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of David and Solomon, of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Amos, of Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah, they were startled that the trucks which came to take them to reception centers did not fly!

Arab Refugees, the Victims of War

The Arab refugees—the largest refugee group in the Middle East—number, according to United Nations estimates, somewhat over one million as of 1961. In the neighborhood of 600,000 to 650,000 of these came from the territory presently occupied by Israel. They were the victims of a tragic war—a war declared by the Arab states against the United Nations Partition decision—a war which produced a shattering toll of victims on both sides.

After the fighting ceased, the Jewish dead in Israel were buried and their displaced peoples returned to their homes, often bombed and gutted, to start over again. With the Arabs it was not so. They had left the battle areas as a part of an overall military strategy in the expectation that when the clash of armies was heard no more and the Israel nation was put down, they would return at will to their homes . But when the battle lines were stabilized by armistice agreements, negotiated in 1949 by the patient but persistent Ralph Bunche, the Arab refugees found themselves on the Arab side of the military boundary lines with little prospect of a return. They faced the same tragedy as the Hindus who fled Pakistan for India, or the Moslems who forsook India for Pakistan. They were now displaced people in need of a plan to take them out of camps into new but productive opportunities. Many returned to Israel under a plan of reuniting the families which had become separated

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Jewish refugee housing at Elath on the Red Sea. The Negev desert region to the South of Beersheba represents the hope of tens of thousands of Jewish refugees who are still pouring into Israel from North Africa and from lands behind the Iron Curtain. Israel has now absorbed over one million of such dispossessed peoples.

during the fighting. The absence of peace agreements, continued violence on the boundary lines with no direct intercourse between the contending parties, and repeated threats from the Arab states that Israel must yet be destroyed, have made any large-scale repatriation impossible. Experts today agree that the only hope for the refugees in the area is resettlement—the Arabs in Arab lands and the Jews in Israel. Iraqi, Egyptian and Yemenite Jews cannot, even if they so desire, be repatriated, nor will the Arabs return to Israel. Pre-war conditions are never reestablished.

Unlike the expelled Turks or the dispossessed Jews, the Arab refugees have unfortunately not been welcomed by the lands in which they now reside. Therefore, constructive resettlement projects have been exceedingly slow in developing. While the people of both India and Pakistan have accepted the "partition" in their area and with it the necessity for both nations to accept millions of displaced peoples—the Hindus by India and the Moslems by Pakistan—a similar constructive outlook is only slowly developing in the several Arab states. As a result, the propaganda mills grind a bitter meal and the bread of hostility is eaten not only by the refugees but also by all who visit the area. And all the while, these victims live in debilitating idleness, decaying morally and spiritually.

In Pakistan and India, in Turkey and Israel, the energies of the people are directed toward the creation of jobs, the reclamation of land for resettlement ventures and the establishment of new industries. Thus, the bread of hope and of opportunity is given to these innocent victims of social upheaval and war.

Yet, as Dr. Elfan Rees of the World

Council of Churches notes: ". . . the Arab refugee problem is by far the easiest post-war refugee problem to solve by integration. By faith, by language, by race and by social organization, they are indistinguishable from their fellows of their host countries. There is room for them, and land for them, in Syria and in Iraq. There is a developing demand for the kind of manpower that they represent. More unusual still, there is the money to make this integration possible." Moreover, the Arab refugees are the only group of refugees in the world being given international care and maintenance under the U.N.

Resettlement Programs

Constructive programs for the rehabilitation of Arab refugees have been outlined by various United Nations agencies and by the program of the Foreign Operations Administration (Point 4) of the United States. In 1951, an ambitious program for resettlement of the Arab refugees in Arab lands was envisaged, and a $200,000,000 fund was voted by the United Nations General Assembly for various development projects which would give jobs and land to the dispossessed. That program was never fully implemented, because the Arab states did not wish to cooperate with programs which sought the integration of the Arab refugees in non-Israel territory. Since the inception of the Arab refugee problem in 1948 up to June, 1962 the United States alone has contributed a total of $305,668,000 for relief representing almost 70% of the total governmental contributions. This does not include the U.S. share of the $200,000,000 resettlement fund mentioned above.

Perhaps the most hopeful development looking toward the settlement of the Arab refugees on land, unused today but capable of rich development, was the plan, outlined by Eric Johnston, President Eisenhower's personal Ambassador to the Middle East, for joint Arab and Israel utilization of Jordan River waters. Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Israel, all lying within the Jordan watershed, had agreed in principle to the plan. An expenditure of $60,000,000 would make possible a Jordan Valley Authority under the UN which could provide for the creation of hydro-electric power and irrigation waters sufficient for considerable agricultural and industrial expansion in Israel and for a development program in Syria and Jordan, capable of absorbing some 200,000 Arab refugees. A second effort which might have proved capable of resettling approximately 70,000 refugees was the Sinai Peninsula project. Under this scheme sweet water from the Nile would be siphoned under the Suez Canal to irrigate some 50,000 potentially fertile acres of land. Unfortunately the opposition of Syria frustrated implementation of the Johnston Plan, because Israel would benefit too; Egypt failed to endorse the Sinai project.

In addition to both a United Nations and a United States program for the Arab refugees, Israel has offered to play her part by paying for lands abandoned by the Arab refugees. These funds—when the value of the lands is determined and the method of payment is outlined (Secretary John Foster Dulles had suggested an international loan to Israel)—would be made available to the refugees. Thus, the necessary ingredients are on hand for an effective resettlement program which can gradually alleviate the grievous refugee problem.

III. THE BACKGROUND

The background of the Israel-Arab conflict is important to understand, for understanding the issue is to sympathize with both peoples and to seek those actions which will bring help to both victims. Let us, therefore, examine a few facts which will help us appreciate the "why" behind the intense feelings in the Middle East today.

Arab Decline Under Impact of Turkish Domination

It is important to recall that both Arabs and Jews were victimized peoples in the pre-World War I days. The Arabs had been exploited, especially through 400 years (1517-1917) as vassals under the Ottoman Empire. Their once high

culture tended to disintegrate under Ottoman oppression. Taxes were so heavy that a high percentage of the produce of the soil was siphoned off. Even trees were marked for a tax levy. To escape such taxes, the people produced less and less, often cutting down their trees. As a result, the denuded hills were exposed to the full force of the winter rains; and the fertile soil, once held down by the roots of the trees and of the grasses, was washed into valleys and down into the sea. Desolation settled upon the land as far as the eye could see—and even beyond. The lands which God had bestowed upon Abraham and which were retaken by Moses and Joshua, were no longer "flowing with milk and honey." Disease, incredible poverty, and illiteracy took their toll. During the days of Jesus, some 20,000,000 people had lived in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and approximately 4,000,000 in Palestine, on a relatively good standard of living. But at the turn of the twentieth century, about 5,000,000 lived in Mesopotamia and less than 600,000 lived in Palestine, victims of malarial mosquitoes and many debilitating diseases. Small wonder the Arab peoples came to fear and even to hate the foreigner. They wished to be released from the shackles of foreign domination.

World War I saw the collapse of Turkey, "the sick man of Europe." The newly created League of Nations, inheriting the vast territories of the Turkish Empire, faced the task of disposing of these areas, honoring in the process the commitment implicit in President Woodrow Wilson's principle of "self-determination" of populations. Promises of self-determination had been given before and during the war years to both Arabs and Jews.

Pogroms and Ghettos, the Lot of the Jews

The Jews, for centuries a persecuted people, faced increasing problems as the nineteenth century drew to a close. In Europe discrimination and prejudice were rife. Indeed, a series of pogroms left terror and death in Jewish communities. Thousands fled their homes in search of freedom. One refuge was America, the other was Palestine. Palestine was chosen not for the reason that it might offer opportunity such as was to be found in America, for over the centuries it had become a neglected waste land. It was chosen despite the sands and the swamps because it had the associations of a biblical past and the hope, long deferred, of a Jewish community once again to be reconstructed upon the sacred soil.

Thus, pioneer Jewish communities were established upon the long-forgotten soil of the Holy Land before the twentieth century dawned, almost four decades before the Balfour Declaration, issued by

Arab refugee families resettled in an experimental village in the Jordan Valley. From the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) each family receives a house, 6.5 acres of irrigated land, plus the tools, seeds, seedlings and fertilizers necessary to get started.

UNRWA is also doing good work in providing vocational training for nearly 4000 young people who are, upon graduation, quickly absorbed in the developing areas of the Arab world.

Britain in 1917, proclaimed in favor of "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." These Jews came not as conquerors or exploiters, for they purchased the land they settled—often paying two prices, one to the absentee landowner and another to the *fellah* (peasant serf) on the land. These pioneer settlers came with the philosophy of "self-labor," which maintained that profiting off the labor of another man, whether Arab or Jew, was unjust. Impelled by an ideal and driven by practical necessity, they sought to cooperate with their Arab neighbors in redeeming the waste places of Palestine.

Self-Determination for Jews

Woodrow Wilson, like David Lloyd George and Lord Balfour and many another Christian leader in the early twentieth century, knew the successes of the pioneer Jewish settlements in the Holy Land and believed that the civilized world should grant freedom and self-determination to them as well as to the Arabs. Had not Palestine always had a Jewish population? Did it not continue to be the center of Jewish hopes for a reconstituted nation? The prayers of the Jews of Palestine had been united for centuries with the prayers of the Jews of Russia, Poland and elsewhere, that this great day should come to pass. The Bible itself seemed to call to the nations that the hour of fulfillment for the "Great Return" was at hand. Moreover, vast open spaces awaited their coming, for the land was virtually empty of people.

Fifty-two nations of the world joined in 1922 in setting aside Palestine as a National Home for the Jewish people. At the same time, under a system of Mandates, these nations granted freedom to the Arab peoples in over a million square miles of the Ottoman Empire.

It is understandable that many of the Arab peoples were not pleased with their new situation, although early leaders such as King Feisal of Arabia had agreed to the establishment of a Jewish Homeland. The Arab nations did not gain full independence, for in Lebanon and Syria, the French took the place of the Turks; and in Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq, the British officials became the ubiquitous symbol of foreign control. It mattered little that these "Mandates" were temporary or that the Mandatory Power was commanded to prepare the people for self-government. Nor did it matter that under British rule the Arabs of Palestine made the greatest social, economic, and educational advance to be found in the Arab world. The fact is that the Mandate reminded the Arabs of past centuries of domination and they desired nothing less than freedom.

Conflict Between Jews and Arabs Encouraged

To the proud but disillusioned Arabs, Zionism as a living force in Palestine seemed an ally of Western imperialism; its advent, therefore, was to be resisted, certainly not to be welcomed as a potential friend and companion. Britain, as an imperial power, did little to allay this unfortunate reaction because she, unhappily, saw in the resulting conflict the opportunity to perpetuate her control over this vital area astride the Suez and her "life-line" to India. Indeed, using the "divide and rule" technique of imperial powers, she stimulated the conflict by establishing two wage scales, a lower one for the Arabs and a higher one for the Jews. The two people were to be kept apart as much as possible. Thus, two labor unions—not one—were organized. Rumors circulated; suspicions grew; isolated Jewish settlements were attacked; the Jewish community created its own "self-defense force" called Haganah; and a full-fledged conflict flared into periodic outbursts of violence.

Not only was "divide and rule" a basic cause for conflict in the Holy Land; there was also a clash of civilizations. In Palestine a vital Western, democratic pattern developed in juxtaposition with a staid, Eastern, feudal order. Sociologists have long noted that social conflict inevitably arises at the points where radically contrasting cultures meet. Had the "Westerners" been Methodists or Baptists instead of Jews, and the "Easterners" been Buddhists or Shintoists instead of Moslem Arabs, the situation of conflict would have been much the same. The Arab landlords willingly sold their swamps and desert lands to the Jewish pioneers, but they soon began to fear

the civilization being built so fruitfully upon these barren stretches. New ideas abounded there—strange and dangerous ideas. In the Jewish pioneering colonies they shared the fruits of their labors. Everyone—as soon as the colonies were sufficiently advanced—reaped the benefits of education, medicine, and community life. Their society was not stratified in such a way as to yield a few wealthy landlords and a mass of illiterate peasants. This new democratic concept—based upon the unique value of each human being—began to make an impact on the Arab feudal order. Some Arabs even applied for admission into Jewish settlements in order to share in the benefits of this new society. Small wonder the landlords began to campaign against Zionism as an "alien" civilization, as a "threat to the Arab way of life." Indeed, the democratic pattern did pose such a threat—and still does today, though more Arab leaders realize now that change in the manner of the democratic and Western pattern must come if that critical part of the world is successfully to resist Communism. It is significant that while the Arab world is slowly coming around to the acceptance of Western and democratic standards, they continue to fear Israel, the child of the West, which initially jarred the Arab world out of its centuries-old slumber in the arms of a decadent feudalism. Eventually they may even feel an indebtedness to Israel for having precipitated a revived and revitalized Arabic civilization. Thus, Israel today, paradoxically, symbolizes both Arab fears and goals.

Partition Voted by the United Nations

After World War II, when the miserable survivors of the concentration camps were refused permission to enter Palestine, the Jewish community entered upon a period of both passive and violent resistance to British rule. Finally, the strands of Britain's control were cut beyond repair and she suggested that her jurisdiction be relinquished to the newly established United Nations.

The United Nations undertook its responsibility by appointing a special committee to study the situation and recommend a solution to the second General Assembly meeting. The committee (UNSCOP), made up of eleven small nations with no special stake in the area, diligently set about its seemingly impossible task. As the facts were assembled and feelings assessed, it became apparent that the maximal claims of neither Jews nor Arabs could be accepted without doing violence to the rights of the other group. A compromise was finally worked out which created an independent Arab state and an independent Jewish state in Palestine. This partition scheme included also a system of "economic union" whereby the two states were to be linked together in matters of customs, trade, and currency, and Jerusalem was to be set apart as an internationalized area.

This plan, after much debate, was finally accepted by the General Assembly on November 29, 1947, by more than the necessary two-thirds majority. A detailed timetable for its implementation was worked out. Subsequent events, however, prevented its peaceful acceptance. Great Britain refused to cooperate with the UN timetable; indeed, she developed her own, whch called for the withdrawal of all her troops by May 15, 1948. During the interim period, she refused to turn over the orderly affairs of government to either the UN or to Jews or Arabs. Since the Arabs had also rejected the Partition decision, the stage was set for inevitable conflict. The fact that the Jews had accepted the decision made them no less vulnerable. Arab "voluntary armies," organized in Damascus, crossed into Palestine shortly after the Assembly Partition vote.

On May 14, Israel proclaimed herself a state; the Arab nations sent their armies into Palestine to prevent the birth of the new nation. It is hardly necessary to retell either the horrors or the heroism in that conflict. Suffice it to say, several atrocities punctuated the fighting periods. A Jewish terrorist group wiped out an Arab village, Deir Yassin, which blocked the road to Jerusalem, and Arab forces wiped out one of the Kfar Etzion settlements south of Jerusalem and ambushed a convoy of doctors and nurses from the Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus, killing scores, only a few escaping. The United Nations paid dearly, too, in its efforts to bring about a cease fire. Count Folk Bernadotte, the

UN mediator, was shot by a Jewish terrorist band, and several subordinate UN officials were felled by Arab bullets.

Continued Conflict Encouraged by the "Cold War"

In the fifteen years since Israel's establishment, conflict has continued. Arab leadership has not reconciled itself to Israel's existence, indeed has insisted, despite the armistice agreements with Israel, that a "state of war" continues. On the basis of this alleged right, acts of boycott, blockade, and border violence have been justified. Thus, the Suez Canal has not been open to Israel shipping, despite a 1951 Security Council ruling that Egypt's belligerency could not interfere with Israel's right to use the canal. Furthermore, the Gulf of Aqaba was blocked by Egyptian guns at Sharm el Sheikh until these were destroyed during the Israel-Sinai campaign of 1956. Today the Sharm el Sheikh area as well as the Gaza Strip is policed by the United Nations Emergency Force and shipping moves freely through the Gulf to Israel's port of Elath, and incursions on the Gaza border have virtually ceased.

Not only has the Arab leadership—whether the revolutionary Nasser or the Kings of Jordan and Saudi Arabia—continued to fear and reject Israel, but the Soviet Union has actively encouraged this hostility as a means of stimulating hatred of the West. The "Cold War" has conclusively moved in. An East-West contest for the loyalty and friendship of the Arabs is in progress. Bizarre and tragic have been the consequences. Both sides have found it easy to join in condemning Israel for retaliatory raids, but the Arabs' "right of war," their *fedayeen* (suicide) raids into Israel, and their psychological and diplomatic warfare have elicited no Security Council censure, for neither Russia nor the West wished to disturb Arab sensibilities. The West fears that any United Nations action it might initiate could only yield a Russian veto, "proving" to the Arabs that the Soviets were their "protectors." The consequent tensions and conflict have greatly complicated such specific issues as the refugee or border problems as well as frustrated any emergence of a "will to peace."

In a determined effort to keep Russia out of the area, the Baghdad Pact alliance, composed of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Britain—and the United States in all but name—was initiated in early 1955. This was followed in 1957 by the Eisenhower Doctrine. The response to these moves was not generally favorable, except in the definitely pro-West lands of Turkey, Israel and Lebanon. Since the Kassim revolution Iraq has withdrawn from the Baghdad Pact which, as a consequence, was renamed the Central Treaty Organization. President Nasser of the United Arab Republic actively resisted both the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower Doctrine by associating himself with the Soviets in massive arms deals and in accepting a generous economic assistance program. In pursuing his anti-West course Nasser has nationalized the Suez Canal, blanketed the area with anti-United States propaganda, tried to upset the pro-West regimes in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, and Lebanon. Still the United States has voted large sums in aid to Nasser. Many have expressed fear lest this assistance enable him to purchase additional stores of modern Soviet arms. Nasser aspires to be the leader of the Arab world and, according to his book, *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, of the Islamic world and of Africa as well. His ambitions are being encouraged by the Soviets, not because Nasser is a Communist, but because he promises to destroy the influence of the West. This may involve the eventual dispossession of the foreign oil interests upon which Europe depends for its sources of power. Even more ominously, it would open the way for Soviet technical and, eventually, political domination of this strategically vital and oil rich, but underdeveloped, region of the world.

IV. STEREOTYPES AND HATE PROPAGANDA

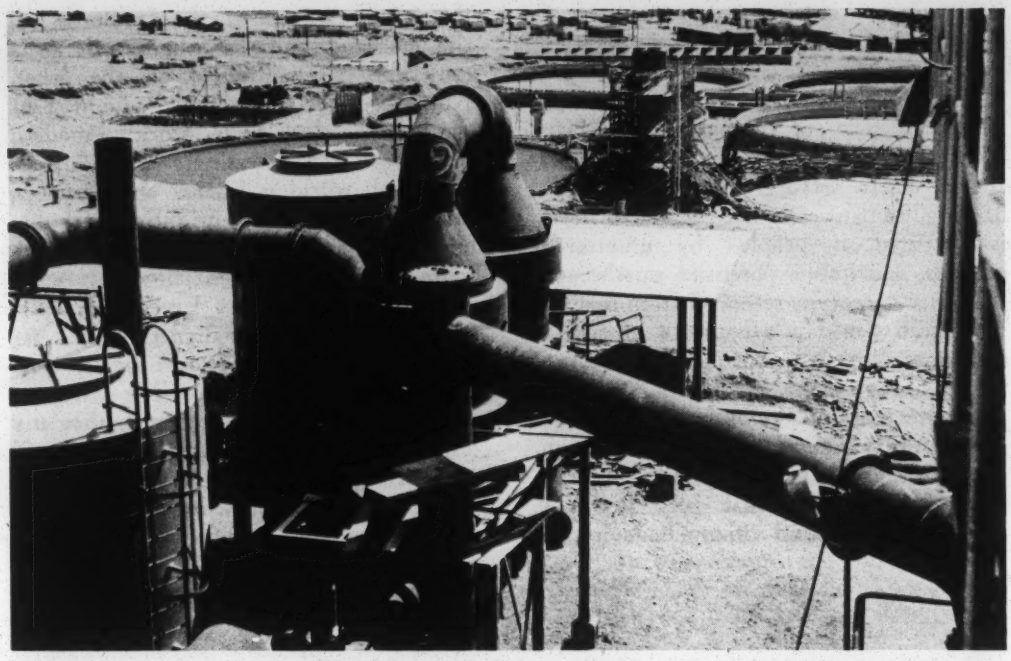
Not only has the bitterness unleashed by war made it extremely difficult for observers dispassionately to examine the Israel-Arab controversy; a factor complicating the issue still further is that *stereotypes and propaganda have colored the pictures we have developed of the people involved.*

Stereotype: Dashing Nomad in Flowing Robes

The Hollywood portrayal of the Arab world is that of perpetual "Arabian Nights." The Arab in flowing robes and a desert setting is portrayed as a dashing, romantic figure. The area itself is pictured as peopled by unlettered nomads, inevitably potential cutthroats. Here is a stereotype removed from reality. The Arab world is a complex of social, economic, and religious forces, varying all the way from the proud Bedouin to astute philosophers and skilled statesmen; from various Moslem sects through the Druse group to the several Christian sects; from a patriarchal social and economic system found among Bedouins to the feudal system of the landlords, on the one hand, and the enlightened Western type of capitalism, on the other. Not only the goat-skin Bedouin tent symbolizes the Arab world; modern buildings are increasingly in evidence. The Arab world is in flux and ferment. Struggling against a primitive and disorganized past, it is moving toward a more progressive orientation.

If the Arab peoples have often been misrepresented and maligned in the recent era, the Jews have historically been the world's scapegoats. The civilized world is beginning to recognize that any situation where Jews are involved will be distorted by the anti-Jewish (anti-Semitic) ideas which have persistently infected our culture for centuries, but

The Negev pipeline, now completed, will bring life-giving water to thirsty lands. Rainfall in the Negev varies from 8.94 inches per year at Beersheba to .76 inch at Elath on the Red Sea. Of the 2,800,000 acres of the Negev, one-fourth—about 700,000—is considered arable, and another 400,000 are suitable for intensive afforestation. Water will also be required for the industrial development of the region.



A general view of the Timna Copper Works near Elath. This plant is near the ancient Solomon copper mines and makes use of the same vein of copper that was used in Biblical times. Oil and gas discoveries, the exploitation of the potash and mineral deposits of the Dead Sea, the opening of phosphate and copper mines have greatly stimulated Israel's industrial development.

we have not been sufficiently on guard to watch this psychological element in the Palestine situation.

Nazi Propaganda Invasion

Anti-Jewish bias in the Middle East developed rapidly during World War II when the Nazi influence was exceedingly strong. The Arab world, anxious to get rid of Britain and France, gravitated hopefully toward the Axis. The Nazi line in the Middle East was not dissimilar to its line in Europe. The Jews were made the symbol of all evil. They were described as the servants of British imperialism in the area, bent on dominating and exploiting the Arab peoples. Extermination of the Jews was, therefore, considered logical and good.

The direct result of this kind of propaganda was the outbreak of pogroms against the Jewish communities in various parts of the Arab world. In Iraq, a pro-Nazi coup was organized by the infamous ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, one of the better-known Nazi agents in the Near East. After the British put down the revolt, the Mufti fled to Berlin and collaborated there with Hitler in the extermination of the Jews of Europe and in broadcasting anti-Jewish and anti-Allied propaganda to the Arab peoples. The radios in the Arab world, from North Africa to Baghdad, were turned faithfully to these Nazi broadcasts, and through them many Arabs came to accept the anti-Jewish prejudices which Hitler used as his most effective technique to gain and extend his power. Since World War II many Nazi officials from Hitler Germany have been occupying key positions in Egypt. Tragically enough, even to this day, anti-Jewish literature may be secured in the Middle East and is to be found at the Arab embassies, legations, and consulates here in America. Much of this material is based upon the spurious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a forged document which describes a "Jewish plot" to control the world.

Communists Continue the Hitler Line

A major factor today in the perpetuation of this anti-Jewish prejudice in the Arab world is the growing Communist influence. As long as the establishment of Israel appeared to embarrass Britain and the West, Russia supported the new state. However, the moment Israel—by its democratic structure of

government and general orientation—threw its weight on the side of the West, Russia shifted its policy and began to re-inject the poisonous anti-Jewish virus into the Arab world. The Communists have taken over the anti-Jewish hate technique which Goebbels, Himmler and Streicher developed with such diabolical success; the presence of the Jews in the Middle East is described by Communists as part of a Jewish plot to subject the Arabs to their "nefarious financial wizardry." The "driving out" of the Arab refugees is labelled as part of a deliberate plan to rob the Arab people of their birthright. The "aggressive Jew" is pictured as even now plotting an "expansionist drive" to take over more Arab territory. To these lies is added the persuasive counsel that the Arab refugees should not accept resettlement in the Arab world—that they should accept nothing but a return to Israel. The purpose of this advice, obviously, is not to help the refugees, but to keep the conflict boiling as long as possible, for Communism is uniquely capable of thriving on disaffection and turmoil.

If peace—and above all, brotherhood—is to reign in the Holy Land, in which were born three great faiths of the world—Christianity, Islam, and Judaism—we must discount and reject these various stereotypes and propaganda devices designed purely to stir up hatred and bitterness. Both among Jews and Arabs are men of dignity and worth, possessing the same general potentialities for good will and cooperative effort as are to be found among any other peoples.

Arms Instead of Vitamins

Russian intervention has also manifested itself by the offer of heavy arms to several Arab states, with Egypt, Syria and Iraq accepting. An arms race in the Near East obviously will not benefit either Arabs or Israelis; it increases the chance of overt war, and drains funds away from the development programs which alone can lift the level of living in the area. Vitamins and tractors—not guns—should be the slogan for the Near East.

V. THE WAY TO PEACE

Various proposals have been advanced to secure peace. Frequently these proposals contain "pre-conditions" which must be accepted before negotiations will be entered upon. The Arab states, for instance, insist that Israel should be asked to accept the 1947 Partition decision, returning to those patchwork boundary lines drawn by the UN at the time it had envisaged the peaceful acceptance of its compromise plan. Problems arise, however, the moment these "pre-conditions" for peace are discussed. Does it mean that Jordan, which annexed the central portion of Palestine (designated as an independent Arab state under the Partition plan), or Egypt, whose armies took the "Gaza Strip," should retire to their former boundaries? The answer is invariably, "No!" Does it mean that the customs union, common currency between Israel and the never-established Arab state, should now be initiated? It is commonly believed that such complex economic and political associations, which could work only under the most favorable conditions of peace and accord, would not now be practicable. Does it mean that Jerusalem and Bethlehem should be internationalized? Both Jordan, where 95 per cent of the Holy Places are to be found, and Israel have opposed internationalization. Moreover, the United Nations has been increasingly interested in a plan to internationalize the Holy Places only—not the entire 60-square-mile area envisaged under the Partition plan. In other words, this "pre-condition" of returning to the original Partition plan—which was upset by war undertaken by the Arab states to prevent its implementation—fades into mere polemics.

Another "pre-condition" advanced is that Israel should repatriate the Arab refugees or pay compensation—also a United Nations resolution. Israel has accepted the latter proposition—even apart from a peace settlement—but will not discuss other matters regarding refugees, including repatriation, apart from total peace negotiations. Since the Arab states have not yet accepted her as a neighboring state and, indeed, continue to threaten her destruction, Israel fears the introduction into her borders of a people who might eagerly cooperate with those plans.

Yet quite apart from this insurmountable barrier, other questions arise. What is meant by "repatriation to their former homes?" Most of the "former homes" were destroyed in the fighting, or, as in the case of many mud villages, have since collapsed under the impact of harsh winter rains. Those homes that escaped the ravages of both war and the elements, have long since been occupied by Jewish refugees, many from Arab lands. To what, therefore, will the refugees be repatriated? Only a few would be privileged to get their actual houses back, and their return would mean the displacement of others—which might be accomplished but with considerable difficulty. If repatriation means—as some have proposed—that the refugees simply return to areas in Israel not now occupied, then, obviously, they would not be returning to "their homes" but to an entirely new environment. It might logically be argued that resettlement in various Arab lands would not only be easier but more humane, for it would mean that the Arab refugees would be settled among kindred people having the same language, customs, religion, and general outlook. Moreover, since Israel must—absolutely must—for they have nowhere else to go—receive other thousands of Jewish refugees, especially from North Africa where their situation is very precarious, it would be the height of international folly to make it impossible for Israel to carry out this very humanitarian work which the international community has entrusted to her.

On the matter of compensation for the refugees, here again is a problem. Should compensation be on an individual owner basis, or should it be a lump sum payment by Israel (or by Israel with the help of the UN) to the several Arab states? If it is to be on an individual basis, an almost insuperable problem of checking deeds and records is involved, and these were not adequately kept during pre-Israel days. Moreover, a further problem interposes itself. Compensation on an individual basis would do little to empty the refugee camps, for the bulk of the funds would go to a relatively few landowners—most of whom do not now live in camps.

Israel, too, has her "pre-conditions." First, and foremost, is the requirement that she be recognized as a sovereign state in the Middle East; that boycotts and blockades currently enforced against her be lifted. In a total peace settlement, Israel would like to include an accounting of war damages suffered in 1948 when the Arabs invaded Palestine. She also speaks of noting the costs to her economy imposed by the boycott and blockade. The properties abandoned by Jews in the Arab and Moslem lands of the Near East and North Africa are likewise to be counted as assets not to be surrendered.

The Great Need: Face-to-Face Negotiations

The debate over an acceptable basis even for meeting to negotiate, shows how complex is the Arab-Israel impasse; how filled with innumerable ramifications and injustices—to both peoples. Outlining some of the problems awaiting solution should highlight the absolute necessity for face-to-face negotiations. There is no substitute for direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel, for only they can solve their problems. Solutions are not likely to be imposed from the outside—or accepted if attempts to impose them are made. It is at this point that the United States Government, like some of the smaller Afro-Asian-Latin American countries, could encourage and support measures in the United Nations leading to direct peace talks between the Arab states and Israel.

It is unfortunate that no significant meetings between representatives of the Arabs and the Israelis have taken place during the post-armistice years. Israel's desire to negotiate has thus far met with no favorable response. However, a gesture of real friendship was offered by Israel, when she released the blocked accounts of refugee Arabs in Israel banks, a sum totaling about $8,000,000. These accounts were released without securing in return any assurance for a parallel release of blocked Jewish accounts in Arab banks.

Israel has made other constructive suggestions. In addition to the promise of paying just compensation for abandoned Arab property, she has offered Jordan a free zone at the Port of Haifa, so that Jordan may have an outlet to the Mediterranean. Similarly, Israel has suggested

a connecting link (road) across the Negev between Egypt and Jordan, so that the Arab world may continue to feel a physical bond of unity. She has also made a contribution to the solution of the Arab refugee problem by accepting as citizens close to 50,000 Arabs, many of them under a family reunion plan and others who came into the country illegally. In addition, responsibility for 19,000 Arabs in Israel who had been uprooted from their homes was, by September, 1952, taken over by the Israel Government from UNRWA.

Given a spirit of good will, many of the most vexing problems can be resolved. Boundaries can be fixed by mutual consent. Abandoned Arab lands in Israel and abandoned Jewish property in the Arab world can be accounted for, exchanges arranged, and restitution made. The Jordan River could be harnessed to the great advantage of both peoples; and a flourishing trade between Israel and the Arab states could eventually bring a greater measure of prosperity to all. What is needed most of all is a peace agreement.

Grass growing in the desert near Amman, Jordan! The grass is the result of a United States technical assistance project. The method, called water-spreading, is based on the principle of storing in the ground the winter rain which would ordinarily run off. It is estimated that approximately 500,000 acres in Jordan could be made productive in this fashion.

VI. THE NEAR EAST — AREA OF HIGH POTENTIAL

New Gardens in Eden

The potentials in the Arab world and in Israel are, it is encouraging to note, far greater than people dreamt possible thirteen years ago. Robert Brittain, in his thought-provoking book, *Let There Be Bread,* makes graphic the fact that modern desert research proves that most of the deserts of the world are not "climatic" deserts but rather "virgin" deserts which can be made to produce food in abundance. The ancient Garden of Eden in the Mesopotamian Valley (Iraq) and the bountiful civilization of ancient Babylon can be rebuilt. In fact, because of the tremendous advance of science (hybridization, soil analysis, deep wells, electricity, atomic energy, water desalination, etc.) we now have the resources to build on a wider, more productive scale than in previous generations. Since Syria and Iraq are using only about one-fifth of their arable land resources today, the prospect for the resettlement of Arab refugees, as well as some of the surplus populations of Egypt, is not an idle hope. Redevelopment is an exciting prospect and contains the possibility of abundance not

alone for the refugees, but as well for the millions of poverty-stricken *fellahin* in the Arab world. To attain this startling but absolutely necessary and quite possible objective will require many millions of dollars. Fortunately, the United Nations and the United States have offered substantial sums, so that these visions and dreams may become realities. Moreover, oil royalties to the several Middle East nations now amount to more than one billion dollars annually. These funds must find investment outlets. What better opportunities could be found than investments in a burgeoning Near East? Modern dams on the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, extensive irrigation systems—infinitely more vast than those in ancient times, the ruins of which are still visible today—schools, hospitals, modern housing, gleaming new cities—all this is possible.

Whatever is required in funds to initiate these undertakings, the expanding economies and the social and spiritual health accruing to the people will be worth all of the expense ten times over—to the Arab peoples and Israelis, to us, and to the Free World—for Communism will not prove attractive to the millions of dispossessed and exploited people in the Arab world if they begin to realize the potentials of their areas.

Already dramatic projects are under way. In the Jericho Valley, formerly salt-poisoned lands are being washed free of salt by bubbling artesian wells. Hundreds of acres of waste lands are now available for settlement and food production. Initiated as a private undertaking by Musa Bey Alami, Arab philanthropist and humanitarian, this enterprise demonstrates in a startling way what can be done even with soil that never in the history of man has produced a blade of grass!

At El Muwagger, 20 miles southeast of Amman, Jordan, Point Four funds have provided the capital to clean out one of the gigantic cisterns built in Roman times as a reservoir for the winter rains. Some 150 of these ingenious catch basins are to be found in the Middle East, primarily along the ancient trade routes between Iran, Iraq, and Egypt. Over the centuries they have filled with silt and have not been in use for over 500 years. Restored, they will once again support small irrigation projects and provide water for flocks and for human consumption. At El Muwagger, 2,000 Bedouin families need no longer wander deep into Saudi Arabia in search of water during the dry season.

Already considerable progress has been made in developing the Tigris and Euphrates Valley with funds earned from the exploitation of the vast oil deposits of Iraq. The reharnessing of these rivers will make it possible to support as many as 30 to 40 million people. Today, about 11 million inhabit Syria and Iraq and most of them live in squalor.

In Israel the Desert "Blossoms as the Rose"

In Israel, giant 66-inch pipelines are carrying water from the Yarkon River near Tel Aviv down deep into the Negev to nourish the thirsty land and make room for the more than 1,000,000 people Israel has received in the incredibly short space of fifteen years. The drainage of the Huleh swamp (Waters of Merom) is now completed. To prevent the waters of the Jordan, streaming down from Mt. Hermon, from spreading out into the Huleh swamp, a deep channel for the Jordan River was dug. The completion of this drainage project has made possible the exploitation of some 3,000 acres of peat deposits as fuel and fertilizer and 15,000 acres of fertile land have been added to the agricultural resources of Israel. This area, never before used by man, will support close to 100,000 people.

Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, one of America's foremost agronomists and a fervent Christian, served in Israel for several years—part of the time representing the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organization — working with the Israelis in the development of an overall soil conservation and land use program. Lowdermilk's dream is that the eroded and abused land of Israel shall become an example to the nations of the world: the desert blossoming again; the hills covered with forests; all the resources of the good earth husbanded so that successive generations will not exist in want, but will live in abundance from the fruit thereof.

VII. AREA OF HOPE

Israel is unique among the nations of the world and its rebirth has a special significance. Established as a nation after a lapse of almost 2,000 years, it is a monument to the undying hope of a people and a symbol of the Western World's belated attempt to find an answer—not yet the full answer—to anti-Semitism, which so barbarically lacerated the Jewish community over the centuries and so callously denied the Christian vision of love and brotherhood. Israel, by providing a new life of hope to over 1,000,000 victimized people, has made an invaluable contribution to the Free World. No other nation or group of nations could have provided so creative an answer.

Israel's achievement, unmatched in history, of more than doubling her population in the space of a few years and of building a new Hebrew civilization out of broken, exploited, and refugee peoples—many of them ill, even more without financial resources, or worse still without the technical skills necessary to build a new society—has demonstrated

A NEW OASIS IN THE DESERT IS BORN—They drilled a well . . . to water barren areas of the Jericho Valley . . . to make way for settlements for Arab refugees!

The above drilling operation, inspired by the philanthropist and humanitarian, Musa Bey Alami, brought in an artesian well. Two dozen such wells are now in operation. Farm lands have now displaced salty wastes.

Water is the great need in the Near East. Lands now parched and dead need only water to make them fertile and abundantly productive.

(Picture credit United Nations)

that any people, no matter how depressed or backward, can be lifted to a respectable and rewarding level of life if there is the will to do so. Moreover, Israel has already found it possible to conduct its own Point IV program in the newly emerging Afro-Asian states. A two-way flow of Israel technicians in these countries and of Afro-Asian students in Israel is helping to bring great advances in the economic life of these new nations and democratic understanding. What Israel has achieved in its humanitarian adventure in its own land and in its aid program in many Afro-Asian states can likewise be accomplished in Arab lands and in all underdeveloped areas of the world.

Arab refugees . . . Jewish refugees . . . wasted land and poverty throughout the entire Middle East . . . illiteracy and disease . . . yet prospects of extensive resettlement projects to end the plight of expelled Turks and refugee Jews and Arabs. Humanitarians can hardly escape the compulsion to help each group; and Christians are commanded by the Gospel to play the Good Samaritan to all and to serve as peacemakers.

Mutual Understanding and Brotherhood

We do not need to choose between Jews and Arabs. We must, instead, support the specific needs of both, realizing that there are room and resources enough for both peoples, if those resources are adequately developed. We can, in other words, work patiently for mutual understanding and good will. We can help in the building of a spirit of brotherhood in a conflict-ridden Holy Land.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ISRAEL

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-file
Religious organizations - Gen. corresp

February 26, 1964

Miss Elizabeth Johns
United Church of Christ
Council for Christian Social Action
299 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York

Dear Miss Johns:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your new brochure, "Racial Justice Now." It is a fine statement. We are very grateful to you for all that you are doing.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

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February 17, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We thought you might be interested in seeing the enclosed interpretive brochure, just off the press, for use in interpreting to local churches our RACIAL JUSTICE NOW program in the United Church of Christ.

Very best wishes to you in the days ahead,

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Johns (ch)
Elizabeth Johns

EJ:ad
Encl:

File
Religious Orgs.
Gen. Corresp.

June 16, 1964

Mr. Jack Allam
National Secretary
National Council of British Socialist
Sunday Schools
8, Trefgarne Road
Dagenham, Essex

Dear Mr. Allam:

We have your letter of April 20, addressed to James McBride Dabbs, our former President, embodying a resolution adopted at a recently held annual conference of your organization. We are deeply gratified to receive it.

The race problem is international in scope, and we are pleased to know that there are organizations in other countries working to achieve better relations between the races.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

National Council of British Socialist Sunday Schools

National Secretary
Mr. Jack Allam,
8, Trefgarne Road,
Dagenham, Essex.
Telephone DOMinion 4106

Mr. James McBride Dabbs,
Southern Regional Council,
63, Auburn Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA, Georgia,
U.S.A.

20th April 1964

Dear Friend,

At the recently held Annual Conference of my organisation, I was instructed to forward to you the text of a motion dealing with racial discrimination. This motion, which was carried unanimously, reads as follows:-

"This Conference agrees that the following message should be sent to all organisations in the United States of America which are working for the achievement of full Civil Rights for Coloured People:-

We members of the National Council of British Socialist Sunday Schools sends greetings to all children, and to their parents and teachers, who are actively working for the full attainment of Civil Rights for Coloured people in the United States of America. We, in our own country, will press for a law against racial discrimination and will make our views known in the appropriate quarters."

We look forward to the day when your efforts will be crowned with success.

With all good wishes,

Yours in Comradeship,

Jack Allam - National Secretary.

See Rel. org. - Catholic - gen
Or. ref. - Highlander Folk School

November 1, 1965

Sister Mary Susan, SSND
Academy of Our Lady of Good Counsel
School Sisters of Notre Dame
Mankato, Minnesota

Dear Sister Mary Susan:

Please forgive this delay in answering your inquiry of October 18. Your letter came to my desk for reply for obvious reasons. The Council, as a matter of policy, does not and cannot comment on the role and value of other organizations in the sense of judge and investigator, yet we cannot ignore the honesty and seriousness of your question nor the fact that you have turned to us for information.

In short, we must reply thoughtfully, and this reply must essentially be a personal one.

I have no reason to believe or suspect that Highlander Folk School was, or that the present Highlander Center in Knoxville is, a "Community Training School" or that the staff or policy people of this (these) institutions have any inclination toward that end. (We have had a decade or more in the South when any honest attempt at open inquiry, the achievement of the democratic ideal, and the realization of the Christian concept of society was all too often labeled "Communist" and we all, from the church to individuals, have suffered from it.)

I have never been to either institution but I have good and close friends some of whom support Highlander enthusiastically and some of whom will have absolutely nothing to do with the effort. In neither instance is Communism a concern, to my knowledge. It is rather a matter of an evaluation of the motives, skills and activities of this agency. This is, of course, very much a matter of personal opinion and judgment.

I hope this answer will be of some help to you and express, again, my apology at not replying sooner.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mm

PA:
Joyce Smith
thought you
should
answer

ACADEMY OF OUR LADY OF GOOD COUNSEL
SCHOOL SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME
MANKATO, MINNESOTA

October 18, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have received several pieces of "literature" concerning the Highlander Folk School, which is purported to be a "communist training school." Some of the information given was simply not true and in other cases the logic of arguments presented seemed poor, to say the least. In trying to find out just what the truth is, I've been trying to contact people I thought could help and people I believe to be honest. It was suggested to me that I write to you. Could you please tell me what you believe to be the truth about the Highlander Folk School.

Thank you so much.

Sincerely,
Sister Mary Susan,
SSND

VIRTUE + LEARNING

File
Religious Orgs.
gen. corresp. 1965

November 29, 1965

Mrs. Maxine Heinze
The Clergy Economic Education Foundation
Graduate House
West Lafayette, Indiana 47906

Dear Maxine:

Schedules have deafed us in our hope that Ed Stanfield could be at your Georgia meeting now being held.

I hope it is a good meeting, and that your plans are moving ahead on schedule.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The Clergy Economic Education Foundation

Graduate House
West Lafayette, Indiana 47906

OLIN W. DAVIS
Executive Director

November 16, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Dr. Davis and I wish to thank you once again for seeing us last week. We cannot tell you how deeply we appreciate the advice and cooperation which you have given to us.

Dr. Davis is now in Pennsylvania attending the seventieth-something-or-other clergy economic education conference. (We lose count periodically and have to re-count the number).

The preliminary proposal was sent to The Ford Foundation yesterday morning and we shall soon be finding out whether our dream will materialize. We have high hopes because of the encouragement which the men with The Ford Foundation have given us.

At any rate, we could not have gone this far without your counsel and support and we want you to know that it has not been taken lightly.

Thanking you again and with best personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Maxine

(Mrs.) Maxine Heinze

P.S. I am enclosing a copy of the Georgia tentative program. We hope that you will be able to attend all - or at least part - of it as a guest of the Foundation.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

GEORGIA
November 28 - December 2, 1965
Georgia Center for Continuing Education
Athens, Georgia

Sponsored by
The Clergy Economic Education Foundation
in Cooperation with
The University of Georgia

November 28 - Sunday
4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. - Registration and Room Assignment
6:00 p.m. - Dinner
7:15 p.m. - Opening, Dr. George Horton, Department of Economics, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia
- Welcome, Dr. J. Whitney Bunting, Dean, College of Business Administration, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia
- The Clergy Economic Education Foundation, Dr. Olin W. Davis, Executive Director, West Lafayette, Indiana
- Economic Values in a Judeo-Christian Society, Father William T. Hogan, S.J., Director of Research, Fordham University, Bronx, New York

November 29 - Monday
9:00 a.m. - An Overview of the American Economy, Dr. John Hicks, Economist, Assistant to the President, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana
1:15 p.m. - Automation and Productivity, Father William T. Hogan
7:15 p.m. - The Price and Market System, Dr. Benjamin A. Rogge, Economist, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, and Dr. John Hicks

November 30 - Tuesday
9:00 a.m. - The Distribution of Income, Dr. John Hicks and Dr. Benjamin A. Rogge
1:15 p.m. - Stability and Instability of the Economy, Dr. John Hicks
7:15 p.m. - Money, Banking and Credit, Speaker to be selected
- Banking, Speaker to be selected
- Credit, Speaker to be selected

December 1 - Wednesday
9:00 a.m. - International Trade and the Common Market, Father William T. Hogan
1:15 p.m. - Problems of American Agriculture, Speaker to be selected
7:15 p.m. - The Philosophy of Labor-Management Relations in the United States, Dr. Dallas Jones, Professor of Labor Relations, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

December 2 - Thursday
9:00 a.m. - Labor and Management and Their Stake in the Economy, Dr. Dallas Jones
1:15 p.m. - Panel of Selected Clergy
2:30 p.m. - Closing

March 3, 1966

Mr. Olin W. Davis
Executive Director
The Clergy Economic Education Foundation
Graduate House
West Lafayette, Indiana 47906

Dear Olin:

I am very sorry to hear of the developments with your program. I hope your word "terminate" was incorrect and that your program is merely delayed.

I hope to have an opportunity to see you again sometime soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The Clergy Economic Education Foundation

Graduate House
West Lafayette, Indiana 47906

OLIN W. DAVIS
Executive Director

February 25, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We finally came up with a proposal for the program which we discussed with you. Of course, the proposal could not spell out the complete details as these would have to have been worked out with state committees and organizations such as yours. We received complete cooperation and approval of the plan by all of the individuals and organizations which we contacted in the south. We certainly appreciate those offers of assistance and feel sure that the resultant program would have done much to raise the economic understandings of the clergy of the south.

However, we have been informed by our "potential contributor" that they are not ready to act in the direction which we had outlined and were considering other methods of approach.

This undoubtedly terminates our efforts in this area which we deeply regret. However, we are thankful for the opportunities which we have had to discuss this with the many fine people of the south including you and your organization.

Please feel free to call on us at any time if we can be of any assistance in any way.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Olin

Olin W. Davis

OWD:mh

Council for Higher Education

MJ

United Church of Christ
287 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10010

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Chairman

WESLEY A. HOTCHKISS
General Secretary,
Division of Higher Education

PAUL H. SHERRY
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Eden Theological Seminary
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Lancaster Theological Seminary
Pacific School of Religion
Union Theological Seminary
United Theological Seminary
Vanderbilt University Divinity School
Yale Divinity School

File
Rels. Orgs
Gen.

July 29, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter. We have room for some flexibility in numbers so if you are able to work your schedule and finances accordingly, we will appreciate your presence.

Sincerely,

Paul H. Sherry

Paul H. Sherry

PHS:ja

File Orgs Rels Gen

THE CHURCH AND RACE: A REPORT ON THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN RACE RELATIONS

I. NEW SOCIAL CONCERN OF AMERICAN RELIGION

During 1963 the church, through its national leaders, has moved in the area of race relations with a swiftness and decisiveness it has not displayed for more than a century. In joining Negro Americans in their struggle for equal rights, the church is not attempting to assume leadership of the movement; it only wishes to serve and to aid. This service and aid has included taking part in the now famous "March on Washington" of August 28, 1963 as well as participation in other nonviolent demonstrations (e.g., 36 clergymen, including the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church, were among the 283 persons arrested during an attempt to integrate an all-white amusement park just outside Baltimore on July 4, 1963.). In addition, interfaith committees have been formed in at least 40 cities, and small groups of leading clergymen are prepared to go to areas of racial unrest and disturbance.

A number of religious bodies have formed activist groups both within and without the organizational structure of the church for a concerted attack on racial discrimination. Much of the groundwork for the current activism was laid last January at the NationalConference on Religion and Race held in Chicago. Representatives of the major religious faiths agreed that the church had played a too timid role in resolving racial problems and set up a committee to assist organized religion in transforming into action the ideas and plans discussed during the conference. The new program of active participation of the clergy in demonstrations protesting racial segregation heralds a new and impressive determination by church leaders to "do something." How much effect this active intervention is going to have cannot yet be measured. If it spreads to the average church and church member throughout the nation so that there is both community and national support of civil rights programs and legislation, it is bound to have great impact. If it means only participation and support by national offices and denominational boards of the announced objectives by most denominations in eliminating barriers in employment, housing, education, voting, and public facilities, the influence

will not be so effective. This summer and fall may be a decisive period in American history, religious and secular.

So far, enthusiasm for personal involvement in the direct action movement is mainly (though not entirely) confined to national religious bodies and northern churches and clergy. It is recognized that this commitment of the church may cause some internal agony and strife, but many religious leaders believe it may inspire a spiritual rebirth within the church. It may, also, be an aid in reducing violence and bringing about reconciliation in strife-torn communities.

This new awareness of the church's responsibility in race relations was very evident in the Chicago Conference on Race and Religion. There seemed to be a realization that education in the faith of the church must include not only the instruction of members in the beliefs of the church, but what the church expects man to do. Education in principles of religious belief must also teach the application of these principles by the individual.

The "kneel-ins" by the Negro students (often accompanied by white ministerial students), which were the outgrowth and continuation of the Student Protest Movement begun in February 1960, have spotlighted the failure of many local churches to combat racial injustice. The applications of Negro students to church-related colleges have forced a reexamination of conscience by the religious groups which continue to maintain segregated facilities.

Especially in southern communities, religious groups can be helpful in reducing the racial friction which accompanies and follows demonstrations, demands for equal opportunities, and desegregation. A common religion is a bond which acts as a powerful reconciling force however few the numbers are, and cultural change through the influence of persons on persons is a process which does not lend itself to precise measurement, which cannot be accurately described or analyzed.

An increased awareness of the role of religion in race relations--that of bringing to bear the moral and social strength of the church against raciasm--has been evident since the late fall of 1962. The Rev. Dr. George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian ethics at Drew University, declared that racism, which is a much more serious internal threat to the United States than communism, is also a religion and a natural foe of Christianity. He emphasized this point with a convinc-

ing theological insight:*

> Racism must be understood for what it is--a religion competing with the Christian faith. The racist affirmation of superiority is not, as is commonly supposed, merely a social theory. Rather, it is an affirmation of faith, a declaration concerning the nature of human being. The racist consciousness affirms the condemnation of one race and the creative destiny of another by Nature. This is a conviction concerning the nature of human being, concerning the givenness of human nature. ...
>
> According to Christian faith man is made in the image of God. Herein lies his dignity. The gift of the image is an act of pure grace. The dignity of man is accordingly bestowed. It is not an acquisition, nor is it a quality which he possesses. The glory of the image of God is only reflectively in man. Man finds his life as man only in so far as he lives by love, the Divine Word. The idea that man is created in the image of God means that he is created in, by, and for love. Man is being-in-relation. He is truly man and is truly free when he responds to God in obedient love.

Commenting editorially on Dr. Kelsey's definition of racism (Racism: The Nation's False Religion, February 6, 1963) the Christian Century warned:

> The tragedy for American Christianity is that whereas communism is recognized as a foe of Christian faith, racism is not. On the contrary, racism has its most virulent forms within the Christian church and among Christian people. In some quarters racism even receives blessings derived from distorted biblical study and twisted theology. This enemy, unrecognized or else dignified by corrupt codes of genteel morality, destroys the Christian faith from within. There is no way to escape, no way to conquer this enemy unless we see that racism is, as Kelsey puts it, "diametrically opposed to the insights of Christian faith."

Since 1954 every major religious body has issued statements on race. The statements have been direct, explicit, and unequivocal on one point: that enforced segregation is morally and spiritually wrong. These resolutions of the national boards and at national conferences (which most local churches have disregarded and many have publicly repudiated) served to affirm the opinions and beliefs of the majority of ministers--and also to salve their consciences. This is not to say that the resolutions had no influence. They have been useful as

* In a message issued for Race Relations Sunday, February 10, 1963, by the National Council of Churches. The Council includes 33 Protestant and orthodox denominations with about 40,000,000 members.

standards around which moderates could rally and as weapons with which the more social conscious could defend themselves.

In communities wrestling with the problems of social change, the statements or manifestos prepared and signed by white ministers have been more cautious and have dealt mainly with appeals to "law and order" and for "communication."

More recent statements by both local ministerial groups and ministers have stressed "freedom of the pulpit"; increasing numbers of courageous clergymen have dared to say publicly that the acknowledgment of the fatherhood of God must include the brotherhood of man.

Even in 1958 a few local ministerial groups issued statements which included the basic Judeo-Christian ethic*. Two examples are the statements of the Gainesville-Hall County (Ga.) Ministerial Association: "As Christians we must reflect the mind of Christ, not the attitudes and practices of the community...we are brothers by creation, by need and by redemption"; and that of the 300 Dallas ministers: "racial problems are moral and spiritual as well as political matters ...the only solution to this or any other problem of human relations lies in the application of the concept of Christian love in which we seek for others that which we desire for ourselves." But only in Mississippi, beginning soon after the Oxford riots last Fall, have statements by local groups of ministers said anything about the wrongfulness, sinfulness, or immorality of segregation while both public sentiment and the legal and political structure of the state have been aligned against desegregation.

What are the reasons for the church's past failure in race relations? Will D. Campbell, who served for seven years as director of the Southern office of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, in his book, Race and the Renewal of the Church, cited the following: the preoccupation with law and order, the emphasis on humanistic arguments for desegregation, the often uncritical reliance on sociological approaches, and the organizational

* "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." Matthew 22:37-40.

structure of American Protestantism. But he believes there is still time for the church, if indeed it is still the church*, to find its life and be renewed. This is how Campbell answers arguments for a slower and more careful pace:

> The early church did not exist in utopia. Neither did it have the notion we seem to have today that if it could somehow change the society in which it existed into a sea of tolerance and brotherly love then it could truly be the church. It is dishonest and cowardly to assume that if we can make culture into what the church wishes it to be but isn't, the church can then be what it ought to be. The church will not regain its health when it is able to influence society to desegregate the many aspects of its life. Originally it was <u>because</u> of the brokenness, the misery of society, that the church could have any identification, any existence at all. We may be living in such a time.

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* For the purpose of this report we are defining the church visible as a group of people who have made a covenant with God and have, therefore, accepted certain dogmas, precepts, and ethics according to their denominational polity and practice; and the church spiritual(transcendent: that which is the essence) as the body of Christ, the mystical force which unites all true believers to make them one.

II. THE CHURCH'S VOICE AND VIEWS YESTERDAY

> It is asking too much of the church as an institution to take any forthright stand on any issue, especially if it is controversial. The very nature of an ecclesiastical organization is such that it will never rise to the occasion when decisions are called for. ...The church follows, it does not lead. It can come along after a decision has been made by the community and hallow that decision and make it holy, but it cannot or will not make the decision and lead others to it.*

The majority of the manifestos issued in previous years by local Southern groups of ministers, usually on the eve of desegregation of the public schools after a court order, tend to support this evaluation of the role of the church: it has tended to reflect society rather than mold it.

On November 3, 1957, a statement dealing with the "keep the schools open" crisis in Atlanta and signed by 80 ministers, was released for publication. At this time statements by public officials and states' rights groups were solidly opposed to any desegregation. The six principles set forth in this statement as essential to a solution are summarized below:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.
2. As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.
3. The Public School System must not be destroyed.
4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.
5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.
6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

On November 22, 1958 a second statement, signed by 312 ministers and rabbis representing 16 denominations, reaffirmed the six principles set forth in the first manifesto and added a proposal of three "practical steps."

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* From a report on "The Role of the Church in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta," by the Rev. Samuel Williams, pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church and professor of philosophy and religion at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., to the Nashville Conference on The Ethical Demands of Integration, December 27-29, 1962. The conference was co-sponsored by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Southern Regional Council.

1. We appeal to our churches and synagogues to encourage and promote within their fellowship a free and intelligent discussion of the issues we confront.
2. We appeal to our community and state leaders to give their most creative thought to maintaining a sound public school plan.
3. We request the appointment of a Citizens' Commission to preserve the harmony of our community.

The churches were only asked to promote discussion of the issues. Nowhere was it said that segregation was morally wrong and should, therefore, be ended. Instead, under Principle 2 the statement said:

> ...However, we believe that the Constitution of the United States in its provisions for human rights is in accord with Divine Law, and we must, therefore, learn to live with and under the law.
>
> We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the integrity of each race should be maintained on a basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than of force. ...We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for States to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

There were two exceptions to the general attitude of the Atlanta churches: the Religious Society of Friends and the Unitarians, both interracial groups. The Friends, in particular, worked with groups of students, parents, and teachers before the Atlanta school desegregation.

Similar statements came from 60 members of the Richmond (Va.) Ministers Association; 31 Protestant ministers and two rabbis in Columbus (Ga.); 173 clergymen--Jewish, Protestant and Roman Catholic --in Houston (Texas); the Baptist Ministers Union of Chattanooga (Tenn.) 76 members of the Norfolk Ministers Association; and 300 clergymen in Dallas (Texas).

But even in 1958, with all the preoccupation about orderly school desegregation, there were some statements by local ministerial groups which did advocate Judeo-Christian principles. One, the <u>Christian Guide to Race Relations</u>, which was adopted April 28, 1958 by the Gainesville-Hall County (Ga.) Ministerial Association, declared that "as Christians we must reflect the mind of Christ, not the attitudes and practices of the community in which we live." Its principles are summarized below:

1. The Bible and science teach that God made of one blood all nations of men.

2. We are brothers by creation, by need, by redemption.
3. Men's rights, liberties, opportunities and privileges are guaranteed to them by their Creator and Redeemer as individial persons, rather than as members of a race or nation.
4. In His Kingdom there are no races, only two humanities: those of Adam, of the flesh, and those born of Christ, of the Spirit...we must live by the laws of His Kingdom.
5. The Christian's love causes him to identify himself with all men. For a tradition to block this self-identifying love is to violate God's compassion.

In Falls Church and Fairfax County (Va.) 48 ministers in the late summer of 1958 signed and circulated a statement which declared, in part: "Enforced segregation not only defies the basic law of the land but, more importantly, contradicts that very Gospel which we are called to preach. ...We state our conviction that enforced segregation in our schools on the basis of race is contrary to the will of God. We are opposed to all attempts to circumvent the law, including the use of church facilities as a substitute for the school system." This statement was issued during the most embarrassing period of church race relations in Virginia. A survey of clergymen (announced July 1958) in Charlottesville (Va.) disclosed that of 17 ministers polled, 11 said they would be opposed to the use of churches for private schools. Five ministers said they were sure their churches would be made available if needed. Various churches of the major denominations--Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal--had cooperated in the plan of using church buildings for private schools for white children only after the public school system had been closed by the segregationists. No provision for the education of Negro children was made.

Even the National Council of Churches did not speak very forcefully on race in 1958. On November 28 the Council urged churches to "express strong support for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision concerning school integration." It added: "The churches must begin with themselves. There is a great gulf between what they say on a national level and what they do or encourage or permit in many communities." The message for Race Relations Sunday, issued by the council's Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, was more emphatic and charged that Christians have too long accepted a "system riddled by prejudice and injustice." The message urged local churches to reexamine their attitudes and behavior in the light of the Christian gospel, opening membership in the church without regard to race.

Resolutions on Race: National

In 1958 most denominations passed resolutions dealing with race; a few brief examples are here given:

The first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice:

> The desegregation of the nation's schools is not merely a legal question but it is also a deep moral issue.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.:

> All people have been created in the image of God and are to be treated as such...men are essentially one.

The Southern Baptist Convention:

> Urged Baptists to "help and not hinder the progress of justice for all peoples...strengthening fellowship with people of every race" and denounced social usages that "deny basic American freedoms" to any citizen.

The Episcopal Bishops:

> Called on Christian leadership to heal the nation's "urgent and frightening" racial divisions and to "obey the laws of this land and do all in their power to substitute reason for emotion in the solution of America's fierce racial tensions. They called on religious and civic leaders to reject "easy standards of local expediency" in matters of racial discrimination and urged them to provide a "creative and positive leadership so that all races may enjoy "without discrimination and without separation all opportunities" of church and civil life. Among these it included education, housing, employment, and public accommodations.
>
> A resolution passed by the House of Deputies shortly before the Bishop's resolution condemned "civil disobedience" and called upon all church members to "face seriously their obligation to conform to Federal and Supreme Court orders in regard to giving all students equal access to our public schools." It urged churchgoers to "cleanse themselves of all spirit of racial discrimination," and said that discrimination by reason of color or race between men had its root in "human sin."

The Roman Catholic Bishops:

> Appealed to "responsible and sober-minded Americans of all religious faiths, in all areas of our land," to "seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist." They took a firm moral stand against compulsory racial segregation and noted that "discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color cannot be reconciled with the truth that God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity."

The Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church:

> We earnestly urge all our people to accept the ruling of the courts in good faith...we commend our people who, while not

> always sharing the same attitude on integration, are determined to demonstrate in their own lives the qualities of understanding, tolerance and brotherhood."

Although the above statements stressed obedience to law, there was no recognition of the possibility of a compromise on moral grounds. All the eminent churchmen agreed that the stigma of inequality within the "family of the children of God" is morally intolerable. However, the statements carefully refrained from calling for an end to segregation in the church. As the religious leaders of the nation were issuing their pronouncements and resolutions for the enlightenment and guidance of their members, resistence to desegregation was increasing within the church all over the South. By 1959 many prosegregation groups had been formed to put pressure on the local minister and church. The Methodist Laymen's Union was organized in Birmingham, Ala. on March 19, 1959; the Association of Catholic Laymen of New Orleans had been organized in 1957; a Dallas Pastors' Segregation Committee was organized in May, 1958; "Concerned Churchmen," a prosegregation group of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina, was organized in August of 1958; and the Presbyterian Laymen for Sound Doctrine and Responsible Leadership was organized in Jackson, Miss., in October 1959 with chapters in Memphis, Tenn., and Sumter, S. C.

During this trying period, some individual ministers were taking courageous stands in their churches, and all over the South clergymen were taking leading roles in interracial groups working for integration. Many were officers or executives in councils on human relations. The main theme of the human relations groups during this period was also law and order, although many also urged members to live up to their religious convictions.

In his discussion of the preoccupation of the church with "law and order," Will Campbell* declared:

> Before 1954, most liberal churches and churchmen were not insistent upon a doctrinaire position of strict obedience to the law. Today the American churches argue that segregation must be abolished because it is illegal.
>
> ...Advising their people to desegregate because the law said to do so seemed less risky than taking a bold position based on the Christian doctrine of man, the Biblical imperative of justice, and the sovereignty of God.

Campbell noted that in 1960, after the sit-in movement, the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the

* Race and Renewal of the Church

National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and several other groups discarded the "let us obey the law" position and began advocating civil disobedience. He continued:

> ...we must say quite frankly that it appears that the churches have often used it [the appeal to law] to evade their deeper responsibility. It has been the easy way. But the church has not always appealed to law for the righteousness of its action.*

This slow awakening of church conscience contrasts sharply with the lethargy of most southern church-goers. There have been, of course, a few isolated instances of great courage, of forthright statements and actions by some adherents to all the faiths. But their very scarcity points up all the more forcefully how inneffective the faith of the church has been in its application to everyday living.

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* In South Carolina 180 years ago, Presbyterians had to build their little churches with an open fireplace. When the Angelican sheriff came along the worshippers could say that they were merely visiting a private dwelling.

III. THE CHURCH'S VOICE AND VIEWS TODAY

What the church is saying in 1962-1963 about racism indicates a great change in attitude, a coming to grips with the racial problem. The growing spirit of brotherhood in all religious bodies, though uneven and even fragile, leads to a hope that the full weight of religious cooperation and influence may yet prove to be a decisive factor in changing the hearts and minds of people and accomplishing goals of interracial cooperation.

Alabama: Law-and-Order, and Brotherhood.

Although the 1962-1963 statements by Alabama ministerial groups seem to echo the 1958 refrain of "law and order," they do include slightly stronger pronouncements on freedom of speech, the responsibility of elected public officials, and the fatherhood of God. In Alabama the official state attitude is defiance of federal desegregation decrees. There has been little evidence of widespread public opposition to state policy. There is more and stronger organized opposition to change in Alabama than in any other state except Mississippi

On October 9, 1962, the Huntsville Ministers' Association adopted a statement stating that "every human being is created in the image of God and is entitled to respect as a fellow human being with all basic rights, privileges and responsibilities; warning that "defiance is neither the answer nor the solution, nor are inflammatory and rebellious statements of the type...that will save us from violence, discord, and confusion; and urging all citizens to "abide in the meantime with a peaceful acceptance of the decisions of the same courts with regard to desegregation cases which we know inevitably will be made in Alabama." A similar statement was adopted on November 1, 1962, by 30 members of the Montgomery Baptist Pastors' Conference. They called on state officials to "maintain order" and urged Alabama leaders to "refrain from inflammatory statements and activities...designed to incite riots and mob action..."

Two month later, on January 17, 1963, eleven Alabama religious leaders jointly offered for public and, obviously, gubernatorial consideration, an opinion on the race situation. It clearly proclaimed opposition to earlier denunciatory statements in Alabama about courts, federal orders, and the defiant inaugural address by Governor George Wallace pledging that he would maintain segregation.

The conservative Birmingham News commented favorably on the statement in an editorial on January 20, 1963:

> Whether the individual citizen agrees with the clerics' state ment or not, it is the News' opinion that they say rightly that freedom of speech must be "preserved and exercised."
>
> There is a vast near-silence as to opinion not that reflected in the inaugural address.
>
> Is there no such opinion--other than that of a handfull?
>
> The ministers have added to the above the phrase, "...without fear of recrimination or harassment." Clergymen place a condition which should not be expected.
>
> There is ample freedom to speak. But he who speaks must anticipate, if he is saying the unpopular, recrimination, even harassment, That is the root cause of near-silence--few dare risk expressing a contrary point of view.
>
> Men of the cloth have spoken. Will anyone else? Silence indicates even to our own people that so vast is support for projected official policy that opposition is not to be expected.
>
> Some may plan to speak out--later. But as to this there is only uncertainty as deep as silence itself.

During the week-end of May 18-19, 1963, the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Wesleyan Service Guild of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church, representing some 24,000 churchwomen in North Alabama, issued a plea to keep Alabama schools open in the face of possible desegregation. They called for observance of law and order and urged the churchwomen to strive to create a climate of understanding and good will in the communities in which they live.

Bishop Nolan B. Harmon, the presiding bishop of the North Alabama Methodist Conference, on June 12, 1963, called attempts by Governor George Wallace to block entry of two Negro students at the University of Alabama "a moral mistake and in the long run a political blunder." Ministerial and lay delegates to the annual conference gave Bishop Harmon a standing ovation after he read a statement he said he felt "compelled to make." The biship added that it is not the business of the church to direct the state, "but it is the business of the church to speak when state forces are so directed as to injure the God-given rights of any man." Governor Wallace is a Methodist layman.

Some statements were issued by the clergy which reflect the segregationist point of view. An analysis of these, and of segregationist action in the church, will be found in Section VI, THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT WING. Some examples of such statements follow:

May 13, 1963. The Birmingham Baptist Association's Executive Committee and the Birmingham Baptist Pastor's Conference called for "self-examination and prayer" by Birmingham area residents toward resolving the crisis facing the city. They "deplored illegal demonstrations and the use of children in them"; abhorred "acts of violence, bombings, and acts coolly calculated to provoke violence"; requested non-residents of Birmingham to leave to local men of good will the working out of differences"; and commended "the law enforcement officers of city, county and state, for their forebearance and self-control in carrying out their official duties."

June 2, 1963. Episcopal Bishop (George Miseley) Murray, Coajutor of Alabama, stated to The Living Church that the cause of the Birmingham demonstrations was a power struggle for leadership among the city's Negro community. He added that the "police and sheriff's forces have been exemplary in their conduct during these demonstrations and have been gentle but firm in the enforcement of the law. Only in the very last few days, under extreme provocation, in the face of wild demonstrations by thousands of marchers who refuse to turn back when lawfully ordered to do so, have the police needed to use fire hoses... and police dogs--on leashes--for their own protection."

June 6, 1963, Montgomery. Although it adopted a resolution asserting there is "no Scriptural warrant" for segregation, the Alabama-West Florida Methodist Conference elected three lay segregationists to represent them at the 1964 quadrennial Methodist General Conference. Among the delegates was Governor George Wallace of Alabama, an ardent segregationist.

Mississippi: Freedom of the Pulpit. In Mississippi the attitudes and policies of public officials and the expressed opinions of the general public regarding desegregation have been even more adamant and defiant than in Alabama, and the frequency and degree of violence have been greater.

Considering the situation there, Mississippi clergymen have been commendably courageous in issuing forthright statements, singly and in groups, ever since the Oxford riots last fall. For nearly 2,000 years the wisdom of the Scripture has expounded this fundamental insight; that faith is the intangible by which man can surmount the adversity of this world by the power of his spirit. Perhaps it was because of the

turbulent political and social atmosphere that the Mississippi clergy realized, as did Sir Winston Churchill, "It is only in adversity that discover we are nothing but spirits."

Each of the statements issued stresses "freedom of the pulpit," the acknowledged Protestant ethic that the minister when speaking from the pulpit is charged by God to speak the truth as he sees it, and as one through whom God may speak to his people. There is a danger that "freedom of the pulpit"--like "law and order" in 1958--may be for some ministers a substitute issue for the deeper issue of race. But for those who issued the above-mentioned statements it seems to be a parallel concern and a defense of their right to speak as they believe.

One of the few moderate newspapers in Mississippi, the Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, stated in an editorial on January 6,1963:

> Throughout the dark days which have plagued Mississippi for so long, a group of men to whom many have turned for guidance have been --as a group -- sadly silent. The reasons for this silence by ministers of God have been legion, but the effect has been devastatingly specific. The field has been left to the professional haters and the misguided who would distort the brotherhood of man into the brotherhood of some men.
>
> The bloodshed and rioting which erupted at Oxford made many ministers painfully aware of their failure. Here and there individual clergymen, ever mindful of what has happened to other ministers who raised their lone voices of protest in the past, acknowledged their failures and the failure of the church to take the lead in solving our overwhelming race relations problem and called for new directions and new vigor from the pulpit.
>
> Perhaps it was because of their example, but they are no longer so lonely. Last week a group of 28 young Methodist ministers, Mississippi-born all, collectively called for an end to race hatred and closer attention to the gospel of Christ. They also took a firm stand against closing of the public schools for any reason.
>
> At the end of the week they had been joined by others in their church. Dr. J. P. Stafford, lay leader of the Methodist Mississippi Conference, called their statement "very worthwhile." In a meeting in Okalano, 23 more Methodist ministers "enthusiastically" supported the stand. Their position was all the more significant since they represented the North Mississippi Methodist Conference....
>
> The church did not survive because its early members feared being labelled non-conformists or suffering mental and physical harm. It is time for the church--and its members--to cast back to the strength which was the early Christians. There is a task to be done in Mississippi, and the young Methodist clergymen have shown the way.

The "Born of Conviction" statement, issued the first week in January, 1963, made the following points:

1. The church is the instrument of God's purpose. This is His church, and ours only as stewards under His Lordship. Effective practice of the stewardship for the ministry clearly requires freedom of the pulpit....

2. We affirm our faith in the official position of the Methodist Church on race: "Our Lord Jesus Christ teaches that all men are brothers. He permits no discrimination because of race, color, or creed. ...We believe that God is Father of all peoples and races, that Jesus Christ is His Son, that all men are brothers, and that man is of infinite worth as a child of God."

3. We affirm our belief that our public school system is the most effective means of providing common education for all our children...essential to the preservation and development of our true democracy. ...

The following Sunday, January 6, Dr. W. B. Selah, pastor of the largest Methodist church in Jackson, endorsed the statement and added one of his own:

> ...For 17 years I have preached the law of Christian love from the pulpit of Galloway Methodist Church. This law means that we must seek for all men, black and white, the same justice, the same rights, and the same opportunities that we seek for ourselves. Nothing less than this is Christian love. To discriminate against a man because of his color or his creed is contrary to the will of God. Forced segregation is wrong. We should voluntarily desegregate all public facilities. We should treat all men not on the basis of color but on the basis of conduct.
>
> In the light of Christian principle there can be no color bar in a Christian church. ...As Christians we cannot say to anyone, "you cannot come into the House of God." No conference, no preacher, no official board can put up a color bar in the church. That matter is determined by the nature of Christianity which is an inclusive fellowship of those who seek the Lord. ...When a person seeks membership in the church he is not asked about the color of his skin. He is asked about his faith in God as revealed in Christ. Salvation is not by color but by faith. There can be no color bar in a Christian institution.

August 18, 1963, Oxford, Miss. The Rev. Duncan Gray, Jr. rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, said today that the burden of guilt for racial injustice is "particularly heavy" upon his state. He continued, in his sermon at the Washington Cathedral:

> Racial injustice is not an easy thing for the average white Southerner to face. But he can never face it unless he hears both God's words from the Cross and His words of judgment. On the Cross, God would take His place beside the Southerner, share his predicament, take his sins and consequently, give him strength to endure judgment. ...Let me alone! is often our most fervent prayer. We wish that love, duty,

righteousness and justice were simply our own to do with as we pleased without responsibility to man or to God. ...But the words of God stand over us and our society...they point out what we are and what we were intended to be.

January 4, 1963. Twenty-three of 29 ministers representing the North Mississippi Methodist Conference "enthusiastically voted" to back the "born of conviction" statement; the resolution was presented by District Superintendent W. L. Robinson. Dr. J. P. Stafford, lay leader of the Methodist Mississippi Conference, said, "Let's face it, brotherhood is as much a part of the teachings of Jesus Christ as salvation and faith."

June 15, 1963. The Most Reverend Richard O. Gerrow, Roman Catholic bishop of Mississippi, broke a 39-year silence on current issues to call the assination of Medgar Evers "a shocking and saddening ("than the death of one man" and called for positive steps toward recognizing occurrence more meaningful/the legitimate grievances of the Negro population."

Georgia: Segregation Is Sinful, But....

The Presbyterian Church's Synod of Georgia on May 15-17, 1963, urged all its institutions to abandon racial segregation in a resolution amended (after heated discussion) so as to make it non-compulsory. Institutions include Agnes Scott College and Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur, Ga.; Presbyterian College and Thornwell Orphanage in Clinton, S. C.; the Rabun Gap-Cacoochee Vocational School, Ga.; and two Presbyterian homes for the aged. Columbia Theological Seminary has been integrated for some years. A recommendation was approved to urge all presbyteries to send senior high fellowship councils to the Georgia-Florida leadership school in St. Petersburg; a Negro presbytery has not previously attended. The Synod asked that the Rock Eagle 4-H Camp at Eatonton be requested to make its facilities available for men's conferences on a non-discriminatory basis.

June 5, 1963. Passed almost unanimously a report on Christian social concern which urged Methodist to endorse the United Nations and requested approval of an earlier statement of principals on racial matters, condemning violence and discord, which it said "emphasized the need for both Negro and white to plan together for the future of our state," and noting that "desegregation [of public facilities] is not the dire calamity that some ... citizens have thought" nor a guarantee of friendship and neighborliness. Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president

of Interdenominational Theological Center and a vice president of the Georgia Council of Churches, was the first Negro to address the South Georgia Methodist Conference in recent times.

April 29, 1963. The Evangelical Ministerial Association of Augusta, Georgia, comprising clergymen from about 60 of 100 Augusta. Protestant churches, adopted a resolution supporting voluntary desegregation of the county schools, after five Negroes had petitioned, on March 14, the Richmond County Board of Education for voluntary desegregation. The resolution stated: "We believe that voluntary desegregation done in a Christian spirit is the most effective solution to this particular problem ...we commend both these groups, the Negroes and the board, for the manner in which they are approaching this matter and we urge that they continue in this spirit of understanding and cooperation in future negotiations.

June 15, 1963. A number of Atlanta (Ga.) religious leaders were asked to comment on the current racial crisis. According to Miss Jo Ann Crasford, Religious Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, the majority of churchmen and ministers interviewed felt the action of churches in any "moral crisis" lies not in the resolutions adopted by its hierarchy, but in the actions performed by its members.

June 20, 1963. The Rev. Louis F. Huckaby, chaplain at Crawford Long Hospital and chairman of the conference's Board of Christian Social Concerns, spoke after the report had been read to the conference:

> "I challenge you to be Christian. Our past stands haven't changed many minds, many lives, or many churches... Desegregation deserved the backing of the church in its pronouncements and leadership...The church should have led the way...We were more interested in maintaining the status quo than magnifying the universality of the gospel of Jesus Christ. We've placed a guard of stewards at the church door lest colored visitors come in." He defined integration as "something spiritual" that begins only when people learn to trust and love each other. The report and Dr. Huckaby's speech were adopted; he received a standing ovation.

July 1, 1963. In a joint statement issued by the Baptist Convention's Public Affairs Committee, the Christian Life Commission, and the administration committee of the Executive Committee, Georgia Baptist pastors and their congregations were urged "to continue to exercise their moral and spiritual influence for understanding and good will between the races." The committees issued the statement after

hearing a report from Dr. Searcy S. Garrison, Convention executive secretary-treasurer, on a recent White House Conference, called by President Kennedy to discuss some aspects of the current race problem.

July 11, 1963, Columbus. Three Negro church organizations -- Mt. Calvary District Sunday School and Baptist Training Congress, a 10,000-member group; the Columbus Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance; and the Adult Liaison Committee--expressed opposition to further demonstrations.

July 28, 1963. The Rev. Don McEvoy, director of the Atlanta chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, preaching at the First Christian Church in Decatur, declared:

> The time has come for churches in Atlanta to declare themselves "unequivocably" open to all. ...[the church] must rid itself of its involvement in this sinful separation of brethren. The time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church belongs to God and not to men, and thus must be open to all of God's children without restriction. ...Ministers have been silent on this issue, for the most part, because social customs have been more binding on us than the commands of Christ. We have been more concerned with avoiding controversy than we have with being Christian. The result has been that we have usually given our pastors a choice between an emasculation of their ministry or martyrdom. ...The white churches have been overly concerned with the possible loss of members and financial support if they gook a forthright stand. Better we should be concerned over the loss of the church's soul. Make no mistake about it. The whole future of the church is at stake in our response to this present crisis. Segregation is sin. To block human fellowship is to block fellowship with the Divine.... Either we face up to the Christian implications of human brotherhood or our whole church parroting of other New Testament doctrines is idle and meaningless chit-chat.

July 3, 1963. The bi-racial Greater Atlanta Methodist Ministers Alliance adopted a resolution praising city officials, the Chamber of Commerce, newspapers, and restaurant owners for "their stand in encouraging the desegregation of parks, swimming pools...and public facilities. The association is composed of about 300 pastors.

Arkansas.--April 18, 1963, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representatives united in a Greater Little Rock (Ark.) Conference on Religion and Human Relations. More than 100 representatives of 40 churches and church organizations heard leaders of their denominations

call for an end to discrimination in education, economic opportunity, churches and housing. The leaders jointly referred to segregation as a "moral problem" and as "sin." In conclusion, the Rev. David A. Boileau, professor at St. John's (Catholic) Home Missions Seminary, suggested three areas for conference work:

> We must clean up our own house. We all run segregated facilities. We must ask ourselves if segregation or token integration is right and we must destroy segregation in our churches, schools, and societies. Each must examine his own conscience. And we must establish in our community the role of religion as a force in society. If we bring the force of religion to bear on segregation this will wipe it out.

Florida.--June 12, 1963, the Florida Synod of the United Presbyterian Church departed from its announced program to name a committee on race relations. The synod also considered a working pact with the Presbyterian Synod of Jamaica, island nation south of Cuba. Jamaica, with a preponderance of Negro population, sent several members of the Jamaica Synod to the conference for consultation.

Kentucky.--June 16-20, 1963, The Fourth Interracial Consultation on the Southern Church and Race Relations was held at the College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. The group issued a "statement of concern" which concluded: "We...dedicate ourselves to work with all others to continue progress in eliminating racial discrimination in voting, public accommodations, education, employment, and housing."

May 17, 1963. The Rt. Rev. C. Gresham Marmion, Episcopal bishop of Kentucky, admonished the diocesan convention, "We dare not be a religious club, which is the way some of our churches operate. ...In our churches we should not just tolerate, but we should welcome people of all races..."

June 13, 1963. The Kentucky Methodist Conference called on its churches to "explore avenues leading to the invitation of all races to worship together." The following day it adopted a statement that said:

> We deplore the practice of racial segregation as unfair, illegal, and un-Christian. Regarding present social upheaval between the two races, we applaud all non-violent attempts to breakdown segregation barriers which now exist.

August 11, 1963. The Record, official weekly newspaper for the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Louisville, commented in an editorial

that the "overall Knights of Columbus record in the racial area is unbelievably bad." It said that knights and other Catholic organizations in the archdiocese should eliminate any segregation that exists in theory or practice, and should recruit Negro members. It quoted local Knights of Columbus officials as saying there were no Negro members in the Louisville archdiocese; no Negroes had asked for membership.

Louisiana.--February 1, 1963, at an Institute of Religion sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and held in Baton Rouge, La., Rabbi Charles Mainband, then of Hattiesburg, Miss., (now located in Longview, Texas), said that patience and determination were necessary virtues needed to overcome racial bigotry. "People are more inclined to lose their identity in a group on matters of controversy," he continued, "We are inclined to slough off both the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. ...In no area has democracy failed as it has in race relations."

March 5, 1963. Catholic Bishop Robert E. Tracy of Baton Rouge, La., speaking in Donaldsonville to white and Negro Catholics of the civil parishes of Iberville, Ascension, and St. James, declared, "There is no reason some Christians should discriminate against other Christians and segregate them. Talk is cheap, but what is not cheap is to live Christianity." The Bishop was reporting on the Ecumenical Council which he attended in Rome, and replying to a question from the floor.

August 5, 1963. Roman Catholics of north and central Louisiana were called upon by their Bishop, Charles P. Greco, Diocese of Alexandria, "to accept desegregation with understanding and restraint" and to help end "discrimination based merely on race, color, creed or national background." His pastoral letter was read in all churches and chapels of the diocese. (More than 85,000 Catholics, and which includes all civil parishes north of Rapids, Avoyelles and Vernon. There are 83 church parishes and more than 100 missions.)

North Carolina.--January 8, 1963, the Federated Ministerial Association of Almance County adopted the report of its Race Relations Committee which urged the association to: encourage equal job and educational opportunities, make the church itself an example to business and education by eliminating barriers based on race, and suggested joint meetings with Negro community leadership.

May 12 & 26, 1963. At all Episcopal churches in Raleigh (May 12) and in Greensboro (May 26) a letter from Bishop Richard H. Baker and

Coadjustor Thomas Fraser, Jr., expressing alarm and grief over racial unrest in North Carolina cities. The letter was read during morning services and urged church members to exercise the discipline of love and forgiveness and implored all those in authority:

> ...to act quickly in achieving a resolution of this tension which will grant to all men the equality and dignity given to them by God. We ask all people to support the merchants and institutions serving the people of this city when they strive to provide all men this equality and dignity. We ask all people to work, to pray, and to act courageously to end the strife with which we are beset and to help achieve in this city a harmony and brotherhood that God wills for all people.

Raleigh.--June 1963, the following excerpt of a statement issued by the Raleigh Ministerial Association's Human Relations Committee some two to three weeks after the more Christian and forthright statement issued May 13 by the Raleigh Merchants' Bureau and followed two days later by a full page ad with 1,000 signatures of white people supporting integration of public facilities:

> We urge that the City Council of Raleigh, the Mayor's Committee and the responsible leadership of the city continue to seek means of bringing about the immediate desegregation of restaurants, theatres, and hotels in the city. We personally pledge our support of any establishment that desegregates and will encourage other people to do the same.

June 1963. The North Carolina Methodist Conference, after spirited debate, adopted a resolution urging that racial barriers be lowered in community institutions and places of public accommodation. The resolution urged members of local churches to "voluntarily open the doors of their stores, motion picture houses, restaurants, churches, schools, and other facilities to all people of every race."

June 19, 1963. Two hundred and fifty ministers, priests, rabbis and laymen, "appealed to the conscience of North Carolinians" on the "whole issue of race relations" at a meeting of newly formed North Carolina Council on Religion and Race. The five-point statement of policy declared:

1) We believe that to discriminate against any individual because of race or religion is immoral...
2) Above any directive of man-made laws, or the economic expediency of the moment is the eternal moral law of God: each of us is his brother's keeper...
3) Peace between men is a vain dream until there is peace within the conscience of each individual...

4) It is not enough for the victories in human rights to be gained solely through legal and economic maneuvers; the voice of religion and churchmen must be heard...
5) Bigotry, hatred, violence and doctrines of racial superiority have no place in our religions traditions...

South Carolina.--January 19, 1963, 122 Columbia (S. C.) ministers representing 12 denominational groups, issued a statement giving their views on racial problems then facing South Carolina citizens. They confessed their failure to apply more fully the Christian principle of brotherhood in their personal lives and in the churches they served, and declared their conviction that racial problems and their solutions are basically moral and spiritual. They pledged support to public officials and other citizens supporting law and order.

June 13, 1963. Excerpts from a statement made by Bishop Paul Hardin, Jr., of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church:

> ...It is a source of personal concern and grief to me to see my beloved Southland and the Methodist Church torn by the race issue. My anguish is all the more acute when I realize that basically the main issue is not race but simple justice and personal dignity. It is as natural for a colored person to seek his place under the sun as it is for a white man to do so. In Christian calmness and diginity, let us work together in an effort to grant justice and opportunity to all people--not because of economic and political pressure, but because we believe that justice is the common property of all free men.

Tennessee.--Spring, 1963, the Cumberland Presbyterian Synod of West Tennessee adopted a report at its annual synod meeting urging ministers to "preach their true convictions concerning these social problems of our day, especially the recognition and acceptance of all races as children of God."

May 22, 1963. The Nashville (Tenn.) Association of Churches unanimously adopted a resolution praising Mayor Beverly Briley's recent handling of racial disturbances in Nashville, and commending him for naming a Human Relations Committee to work on racial, cultural and religious problems in the community. The group "pledged its prayers and support in helping the committee resolve racial problems."

August 25, 1963. Bishop William L. Adrian of the Tennessee Diocese had his pastoral letter read in all Catholic masses. The letter urges Catholics make the effort to provide equal opportunity in areas of "employment, education, and public accommodations..."

August 26, 1963. Nashville, Tennessee, the head of the Roman

Catholic church in Tennessee urged church members to do away with racial discrimination by meeting with Negroes and talking "openly and calmly about our mutual hopes and problems."

Texas.--June 5, 1963, the Episcopal bishop of the Dallas, (Texas) Diocese Bishop C. Avery Mason, called for support of Bishop Lichtenberger's statement, saying, "It speaks for itself, and we will act accordingly. This, of course, has been our policy." The Dallas diocese has been quietly implementing the church's stand on integration for a number of years. The diocesan convention has long been integrated, also the diocese's Camp Crucis--which is used for summer retreats. In some Dallas neighborhoods, members of both races regularly attend churches. In 1962, the Department of Christian Social Relations conducted a number of inter-racial conversations among clergy and laymen in the area.

June 29, 1963. Editorial in The Baptist Standard, editor, Dr. E. S. James. Mr. James said that the Southern Baptists "were ashamed to acknowledge the truth to ourselves that we, the second largest religious group in the nation, have done so little to secure justice and equality for all men." He added that he was ashamed because President Kennedy had to remind ministers of their moral duties.

Virginia.--June 5, 1963, the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia advocated that church and secular leaders lead in ending racial segregation. The statement said further,

> We believe...the time has come for the state, the South, and the nation to move quickly to settle the racial question...

The Synod set plans to call on its various institutions to report at next year's meeting on the progress they have made on the stand "that enforced segregation of the races...is out of harmony" with the church.

June 13, 1963. The Virginia Methodist Conference issued a recommendation for racial integration of all prep schools and colleges it supports in the state, to be put into effect not later than the 1964-65 academic year. Approved by a majority of three-to-one, a conference spokesman said the new policy was not mandatory but merely a strong recommendation.

Week of July 13, 1963. The Norfolk (Va.) Presbytery announced "a deep and urgent concern over the relation of the races and especially

as this affects and challenges the Christian church." The adopted statement continued:

> Enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics; and the church, in its relationship to cultural patterns, should lead and not follow.
>
> We call upon the sessions and congregations of Norfolk Presbytery to engage in serious and prayerful study of racial relations and social justice, especially as it bears upon the seating of worshippers and admission of believers as to the membership of our church regardless of race.

August 24, 1963. The Virginia Conference of the Evangelical United Brethren Church condemned the State of Virginia for its "subterfuge in establishing the tuition grant as a device for closing the schools in Prince Edward County." The adopted report continued:

> ...we recommend careful consideration of the educational problems in said county and if possible the giving of financial and moral support to establishing and maintaining of schools to educate the children of both Negro and white. ...we deplore the denial of any citizen of equal access to tax-supported public institutions or facilities; the denial of any citizen the right to equal participation in voting; we commend those who have hired Negroes and individuals and groups who take steps to eliminate racial discrimination in housing, education, employment, and the use of public facilities. We believe human rights must always take priority over property rights.

Statements of National Church Organizations.--May, 1962, the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church called on its members to study the principles and goals stated in "A Charter of Racial Policies," and for the speedy ratification and commitment to work for implementation within jurisdiction, conference, district and local woman's society. The Charter included the following: to eliminate in the church all forms of segregation based on race, to create opportunities for inclusive fellowship and membership in local churches, and to work toward changing community patterns of racial segregation in education, housing, voting, employment and public facilities.

October 1962. At the annual assembly of the International Convention of Christian Churches, a total of $6,353 was presented to the United Nations. Among the numerous resolutions passed were several dealing with race. The delegates expressed "concern to the officials

of the state of Mississippi" and appealed to their "sense of decency and respect for law, order and principles of Christianity and fair play." The resolution deplored the "defiance of the federal court orders by the officials of the state of Mississippi regarding the entrance of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi" and encouraged the Justice Department in its efforts to secure compliance. Other resolutions urged church agencies to work for more speedy integration, and asked the denomination's schools to hasten integration of student bodies, faculties, and staffs.

May 9, 1963. The strongly worded resolution that urged the Southern Baptist Convention, the previous day, to express concern for Negro demonstrators jailed in Birmingham, Alabama turned up for vote so toned down it was almost unrecognizable as the same resolution. In its new form it made no mention of either Negroes or Birmingham, but simply "the problems involved in our social adjustments today." These must be solved in a Christian context, it said, and it pledged to help all "who do not enjoy freedom." The resolution passed without debate despite the loud applause accorded the original motion when it was presented by the Rev. Robert E. Seymour of Chapel Hill, N. C. He had asked that Baptist be petitioned to "pray for us who are in prison out here" and urged to end discrimination in their communities.

May 22, 1963. The United Presbyterian General Assembly approved a church constitution revision requiring local congregation to make "certain membership is not refused because of color, origin or wordly condition." This action is subject to ratification by local Presbyteries in the 3,500,00 membership. The assembly also petitioned President Kennedy to call a White House Conference on civil rights as soon as feasible to hasten the day when "color or national origin" will be irrelevant to rights of citizenship, and suggested that church boards, agencies and local units examine their contracts for goods and services to make sure funds are not used to support racially discriminatory or segregated institutions.

May 26, 1963. The presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., Arthur Lichtenberger, issued a statement calling attention to the recent action of the Diocese of Washington which directed all diocesan-related institutions to eliminate any discriminatory practices within six months. The diocese further requested the Bishop and Executive Council to take steps necessary to disassociate

such diocesan and parish-related institutions from moral of financial support if these practices were not eliminated in the specified time. The bishop's statement included the following points: to demonstrate by specific actions by identification of the church with those who are victims of oppression; to support and strengthen racial protests, financially and personally; to eliminate all discrimination in church and church-related institutions.

June 6, 1963. The 270-member general board of the National Council of Churches adopted a statement calling upon the church "to confess her sin of omission and delay and to move forward to witness to her essential belief that every child of God is a brother to every other." The Council pledged that its leaders would "engage personally in negotiations, demonstrations, and other direct action." It urged all affiliated communions and invited members of all faiths to join in support of civil rights legislation and to witness that the racial crisis is a "national moral issue and not a regional problem." The Council announced the formation of a Commission on Religion and Race to coordinate the action program. (See Action Section)

June 17, 1963. Dr. Fredrik A. Schiotz, president of the American Lutheran Church, sent a memorandum to the pastors making the following suggestions: 1) let your people know where you stand, 2) be sure that your own congregation does not withhold the hand of welcome from a Negro guest or applicant for membership, 3) Encourage your people to write to their senators and congressmen, 4) Encourage lay leaders to participate in community consultations, bringing together white and Negro leaders for conversation and peaceful action. The pastors were reminded of the resolution adopted by the Church Council in February, 1963, which included: "Should a congregation not practice the proclamation of the Gospel of our Lord without limitation to nationality or race and not admit to membership in the Congregation Lutherans who may wish to transfer into the congregation or not admit people to membership classes who may wish to be instructed, the district president shall report this violation of church practice to the Executive Committee of the District and to the Church Council."

June 18, 1963. The Central Conference of American Rabbis pledged "unequivocal support" to Negroes today in their battle for equal rights and opportunities. The 400 members of the Reform group called for an "all-out effort" by the 1,000,000 members of Reform Judaism's 650

congregations to press for strong civil rights legislation by Congress. Warning that "a filibuster to prevent passage" of such legislation would "pose a threat to our survival as a democracy," the Rabbis voiced dismay at the "senseless and often brutal delays" in extending "full civil rights for Negro citizens."

June 22, 1963. A resolution asking the General Conference of The Methodist Church for swift integration of the church at all levels was passed by 375 missionaries, about half on furlough after foreign assignment. Most pledged to work actively for desegregation while here, giving lectures and joining picket lines.

June 24, 1963. At a youth forum of about 150 delegates from 37 states, sponsored by the United Church of Christ, the Rev. Archie Hargraves, field secretary of the division of church extension, urged white people to join the fight against segregation in what he described as a worldwide revolution by "people of color." He warned that unless people face integration as a fundamental moral issue "the Negro people are prepared to say 'the hell with it' and smash the whole rotten fabric to pieces, taking upon themselves, before God, the reconstruction of a better world from the rules of the old one that is a lie and a mockery to God's purposes. ...The acid test is whether we in America can accept the proposition that a Negro may marry whomever he loves and loves him. The Christian church will either prove itself or destroy itself on the basis of its response to this proposition."

July 6, 1963. During this week the Lutheran Church in America appealed to its 6,200 congregations to eradicate all vestiges of racial segregation from their own church activities, and to join the fight for "justice in race relations" in American society by initiating and supporting race reconciliation efforts and backing legislation to assure equal opportunity for all in housing, education, employment, voting, and access to public facilities. The statement emphasized that Christians can no longer temporize with racial barriers because any form of segregation or discrimination "is in violation of God's will."

July 9, 1963. The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, at its annual institute, issued a statement which calls for alerting pastors to utilize their pulpits to give active support to

the President's civil rights legislative program; and for Christians to demonstrate their protest against unjust discrimination and degrading practices which would limit Negroes from reaching their maximum potential before God.

July 14, 1963. Cardinal Spellman's denunciation of racial discrimination was reiterated today in all the 402 parishes of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York. The Cardinal had made the attack on July 11 at the dedication of Drew Houses in Harlem. Excerpts of his address were read as the sermon in all churches. This is a very rare occurrence.

July 14, 1963. The president of the Lutheran Church in America, the Rev. Dr. Franklin Clark Fry (who is also president of the Lutheran World Federation and chairman of the central committee of the World Council of Churches) called on the 3,200,000 members to help end racial discrimination. He made the request in a pastoral letter to the 6,812 pastors, calling attention to the decision of the church's executive committee last month to take "action leading to justice in race relations." His letter continued, "The time has come to act. The doors must be open to all. Everyone who is eligible, by faith or scholastic attainments or need should be welcomed to full membership or enrollment as a student or admission as a patient or guest on equal basis with the people of the majority race." The church, he said, "is bound to seek souls [and] the obligation of Lutherna Christians [includes] civic affairs as well as purely church matters. ...Under God the time has come to act and to lead others by precept and example."

July 17, 1963. At a called meeting of the executive meeting of the House of Bishops, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. endorsed the Washington march and passed a resolution urging both laymen and ministers to join it. There were some quiet dissents from Southern Episcopalians, which received scattered applause and hisses.

July 25, 1963. A committee of the fourth World Conference on Faith and Order condemned racial discrimination and urged Christians to fight it "whatever the cost." The conference is sponsored by the World Council of Churches.

July 27, 1963. At an emergency meeting the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice adopted the following

recommendations:

1. Called for all Roman Catholics to support, as a moral imperative, the President's civil rights program, and to build grass roots support of it.
2. Urged Catholics to take part in other demonstrations and picket activities in cases where "sincere negotiations" fail to achieve equal opportunities for Negroes.

There are 57 local Catholic Interracial Councils, coordinated by the NCCIJ.

August 15, 1963. Two major institutions of American Reform Judaism called on lay and rabbinic leaders of the 650 Reform congregations not to deal with construction companies, banks, and other businesses that discriminate against Negroes. The appeal, also directed to more than 1,000,000 Reform worshippers, was made by the Commission on Social Action, joint body of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (comprising 850 spiritual leaders). Stressing the need for concrete action at the grassroots level, the "Call to Racial Justice" included these recommendations:

1. Businessmen should institute and enforce nondiscriminatory employment and promotion policies, make efforts to introduce Negro employees into work forces, and provide training to upgrade jobs for Negro employees.
2. Members of labor, business and professional groups should take positive steps to encourage the introduction of Negroes into skilled trades and professions.
3. All members are to support and participate in efforts for racial integration in their own communities, neighborhoods and public schools.
4. Members should not patronize public places or businesses that discriminate against Negroes as either patrons or employees.
5. Members should not frequent private clubs that refuse membership on racial grounds.
6. Members should invest in financial institutions that make funds and services available on a non-discriminatory basis.
7. Members should give active support to the enactment of local, state, and Federal legislation and to forceful executive action on all levels of government.
8. Congregations should use integrated crews in construction of new houses of worship.

August 23, 1963. Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States in a pastoral letter said "The conscience of the nation is on trial" over racial discrimination, and urged, "we must act to remove obstacles that impede the rights and opportunities of our Negro brethren... We

should do our part to see that voting, jobs, housing, education, and public facilities are freely available to every American." The letter was read at all masses in many Catholic churches and chapels on Sunday, August 25. A National Conference Welfare spokesman said that Bishops were not required to have it read and that some, for various reasons, might ignore it.

August 30, 1963. The 1,100 delegates of the Methodist Conference on Human Relations, representing 10,000,000 Methodists, approved the following points in a statement to be submitted in a petition to the Methodist General Council:

1. Called for federal and state laws "that will open all facilities serving the general public to all persons without regard to race."
2. Urged church units to employ their economic power to aid integration,
3. Advocated that the 135 church-related colleges, including many in the South, and all Methodist hospitals and other institutions be opened to all races and proposed "that the name of the church and funds from its budget shall be withdrawn from any institution pursuing a policy contrary to this recommendation."

The 1963 statements of religious bodies speak for themselves. It now seems evident that the church is ready to attack discriminatory practices and racial injustice both within its own institutions and without. Paraphrasing the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,* the church, which has been "merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion" may indeed become, like the early Christian church, "a thermostat that transformed society."

The question is: how influential will these statements be on the individual church member?

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*Letter from a Birmingham Jail.

IV. ACTIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH IN RACE RELATIONS

Beginning with the July 4, 1963 demonstrations of clergymen at Gwynn Oak Park in Maryland, the first time a group of influential church leaders of the three major faiths had participated together in direct action protests against discrimination, the church began to move from the conference table and pulpit into the firing line of racial tension, applying the tactics of direct action to underscore its often-expressed statements condemning racial discrimination. July and August news items have noted: nuns walking picket lines in Chicago, clergy joining demonstrations in many northern cities, and the new Religion and Race Commissions leading the recruitment of 40,000 churchmen to join the August 28 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The NCC also set up a volunteer operation in New York City which prepared 80,000 lunches (sold for 50¢ from refrigerated trucks in Washington) for the marchers.

While it should be noted that clergymen individually or in small groups had previously participated in sit-ins, Freedom Rides, and prayer pilgrimages, (e.g., Albany 1962) to protest discrimination, the summer of 1963 marked the beginning of a nationally organized and nationally led religious compaign to eradicate racial inequality and intolerance in America.

Catholic, Jewish, and major Protestant faiths are now planning local demonstration campaigns on a nation-wide basis, with religious leaders actively participating.

Toward this end new interracial action groups have been formed in a number of Protestant denominations to plan programs and to coordinate efforts. The more recent ones are: The Commission on Religion and Race formed by the National Council of Churches (June 17), the Commission on Religion and Race named by the Unitarian Universalist Association (June 29); the American Baptist Convention's plan for Baptist Action for Racial Brotherhood (northern-June 24); and the United Church of Christ's Committee (July 6). All these committees have as their announced purpose the spear-heading of a planned allout attack on racial discrimination with more active participation by the clergy. The United Presbyterian Church's Commission on Religion and Race (May 19), will emphasize "creative action" with other faiths and removal of racial bars in Presbyterian congregations, institutions, and agencies. The Protestant Episcopal Church appointed an 18-member

Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations (June 28), to assist the Christian Social Relations Department in program plans for legislation, direct action, and speeding up desegregation within the church.

Religious oriented action groups formed outside the organizational structure of the denomination include the new Presbyterian Interracial Council (June 16); and the older Catholic Interracial Council (after 25 years of local activity; organized nationally, 1960), the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America (1953), the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (1959), the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee Institute of Human Relations, and the congregational Christian's Race Relations Department (1952). In most of the above, membership is restricted to clergy and laymen of the denomination.

Interdenominational groups include the new Committee of Southern Chruchmen, and the oldest group of all, the Fellowship of the Concerned, organized in 1949 in Atlanta, Georgia, to promote the spiritual approacl to social issues, the Fellowship has been since its inception interfaith, interdenominational, and interracial. It is still active today.

In the past, the influence of the church in race relations had been somewhat limited. All three of the major religious groups in the United States -- Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant -- had made some progress in improving race relations. But until quite recently the agencies of the church had represented a small percentage of church leaders and laymen. All agreed that too many local congregations were apathetic and skilled workers in race relations too few. There was an expressed fear among some leaders in church affairs that initiative had passed beyond the control of religious men.

The Christian Century, in an editorial of October 10, 1962, "The Agony of the Church," discussed the contradiction between the American dream and American deed and said it resulted in a split national personality. The editorial continued:

> A much more tormenting struggle is now taking place within the soul of the white Christian church. What is merely a dilemma for the nation is an agony for the church. This is so because in the church the principles of human dignity and equality are accepted not merely as humanitarian ideals to strive for but as divine imperatives which God commands his children to obey. Yet it is in the white church that these commands, so far as the Negro is concerned, are most flagrantly disobeyed. ...

The unwillingness of the church to lay upon its conscience the nation's primary domestic problem or to tolerate the ministers who do so is one measure of the church's shame. A deeper measure of infamy is its stubborn refusal to repent of its offense, on account of race, against the unity given it in Jesus Christ. It loves the cruel falsehood of racial exclusiveness more than it loves Christ. In its refusal to repent of the guilt of division within itself on account of race, in its perpetuation of differences caused solely by race, the church rejects the cross borne by its Lord. No wonder it prefers to hear pleasant ineptitudes instead of the gospel of Jesus Christ, sharper than a two-edged sword!...

The racial struggle would put a dilemma for the church even if she had no conscience about the equal rights of the Negro as a child of God. Even for the most rigid racist in her fellowship, the clash between truth and prejudice is at least an annoyance. But the dilemma turns into an agony in the hearts of Christians who have a conscience about the way the white church treats the Negro. They know that God has commanded us to love one another. They know that this command includes the Negro. They know that fulfillment of this command brings the Negro into the white church and vice versa. They know that you cannot love a person innately inferior. They know that they are disobedient, and they know that they stand guilty before God. It will be a tragic day for the Christian church if anything other than repentant obedience to the will of Jesus Christ takes away that agony.

The National Conference on Religion and Race.--What has been hailed by many religious leaders as a milestone in the development of religious involvement in race relations was the first National Conference on Religion and Race. It was held in Chicago last January, attended by some 800 religious leaders and race relations representatives, and convened by three religious bodies--the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of Churches, and the Synagogue Council of America. This is how Dennis Clark, Executive Severtary of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, described the aims of the conference in an article for Ave Maria: "It was a daiving attempt to match religious courage to religious conscience. It was an effort to pit theism against racism in the mind of the nation." Mr. Clark continued.

It became clear that for the first time in this country there is a religious consensus about race relations that is achieving broad practical gains.

This is the first time this kind of consensus ever really moved in the land. In the early part of the last century there was a consensus among religions about race--a consensus of indifference. ...

> ...The moral and social strength represented at this conference could only be brought to bear in a country as big and diverse as ours. If all the constructive force represented at this meeting really rolls against racism, the old dragon will surely fall.

In the words of Mathew Ahmann,* who served as executive secretary of the conference, "the Conveners hoped and planned for a Conference which would concretely examine the role of religious institutions in race relations, and then move on to propose and inspire renewed action, and interreligious projects to increase the leadership of religion in ending racial discrimination in the United States."

But J. Irwin Miller, president of the National Council of Churches, warned that merely ending racial discrimination was not enough: "We can abolish every system and practice and custom and regulation which now offends...if we do not at the same time work with equal vigor and determination to eliminate the spirit which embraces and supports all of these, then we will find that little has been accomplished and that somehow all the new regulations and programs have become servants of the old spirit."

To this end, the workshops drew up recommendations for churches and synagogues to follow in launching specific projects at the local level. Here are some of the areas in which increased religious action was called for:

1. Total elimination of racial bars in church-related institutions and schools.
2. Diligent work under religious auspices to help Negro families find houses in restricted white neighborhoods.
3. Contract clauses in all religiously sponsored building projects that will demand nondiscrimination of contractors.
4. More backing for minority voter registration.
5. Interreligious task forces in the inner-city and suburban areas to work for housing improvement and freedom of residence.
6. A service corps to aid in rural reconstruction.
7. More religious representation with respect to urban planning decisions.
8. Steady church and synagogue policy to fill the vacuum in civic life by developing community organizations where none exist now.

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*Mr. Ahmann is the Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, and is the editor of The New Negro (1961).

9. Widespread home-visiting programs and other work to foster interracial association.

Among the roadblocks to progress noted by conference workers were these: the appalling apathy of local congregations, the need for persons skilled in promoting racial change, and the difficulty of getting religious groups to face up to the moral implications of racism.

An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People.--The Conference (which Dr. Kyle Haselden, editor of the Christian Century and author of The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective, declared "may prove to be epochal") concluded by issuing "An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People." The appeal denounced racism as "our most serious evil," called for "a renewed religious conscience on this basically moral evil," and urged the American people to seek: 1) "a reign of justice," 2) "a reign of love," 3) "a reign of courage," and 4) "a reign of prayer." "We call upon all the American people," the appeal concluded, "to work, to pray and to act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively, to seize the historic opportunity...for healing an ancient rupture in the human family, to do this for the glory of God."

Follow-up Committees Formed.--Provision was made for a follow-up committee and, temporarily, for a continuing secretariat to put the resources of the conference at the disposal of local groups which want to transform words, ideas, and plans into action. But this is not the sole action the delegates had in mind; it is merely the means to such action. More than 40 interfaith local committees have been formed for regional action in target areas.

In his January 27 Report of the Committee on Follow-up, the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley* - chairman, issued a statement which, in the light of recent developments, has proved to be an overly cautious estimate of the Conference's impaact upon religious groups. Mr. Walmsley stated:

> Why did we hold this meeting? Surely few of us have any illusions that we can transform the churches into the forefront of the civil rights struggle. To congratulate ourselves for doing today what common sense and conscience say should have been done by religious institutions generations ago would be the height of hypocrisy or worse, a radical misreading of the movement of contemporary events, and the ways by which God transacts His will in history. ...

*Executive Secretary of Christian Citizenship, National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church.

> Much has been made in the lectures of the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament. But the prophetic message is not only an exhortation to do justly and love mercy. It is clearly apparent that what God wills in our day is a massive transformation of human relations--internationally, interreligiously, interculturally, interracially. The prophetic message is that if the Israel of God-either the Old or the New--will not respond to his will, God will then choose new agents. Further, he will cast out a stiff-necked and rebellious people, driving them into a captivity in Babylon for their apostasy. The captivity into which we have been thrust is our near total irrevelance as a moral factor in contemporary society. ...

The real hope of the Conference lies in the degrees to which we recognize that fact.

National Religious Action Against Racial Discrimination.--While religious leaders were facing the reality of the appalling gap between church pronouncements and church action regarding race, as revealed at the January Conference on Religion and Race, the civil rights crisis of the summer of 1963 burst into the eyes and ears of the nation, beginning with the Birmingham riots in early April. They were galvanized into action, and the formation of commissions on religion and race began. The programs of these commissions (listed below) typify the two-pronged effort, both within and without the church: within--to eliminate discrimination in the church and its institutions; without--to attack injustice in society by personal involvement in every phase of the struggle, including negotiations, sanctions, demonstrations, and legislative support.

> May 16--Some 250 commissioners of the United Presbyterian Church, USA, chartered a new organization called the Presbyterian Interracial Council--an independent group not officially related to or dependent upon the denomination. Its purpose is to press for direct action in areas of discrimination and segregation, and local and regional units will be established. Its first official act was to send to Birmingham a small group of volunteers prepared to demonstrate if local integration leaders desired their participation.

> May 20--The United Presbyterian Church USA, (northern) allocated 300,000 to fight racial discrimination among its 8,250,000 members. The more than 800 commissioners (delegates) voted that the fund will be administered by a new United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race composed of the "strongest Negro leadership" in the church and of the chief executives of the denomination's major boards and agencies. The commission will emphasize "creative action" with other faiths, emergency financial aid to churches and ministers penalized by strong stands for integration, recruitment of experts on race relations, and special training programs. The assembly instructed the new commission to report next year on racial restrictions in United Presbyterian congregations, institutions, and agencies to catalogue actions taken to support civil rights.

May 31--The top leadership of the Mormon Church was reported to be seriously considering the abandonment of its historic policy of discrimination against Negroes. This would, in effect, desegregate the three-level Mormon Heaven. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has a lay priesthood to which almost every male adult member belongs. Mormon theology teaches an afterlife with three stages of celestial bliss possible, admittance being governed by one's condition during life and progress in the priesthood. Since Negroes belong only to the first degree of membership, they are limited to the lowest degree of paradise. Women's places in paradise are determined by the achievement of their husbands. The church has also forbidden Negroes the right of marriage in a Mormon temple, and interracial marriage is also forbidden. On June 7, denial that priesthood membership might be opened to Negro Mormons was issued by Hugh B. Brown, second Counselor in the first presidency of the church. He said, "I was not quoted correctly. We are not considering that."

June 8--The Delaware Conference of the Methodist Church approved the transfer of eight of its Negro churches in the New York area to the predominantly white New York Conference. This is one step toward abolishing the all-Negro Central Jurisdiction, the Conferenc reported.

June 24--A Committee for Social Action was appointed by the Convention of the South, composed of 125,000 Negro church members in 11 Southern States from Virginia to Texas, the segregated Negro conference of the United Church of Christ. The committee will work toward the achievement of social justice and the realignment of all conferences and associations along geographical rather than racial lines."

June 27--The Unitarian Universalist Association set up a 12-member Commission on Religion and Race.

June 28--The Protestant Episcopal Church appointed an 18-member Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations to assist the Christian Social Relations Department in program plans for legislative, support, direct action, and speeding up desegregation within the church.

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of CHURCHES, with Dr. Robert Spike as the executive director, announced it will concentrate on three areas of action designed to put more force behind the Council's position against racial discrimination. The adopted program follows:

1. Legislation
   a. Mass services across nation during "one great hour of freedom" to focus attention on civil rights legislation (date to be announced).
   b. Mass demonstration in Washington if Congress fails to act on, or if Southern Senators filibuster against, proposed civil rights legislation.
2. Community Action and Demonstration
   a. Local ministers to set up 24-hour-a-day vigils in prisons to prevent "police brutality" against civil rights demonstrators under arrest.
   b. Establishment of interfaith groups in cities to check on desegregation of churches, housing, schools, and employment.

3. Desegregation in the Church
   a. National governing bodies of member denominations to withhold financial aid for construction projects of individual congregations unless contractors guarantee against racial discrimination in hiring.

The Commission will develop a detailed program on how to open suburbs as peacefully as possible to families of minority groups. The two-point program will: 1) organize all church and synagogue groups in suburbs to enter into program of effective action; 2) set up working kit of materials to cover procedure.

July--Seven Catholic Sisters and Catholic Interracial Council members in Chicago joined Negro and white students in picketing Chicago's Illinois Club for Catholic Women in protest of the Club's policy of discrimination. Shortly after, the club issued a statement declaring all qualified women will be welcome without restriction.

July--In one of the first tri-faith stands on civil rights, the National Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, and top Catholic officials drafted and presented to Congress a joint statement backing strong civil rights legislature.

July--The Methodist Episcopal Church will vote in 1964 on a plan to overhaul its organization to eliminate separate "jurisdictions" for its 10,000,000 white and Negro members. Approval of the plan is expected, although not without determined opposition from Southern Methodist.

July 4--The United Church of Christ (2,056,000 members) created a Committee on Race Relations and authorized $1,000.000 to expand and improve the church's work in race relations. Dr. S. Gary Oniki is the executive coordinator. Projects include: higher education; citizenship education for Negroes; payment of bail bonds, legal defense, and economic aid for persons arrested while demonstrating; housing and assistance to Negro tenant farmers; and humanitarian work for needy persons in urban areas. The church also voted to withdraw financial support from its segregated educational institutions, and to make loans for new construction contingent upon nondiscrimination in building work and a commitment to an interracial policy by the congregations.

July 10--Leaders of the American Baptist Convention (northern) drew up a plan of Baptist Action for Racial Brotherhood. It is designed to prick the conscience of the denomination's 1,500,000 members. The Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., is head of the 15-member committee.

August--Threemajor Catholic dioceses (Washington, D. C.; Oklahoma City-Tulsa; Greensburg, Pa.) have banned the issuance of construction contracts to builders who violate fair employment practices. The Roman Catholic Church spends annually $2,000,000,000 on construction, more than any other U. S. institution other than the Federal Government.

Obviously, the church has decided that "the time is now" for action in the area of racial discrimination. Besides supplying manpower for demonstrations, the various religious commissions on religion and race are sending groups of churchmen to racially tense communities to urge

local church leaders to become more active.

In northern communities, the National Council of Churches is leading efforts to overcome discrimination in housing, education and employment, as well as in the churches. Local clergy and laymen are asking residents of communities to sign petitions supporting equal housing opportunities for Negroes; residents are being asked to agree not to move out if Negroes move into their neighborhoods. In Chicago, priests and ministers circulated among a crowd of belligerant, rock-throwing whites in an attempt to calm then when a Negro family moved into a formerly all-white section. Several clergy stayed overnight with the family.

Large white churches are being urged not only to integrate their congregations but to hire Negroes as assistant ministers. Many church-operated hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the aged reject Negroes; some of the major religious denominations have warned that funds will be cut off unless there is desegregation within the year. Church staffs are urged to recruit Negroes for replacements as openings occur. Sunday School materials are being revised and rewritten. Seminaries are planning to have representatives visit Negro colleges to recruit Negro candidates for the ministry. Interracial home visits are being promoted to destroy racial sterotypes. Religion and race committees also plan programs to reduce school dropouts and to train the illiterat They urge strong church support for civil rights legislation.

Church leaders know that these new and forceful programs for civil rights and human dignity will disturb many and alienate some of the membership. They acknowledge that it can and may result in loss of financial support from some churches and church members and bring about dissention within the local churches. But church leadership believes that the racial upheaval may prove to be of genuine spiritual value to the church, forcing it to cast aside irrelevant issues and preoccupation with "success" as measured by yearly increases in membership and revenue. They hope the church will become again the agent of God to remove the stigma of racial discrimination from the nation.

The power of the church to influence the minds and hearts of the American people was made clear by New York Times correspondent James Reston in his column of August 30, In discussing what might happen as a result of the now famous August 28 "March on Washington," Reston wrote:

> ... the first significant test...will come in the country this weekend. It is no good waiting for a political reaction in Congress, for if there is no moral reaction out in the country, there will be no effective political reaction here /Washington/. ...Congressmen...want to be re-elected, and all of them know the political power of the church...If the preachers said what they really thought about this racial crisis and even half of those who heard and believed them wrote their honest convictions...to Capitol Hill, the political balance on racial equality might easily be transformed. ...For while the politicians here are not saying much about the march, they are listening. And if such a mammoth demonstration, dramatizing the basic religious concept of equality, does not get an impressive response even from the churches, Congress could easily conclude that the nation was indifferent or worse.

Response of Local Southern Churches and Congregations to National Anti-discrimination Edicts.--How much of this new spirit of religious renewal and sudden and impressive determination by United States church leaders to do something, rather than just say something, about the evil of segregation is evident in the Southern Church? Are local congregations and ministers facing up to what has been defined as the most crucial issue in the life of both church and society: race?

Certainly the majority of Christian churches in the South continue to constitute the single greatest obstacle to even the simple matter of church attendance by Negroes. Some have even made bouncers of their ushers who have closed or physically barred the church door. In a few instances, Negroes have been bodily carried out of the church even as the minister was proclaiming the compassion and love of Christ and asserting that this is for all people. Undoubtedly, this action on the part of the Christian church has caused bewilderment and chagrin to many church members; great embarrassment to foreign missionaries; and guilt, anger, and frustration to those responsible for decisions to bar the doors of the church to Negro Christians. The attempts to restrict church attendance as if the House of God were a private club makes preposterous the position of missionaries and clashes violently with the basic premise of Christianity: that it is for all mankind.

It has apparently been easier for local clergy and ministerial associations to issue manifestos on the desirability of alleivating racial tension by opening to all persons the schools, lunch-counters and restaurants, theatres, and hotels than the doors of their own churches. Businessmen may well have reflected that if the churches had practiced an "open door" policy, community transition from segregation to desegregation would be easier for them.

There have been, of course, some notable and magnificent exceptions. Those local churches, ministers, and ministerial associations which have assumed leadership and responsibility in desegregation efforts in their communities could, in 1962, almost be counted on the fingers of both hands. In 1963 the examples are multiplying and spreading--not, perhaps, as quickly and in as great numbers as could be hoped--but increasingly nontheless. Unfortunately, there also continue to be examples of evasion or repudiation by the local Southern church of national anti-discrimination edicts. A state-by-state breakdown of examples of church action in the South - action both positive and negative - can be found in the appendix to this study.

V. THE NEGRO CHURCH AND THE NON-VIOLENT MOVEMENT.

The failure of the organized church in race relations is made painfully apparent by the fact that there still is today a "Negro Church wing," a wing which not only has separate churches and ministers, but also separate conferences, theological schools, and ministerial associations. The steps that have been taken toward integrating the church have been slow and hesitant indeed. At present, more than 11,000,000 Negroes, half the entire Negro population of the United States, remain in segregated churches. Some 10,000,000 belong to the separate all-Negro Protestant conferences of the Baptist and Methodist churches. About 25,000 belong to the all-Negro 11-state convention of the United Church of Christ. About 500,000 belong to predominantly Protestant bodies, although chiefly in all-Negro congregations, and about 500,000 are Roman Catholics. At the national level, in most denominations and in interdenominational bodies, Negroes have considerable representation. But the pattern rarely is reflected on the local scene--North and South.

Thus, it is hardly surprising that the relationship between the Negro churches and the non-violent Negro revolt is virtually that of blood kinsmen. More of the leaders of the revolt come from the ranks of the clergy than from any other source, and the New Testament provides a very large portion of the ideological legitimation for the movement. Yet the life and teachings of Gandhi are probably more important than those of Jesus in the philosophy of non-violent direct action.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., acknowledged "moral leader" of the protest movement, has explained his own reconciliation of these two philosophies (which may seem to some persons in spiritual conflict) in his latest book:*

> ...I was introduced to the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. As I read his works I became deeply fascinated by his campaigns of non-violent resistance. The whole Gandhian concept of satyagraha (satya is truth which equals love and graha is force: satyagraha thus means truth-force or love-force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi,... I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love, operating through Gandhian method of non-violence, is one of the most potent weapons available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom...

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*Strength to Love, "Pilgrimage to Non-violence."

The traditional religious influence of the church in the life of the Negro American has always been strong, and largely because of this influence, the Negro churches have been the headquarters and assembly points for civil rights action groups. Mass meetings and training sessions have been religiously oriented, with much stress on prayer, returning love for hate, and only non-violent resistance to harassment and economic reprisal. The nation is indebted to the Negro church for exerting such a strong and sustained influence upon its members. It is because of their genuine religious fervor, their deep faith in God and in Christ, that the non-violent concept has been so widely accepted and practiced. With few exceptions the movement has remained non-violent and its participants have been able to return patience for persecution, a rigid self-control for harassment, and sometimes even love for hate.

In local situations it has been the Negro ministers who have rallied community support for social reform by preaching about moral as well as civil rights and the necessity to say, in word and deed, to the white community, "we will no longer accept discrimination; the time has come to act."

A year ago the Rev. Andrew J. Young, director of the Citizenship Education Program for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the United Church of Christ, declared:*

> If Negroes have no more to hope for than equality with the white man, then they might as well give up. Negro writers... are saying now, "who wants to integrate a sinking ship?" We tell our people...we are not working for the freedom to sin as the white man have sinned, that life must hold more for us than a gray flannel suit and split-level families taking Megrecal. ...If men are created in His/God's/ image and thrown into a harsh and often brutal arena of history, their lives are shaped in his presence and they are accepted as they are and offered the challenge of loving obedience. ...We become fellow heirs with Christ, breaking down the dividing wall of hostility between man and man and man and God, and sharing literally in the fulfillment of creation. ...
>
> This, I think, is the basis of Christian citizenship training in our society now. The non-violent movements are becoming schools for the new American, because here people learn that

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*The Report of the Fourth Interracial Consultation on the Southern Church and Race Relations, College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky., July 16-20, 1962, "The Church and Citizenship Education of the Negro in the South," pp. 68-80.

life is not basically good. They know the evil of men and yet they learn also that life involves the necessity of suffering for what is right. They can have no illusions about the way in which the world actually exists. This is not a suffering that is imposed upon them; it is a creative and voluntary suffering. ...We are coming to have more understanding of the nature and purpose of God as a result of living in his world and working to break down some of the barriers of hostility that exist. ...

We see in a sense a new reformation that is coming into being in the Negro church. Sunday morning is perhaps no longer the hour in which the real church meets. The social community of those like-minded, the intimate fellowship, meets on Sunday morning at 11:00 'clock, but the real church that comes together to take upon itself the responsibility of changing the world meets on Monday night. It is an interdenominational fellowship. ...This is the company of the committe that is gathering to hear their missionary orders. ...But these are the people of God in our time, we think.

But while the Negro church has played a major role in the Negro revolt and while that revolt may in turn be bringing about the "new reformation" described by Reverend Young, it should be noted that more than half of the young Negroes in the non-violent action groups consider themselves non-Christians, non-believers in the traditional meaning of religion. Nevertheless, the precepts they cherish and the principles they attempt to practice are tap roots of the Christian faith--brotherhood, humility, hope, and charity. Gayraud S. Wilmore, assistant professor of Social Ethics at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary has given the following description of such non-believers:*

There is, however, an authentic secularism, singularly unpopular in religious America these days. It is critical of the church not so much because of what the church professes as because of its retreat from the struggle for freedom and justice, its fear of the truth whenever the truth does not correspond to its creed, its loss of the sense of the beauty and the terror of natural life. There are secularlist who speak disparagingly of the church because they know very well what the Lordship of Christ means, but find themselves unable to accept the relationship between this Christ and the bland, middle-class Christianity which the church represents to them. Usually unaware , although sometimes quite consciously, they propagate the gospel and demonstrate its relevance in the idiom of the arts, the sciences, in the field of politics and human relations. They often mis-understand and distort the meaning of the faith, but despite themselves, some of these people are caught up in and used by the action of God for reconciliation.

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* The Secular Relevance of the Church, pp. 25-26. Westminister Press. Mr. Wilmore is also general editor of the series, Christian Perspectives on Social Problems.

> One is sometimes struck with the amazing congruence between this secular understanding of the human situation, their passion for human freedom and justice, and that of prophetic Christianity.

Perhaps the Negro protest movement will not only force Americans to live up to their Constitution and Bill of Rights, but also force the church to become truly the church.

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VI. THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND THE RELIGIOUS RADICAL RIGHT WING

Although its goals are obviously social, the Black Muslim movement is a religious movement and its appeal to Negroes stems from the current social unrest and distrust of the dominant white majority. Despite its neurotic extremism, the organization's commitment to high standards of personal and group morality are commendable. Dr. C. Eric Lincoln,* who has studied the Muslim movement in considerable depth, had this to say about the "Muslim Mythology" in a recent New South article:**

> The Black Muslims are bitterly anti-Christian, for Christianity is held to be the white man's most pernicious scheme for enslaving the non-white people of the world, while the white propagators of that religion relax in luxury and ease wherever they have found believing dupes. ...
>
> In Muslim mythology, Black Man--"the Original Man," was created by Allah, the one true God. The white man, however, is a "made thing," a beast, a synthetic man called into being by Yakub, the evil principle which is everywhere in opposition to peace, justice and equality. ...
>
> Since the white man is the son of the devil, the white man himself is a devil by nature and is incapable of doing good. Ultimately, the blue-eyed devils must be destroyed. Such is the will of Allah.

Many observers believe that the Black Muslim movement has been able to make gains in membership, particularly in the ghettos of the large cities in the North, because of the failure of the white moderate and of the "power structure" of the nation to listen to and accommodate the reasonable and just requests of the Negro leaders.

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*Professor of Philosophy, Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., and author of The Black Muslims in America, Beacon Press, 1961.

**"Extremist Attitudes in the Black Muslim Movement," New South, January, 1963.

A lucid and penetrating description of the appeal of Black Muslimism to Negroes was made by James Baldwin in his best - selling book, The Fire Next Time:

> Power was the subject of the speech I heard. We were offered, as Nation of Islam doctrine, historical and divine proof that all white people are cursed and are devils, and are about to be brought down. ...The white man's rule will be ended forever in ten or fifteen years (and it must be conceded that all present signs would seem to bear witness to the accuracy of the prophet's statement). ...Very little time was spent on theology, for one did not need to prove to a Harlem audience that all white men were devils. They were merely glad to have, at least, divine corroboration of their experience, to hear--and it was a tremendous thing to hear--that they had been lied to all these generations, and that their captivity was ending, for God was black. ...And now, suddenly, people who have never before been able to hear this message hear it and believe it, and are changed. Elijah Muhammad has been able to do what generations of welfare workers and committees and resolutions and reports and housing projects and playgrounds have failed to do: to heal and redeem drunkards and junkies, to convert people who have come out of prison and keep them out, to make men chaste and women virtuous, and to invest both the male and the female with a pride and serenity that hang about them like an unfailing light. He has done all these things, which our Christian church has spectacularly failed to do. ...
>
> "I've come," said Elijah, "to give you something which can never be taken away from you." ...This is the message that has spread through streets and tenements and prisons, through the narcotics wards, and past the filth and sadism of mental hospitals to a people from whom everything has been taken away, including, most crucially, their sense of their own worth.** People cannot live without this sense; they will do anything whatever to regain it. ...
>
> God is Black.** All black men belong to Islam; they have been chosen. And Islam shall rule the world. The dream, the sentiment is old; only the color is new. And it is this dream, this sweet possibility, that thousands of oppressed black men and women in this country now carry away with them after the Muslim minister has spoken, through the dark, noisome ghetto streets, into the hovels where so many have perished. The white God has not delivered them; perhaps the black God will.**

If the god of the Black Muslims is black, the god of the white fundamentalist religious groups currently associated with the radical right is lily white. Like the Muslims, however, white religious extremists preach a gospel of hate and fear. And they too have their devils, a host of Satans ranging from Khrushchev to Kennedy, from the

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**Italics are mine.

National Council of Churches to the United Nations. Their literature, a literature that takes on the status of Holy Writ for many southern churchmen and church groups bitterly opposed to desegregation, depicts a nation besieged from without and betrayed from within by a vast "Communist conspiracy."

Among the leaders of the rightist religious groups, Billy James Hargis of the Christian Crusade and Fred C. Schwarz of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade are perhaps the best known. Others are: Verne Kaub of the American Council of Christian Laymen (who has sometimes been called the Dean of the American Right Wing); Carl McIntyre of Christian Beacon; Harvey Springer of Western Voice; James fifield of the Freedom Clubs and the televised Lighted Window; Bob Shuler of The Methodist Challenge; Edgar C. Bundy of the Church League's News and Views; C. O. Staksklev of Truth and Liberty; John L. Rice of Sword of the Lord; William D. Herrstrom of Bible News Flashes; W. C. and Sarah Moore of Herald of His Coming; Max A. X. Clark of National Christian Journal; Howard E. Kershner of Christian Economics; Russell and Ann Ackley of Portions in Due Season; F. Henry Sattler of The Malist; Joseph Matt of The Wanderer; Stormy Jordon of the ironical postcards.

Elwyn A. Smith, writing in the November 14, 1962 issue of Christian Century, warned that "Billy James Hargis, for example, contends that he preaches the gospel of Christ, the 'greatest anti-communist power in the world today'--and he delivers a message of love and hatred a alike that make mincemeat of faith and reason alike."

Mr. Smith continued:

> The churches have not yet proved capable of convincing their members, much less the American people, that the Christian gospel is altogether incompatible with preachments of hate. ...The blend of hard political right with religious revivalism is a familiar American formula by which a moralistic minority lays bare the sin which, if eradicated by the children of righteousness, is sure--so goes the claim--to purge the guilt of the nation.
>
> ...One wonders whether people like Billy James Hargis and Fred Schwarz will not compromise fundamentalism so seriously that in large regions of the country it will no longer be recognizable as religion. When this /right-wing revivalism/ fever has passed, fundamentialism's weakened sense of divine love may well have been wholly supplanted by anti-communism's gospel of fear.

United Press International Correspondent, Louis Cassels reported in a story this spring that "right-wing pressures which threatened

to disrupt American churches have waned during the past year. But the radical right is still causing trouble for churches in some communities. And even in areas where its influence has declined sharply, church leaders are wary of a possible resurgence." The following observations are based on a nation-wide survey conducted by the National Council of Churches and reported by Mr. Cassels:

> Of the 96 state and local councils responding to the survey, 52 reported a decrease in such attacks. Fifteen others said they had never experienced any serious trouble. Fifteen councils said things are about the same, and 14 felt there has been some increase in rightist pressure during the past year.
>
> Many of the respondents said that rightist groups are trying as hard as ever to stir up distrust of the clergy and the National Council of Churches, but church members are not listening to the attacks as critically as they once did. (Denver, Colo.; Long Beach, Calif.; Wichita Falls, Tex.; Spokane, Wash.)

Reports indicating "little change" came from Miami, Florida, Atlanta, Georgia, and Oklahoma.

The Christian Crusade has recently fallen on hard times. At the 1963 Annual Convention, August 4, the Rev. Billy James Hargis complained to the 500 delegates from 33 states that income for the first seven months of this year had been only $396,000 as compared to $470,000 for the same period last year. A total of $18,000 was collected at the conference (six persons contributing $1,000 each). Hargis also complained that the crusade was losing members to the fast-growing John Birch Society. The Christian Crusade was a fundamentalist religion movement when Hargis started it in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, 17 years ago. In recent years he has shifted its emphasis to "awakening America" to the internal threat of communism. He indicated that more emphasis may be placed on religion in the future and announced the formation of a youth affiliate crusade, the Torch Bearers, and said there would be chapters on 76 campuses this September. (Two-week seminars this summer trained 116 youths as leaders for "patriotism and Christianity.) The monthly magazine and the programs on radio stations in 55 cities will continue.

The coming election year may well intensify activities of all these groups, particularly in areas where there are right-wing candidates for public office. Baptists Hargis and Robert Welch (founder and head of the John Birch Society) have avowed white supremacists in their

organizations, and there are distinct racist overtones in their attacks on civil rights legislation. As for religion, Welch contends that there are about 7,000 ministers in the United States who are communist sympathizers.

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VII. THE CHURCH MARCHES WHERE?

In analyzing and assessing the role of the church in American life, religious leaders generally agree that its principal failures have been these:

- The church follows rather than leads.--"...the forces of religion must lead rather than follow in this battle to build a society and a world in which the dignity of every human being is jealously guarded..." Dr. Julius Mark, president of the Synagogue Councils of America.*

- Religion is not relevant to life today; no religion in America can Practice its convictions and preach racism.--"Careful and responsible thinkers refer to racism as the core of many of our problems today. What we do about it is the ultimate test of our vaunted democratic way of life, /and we must/ ...remove the last vestiges of injustice, legal inequality, and discrimination from our committees, parishes, schools, and other institutions." Cardinal Albert Meyer, Pontifical Commission for Bibical Studies for the Second Vatican Council.*

- Clergymen lack the courage of their convictions, and are susceptible to pressure from church members.--"By negligence and silence we have all become accessories before the God of mercy to the injustice committee against the Negroes in our nations." Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, Jewish Theological Seminary.*

/We have a/"clear duty /to/ make clear to all our people the cancerous nature of this evil and its threat to our society if it be not eliminated." J. Irwin Miller, president, National Council of Churches.*

- Church members are apathetic or resistant to social change; religion is more widely professed than respected among us.--/In some parts of the nation/ "the conduct of the Christians is worse than the laws." Dr. Franklin M. Littel, Chicago Theological Seminary.*

"It is not enough merely to publicize a social doctrine. It has to be translated into action." Pope John XXIII, in his encyclical letter, Mater et Magistra."

The Church Follows Rather than Leads.--Why has the church hesitated in becoming involved in the social conflict of our time? The

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*Speaking at the Religion and Race meeting in Chicago, January 1963.

social activist is moving into a whole new phase of life; the church, until recently, has been the tail end of the movement. Only after the Negro students began the sit-in movement (February, 1961) did the church begin to change its emphasis from :law and order" to a real confrontation with the moral and ethical implications of segregation. The kneel-ins brought this issue into the pews and altars of the churches. No longer was it possible to evade facing, and taking a stand on, the responsibility of the church toward segregation.

The church was not always such a laggart, and the men of God most remembered and revered through the ages were those involved in the great moral issues of their time. Jesus was crucified because he would not cease to express his convictions of faith. John Wesley, when preaching the word of God to the miners in England, learned that their poverty had to be taken into consideration and their general condition improved before religion could be meaningful to them.

Will Campbell writes in his book, Race and the Renewal of the Church:

> Christendom came very close to gaining the whole world. It is now, or so say its critics, dangerously close to losing its own soul. In no area more crucial to the future of the church is this more true than in the area of race relations. ...
>
> In Africa and Asia the leadership is found today in the tidal wave of nationalism sweeping those two continents and carrying their peoples toward political and economic independence. In America, the most promising and exciting developments in human relations are taking place, not in the churches, but in government.
>
> The church might have influenced these developments by being true to its own nature. It might have determined their success or failure, but it failed to act. It waited until government took the initiative to rescue human rights. And today when the church acts in the human relations field, it follows government or political authority. It imitates the action of the state or it confirms such action with a pious benediction. Moreover, when it has acted, the church has been too often an echo of the cry for law and order, democracy, the rights of man, human dignity, constitutional process, the public schools.
>
> These things are good, but are they the most basic, most distinctive, concern of the church? ...We have been asking the wrong questions. Instead of demanding, what can the Christian do to improve race relations? we should be asking, what must the Christian be? As the body of Christ, the church first of all must be the redeemed community. Then will it be empowered to redeem the world, and not before.

> The sin of the church is not that it has not reformed society, but that it has not realized self-renewal. Its sin is that it has not repented. Without repentance there cannot be renewal.

In the summer of 1963, as previously noted, the church began taking an active role in the civil rights movement--Jewish rabbis, Catholic priests and nuns, and Protestant ministers (many of them national leaders) began walking picket lines, joining sit-ins demonstrations and marches, even going to jail. But again the church is following; it is supporting the Negro and interracial action groups, the secular liberals, and civil rights legislation.

The church has recently shown more determination to bring moral and economic pressure to bear on its own institutions--schools and colleges, hospitals, church building programs, and rental property--to eliminate any racial discrimination. There is some evidence that these stronger national policies are giving courage to local ministers and churches to take coution first steps toward "open door" policies. However, in areas where this happened, it has usually followed desegregation of public acoommodations after either demonstrations or negotiated settlements.

Religion is Not Relevant to Life Today.--There is a growing demand for a religion that is personal and is applied; that says what it means and means what it says. If the test of the Judeo-Christian religion is to love God and your neighbor, its practical application is exemplified by the Good Samaritan. The sick and the needy, the troubled and mourning are not to be found in the churches on Sunday morning. The people most in need of help seldom come to church; the church must go to them.

Today the racial problem is the most deeply disturbing dilemma of religious faith and conscience. Too many churches are operated like country clubs with programs totally unrelated to the lives of the people. Too many clergymen evade this troublesome issue and repeat cliches and prescriptions for peace of mind. Some use the cautious approach of telling the congregation, "the national board has recommended..." or else speak in vague generalities to avoid stepping on the toes of the conscience of any large contributor to the church budget. Perhaps the white Protestant church in particular needs Negro

ministers or African missionaries to break through their complacency and expose their hypocracy, fear, doubt, and the evasions and rationalizations of the vestries, the boards of deacons, and the building committees. Such a program might make of Christianity something a searching person could honestly accept.

In the slum areas of the inner city, the old patterns of churches and religion no longer work; to the ministers who tried to apply them, they seemed irrelevant. It became clear that unless the minister was concerned with their everyday life the people were not going to listen to him. The kinds of programs that have developed from this new attitude are dynamic and effective. Two examples follow:

> In one East Harlem parish, the store-front church evolved to include a counseling center, narcotics program to help drug addicts, medical clinic, remedial reading clinic, library, and recreation program for teen-agers.
>
> In another city, a minister organized a reform Democratic club for community improvement in a slum area. The club was successful in getting its candidate elected to the state assembly, another as state committeeman, and an appointee to serve in city administration Department of Buildings to represent the rights of the tenants of sub-standard housing.

But such examples are all too few and too seldom found. The splendor of the church is everywhere revealed along Fifth Avenue downtown; the service of the church is scarcely revealed at all tothose in the ghettos of Fifth Avenue uptown.

The inconsistency of the church's mission boards sending money and missionaries to the African countries for generations, and then refusing to admit the mission-educated students to American church-related schools has been castigated by churchmen, journalists, and missionaries. Charging that U. S. missionaries too often "peddle pious piffle" instead of becoming involved in the life of the people to whom they are supposed to minister, the Rev. Harris Mobley, a Mercer alumnus, in a frank address to Mercer University students scored the actions of American missionaries who refuse "to get involved in the wounds of the African." He continued:

> African Christian leadership is "fed up with playing second fiddle to the missionaries. Our paternalism, cultural ignorance and disrespect for things African have all but finished us. ..." What the African people want "is human dignity and self-respect." The mission boards have not been getting "the best people for the jobs. Too often they attract mediocre characters who could not make it at home." Besides being unwilling to work with Africans "at the bottom," they are not able to work with those at the top...

" "Let's insist on a better reason for brotherhood than political expedience or economic feasibility...racial segregation is offensive to human dignity, to the Negro in particular, but most of all to God."

The real question is not "whether Negroes want to worship in our churches but if we want them to come. It is not will it hurt the cooperative program, local giving, even peace in the church, but will it hurt a greatly concerned God if we don't. Not what it will do to the building program, but to the building of the Kingdom of God. Our ultimate danger is not in losing members but in losing the very soul of the church."

Clergymen Lack the Courage of Their Convictions, and Are Susceptible to Pressure from Church Members

The dilemma of the Southern minister who believes that Christians and Christian churches should, as a matter of principle, be in the forefront of the forces working for racial tolerance and that any Christian should be admitted to the church has been well documented. Pressure from congregational leaders, ostracism and obstruction, threats of violence, petitions to remove the minister--these are all familiar patterns. The wonder is that as many clergymen as have been noted in the news have been willing to pay the price of this difficult decision.

Ralph McGill, in a May 19th column of the Atlanta Constitution, discussed the intolerant attitude of laymen which defeats and sometimes destroys a southern minister. The Atlanta columnist wrote:

"I want to tell you about churches and preachers," the letter said. "The churches belong to the members. The minister is just a guest, or, to be plain, a hired man. We, the members, decide to whom we will offer the job of filling our pulpit. When, and if, we want him to go we will vote to tell him so as we voted to ask him to come. All this talk about a minister taking the lead is just stuff. The members will decide what members to accept, and to whom doors will be opened and to whom closed. This is the truth of it, and all this talk about Christian 'duty' is meaningless. The Christian members of churches will decide. The preacher is just a hired man."

The write was a woman. One could imagine her, cold-eyed and angry, but also icily-controlled, as she put down her dogma. She named her particular affiliation. It is that of an evangelical group that generously supports foreign missions, with emphasis on Africa and Latin America. That the writer represents a considerable body of thought is undenied by the almost weekly actions of ushers at some churches and the humiliations of ministers unable to have an open church door.

If the description of the "preacher" as "just a hired man," or hired guest, is a harsh one, let us face the fact that the record is an uncomfortable one in that it too often sustains the statement made. A church in Columbus, Ga., abruptly fired its hired man a few years ago for saying the race problem was a moral one. A pleased church member, a party to the firing, was quoted as saying, "Now we can get a preacher with the right sort

of religion." This will remain as the classic utterance of all time. It exactly fits the letter writer's description of things ...the hired man will be asked out if he doesn't do what the members order. More than a hundred ministers have been booted out of deep-South churches since 1954 and, quite obviously, more are on the way.

The number, however, likely will not be large, though the attitude of being ready and willing to fire the church hired man is more prevalent than is generally comprehended. It is by no means restricted to rural or city fundamentalist churches where God himself is hailed as the first and greatest segregationist. It is a fiercely nurtured state of mind at an undetermined number of rich and comfortable urban churches where, indeed, the "right sort of religion" is the first and great commandment.

The appendix to the "Action" section of this report lists both courageous actions by ministers and retaliation by church members. The probability is that many more ministers have left their churches under varying degrees of pressure without any publicity and with other reasons given for their departure from the community or state. The Rev. Dr. Albert McClellan of Nashville, Tenn., a Southern Baptist executive, says he knows definitely of only three pastors "forced out" of their pulpits recently over the race question. But he said "there could be many more,' and that he knew of several others who resigned voluntarily because they felt they couldn't preach forthrightly on the racial problem. In Mississippi, Methodist Bishop Marvin Franklin said "a little more than usual left last year." Since in the South the admission of Negroes to white churches or ministers advocating an "open door" policy is considered news, the reported number of forced departures is extremely low by percentage.

A recent nationwide survey of about 4,000 ministers by Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research showed that a third of them reported being criticized by members for preaching about controversial issues, such as race relations. About a third also are unhappy enough about the situation to want to leave their parishes, though they haven't done so, the study found.

Some denominations, including the United Church ofChrist, the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Lutheran Church have set up special funds to aid those who lose their pulpits over the issue. Union Theological Seminary sent a special letter to all alumni offering special two-week "study leaves" to those under heavy fire locally.

Church Members Are Apathetic or Resistant to Social Change; Religion Is More Widely Professed than Respected Among Us.

In religious circles this view is widely accepted; why is it true? Has the church for too long shown tacit agreement with the prevailing opinion that religion is just for Sundays in church and has nothing at all to do with the outside activities of church members from Monday through Saturday?

Should it be necessary to question whether the church's concern is limited to personal and private sin (as many southern churchmen do) since personal life is social life (unless one happens to be a recluse or a hermit)?

Clergy and laity alike are taking another look at the church--from within--and there is much discussion going on as to the methods of measuring church "success" or "effectiveness." Regularly attending comfortable, air-conditioned buildings to be mildly inspired by music, stained glass, and not-too-disturbing sermons does not demand real interest in or respect for the church. Neither do "togetherness" church suppers, picnics, and missionary teas.

Obviously, church policy can be bent and molded so as to conform more to personal preferences, to local "way of life." And the Christian faith has ofttimes been watered down so as to make it more palatable, more easily acceptable, more adjusted to human desires, needs, prides, and prejudices.

If members are to be challenged to live creatively "in the gap between the will of God, theologically understood, and the concrete human situation, pragmatically understood,"* the church and the minister must offer more.

The Negro church has offered more, and has been revitalized and transformed. Can the white church change? Would a "transfusion" of the energy and vitality of the Negro church (which most white churches are stubbornly resisting) aid the fragmented church to regain its wholeness?

Has the church failed to put across its conviction that prejudice is immoral? Has it stubbornly refused to crusade against racial discrimination and resolve its own differences over this issue? According to its own spokesmen, it has. What then, of the future? Can the

* by P. Lehmann, as quoted by David W. Barry, Executive Director, New York Mission Society, in a paper, "Guidelines for Evaluation of the Local Urban Church." 1963.

church regain its former position of respect, influence, and moral leadership? A few, at least, of its leaders and severest critics believe that it can.

"The strongest centers of resistance have been invaded and most of them have given ground," said Dr. Harry Richardson, president of the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, to church leaders from throughout the nation on April 18, 1963. "If the present conditions continue, we can almost expect the disappearance of the race problem as we have known it within 40 years." Dr. Richardson made the following points:

- the church in the South in 40 years will be more worldly minded. It will be concerned with the welfare of human beings
- the church will be more interested in helping bring into the world a better life for people; it is up against movements that are determined to do that.
- the church must be led by a new kind of minister--men who have no other aim or interest than to serve for God's sake and His sake alone;
- today's ideals of success--a big salary, a big church, popularity, a role as communicator to millions--must pass. The church will have to be led by those who ask nothing other than to lose themselves in service to God and to their brothers

The late Pope John XXIII realized the church must free itself of old and irrelevant restrictions and divisions before it could reach out to a new concept of world brotherhood--a union of all creeds and races. He made a good beginning in the short time he had, and his vision of what the church could become, as enunciated in his magnificent encyclicals, inspired all religious leaders. His message on race (Pacem in Terris) in particular had worldwide influence and significance.

> It is true that nothing is easy, and we do not hide this fact from ourself. But with the help of God and with a sincere tribute of subjection to Him, true progress in brotherhood and peace is possible.

American churchmen today know only too well how difficult it is to attain "true progress in brotherhood" between Americans of different color and different creed. But, guided by Pope John's eloquence and by the example he set not just for Roman Catholics but for men of all faiths, they are also learning that the bonds between men far outnumber the barriers. And they may yet raise the church to new heights of greatness, to new horizons of glory.

APPENDIX

Recent Examples of Southern Church Action: Positive and Negative

ALABAMA, 1963 :

Birmingham, April 28--Groups of three or four Negroes visited 39 white churches. They were accepted at nine, where they were escorted inside and directed to pews. (This was after 26 days of demonstrations with more than 400 arrests.)

Gadsden, June 16-- Several downtown white churches accepted Negroes for services without incident.

Linden, June 13-- The Rev. Joe H. Patterson resigned, effective June 29, as pastor of the Linden Baptist Church when deacons in his congregation objected to his recommendation of an "open door" membership policy in the church. That night his home was stoned and a cross was burned on his lawn; his wife and three young children were there alone. Sentiment in the congregation changed in his favor, and he was asked to reconsider his resignation, but refused.

ARKANSAS, 1963:

August 2, 1963--In the past few months one Southern Baptist church has opened its doors to Negroes, the first in the state to do so.

Gillett, week of June 24--Rural Negro church bombed with dynamite.

FLORIDA, 1963:

Dade County, April 15--At the invitation of Bishop Coleman F. Carroll, 17 Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant religious leaders of Dade County met to lay the groundwork for a program of mutual cooperation in racial and other moral community problems.

Pensacola, Aug. 28, 1963--The Southern District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod admitted a number of Negro churches to district membership along with new white congregations: total admitted, 27. There was no separate listing of the number of Negro churches.

GEORGIA, 1963:

Albany, June 19--A manifesto asking peaceful negotiation of differences was issued by 47 Negro ministers. They have had at least one meeting with white business leaders.

Seven youths who had led anti-desegregation demonstrations sought sanctuary in the Shiloh Baptist Church.

Albany, July--St. Mark's Episcopal Church has announced it is a "house of prayer for all people," and Negroes have attended services there. The rector, the Rev. H. W. Shipps, requested that "anyone who does not understand...please call so we can have a quiet discussion."

Albany, July 20--The B'nai Israel Temple turned away two (white) Jewish members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who were accompanied by a small Negro boy. A temple member who observed the Friday night incident said an usher met the group and refused to let them in; they left quietly.

Athens, August 25--Two white churches admitted Negroes for the first time today; six Negroes attended the First Methodist Church and the First Baptist Church. There were no incidents.

Atlanta, January 22--A new organization, the Greater Atlanta Methodist Ministers Alliance, was formed at the annual joint meeting of the Greater Atlanta Methodist Ministers Association (white) and the Atlanta Methodist Ministers Alliance (Negro). The combined group will meet monthly. Formerly the Negro and white groups met jointly only at the annual meeting. About 200 white and 100 Negro ministers joined in forming the GAMMA.

Atlanta, Jan. 24--A resolution deploring racial barracades on two southwest Atlanta streets was adopted by the North Georgia Diocese of the Episcopal Church. Another resolution, urging all church-related institutions be required to make clear they "do not use race as a basis for admission...," was ruled out of order and not acted upon. The Bishop stated that the church's policy was quite clear and the resolution unneccessary.

Early in March it was announced that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s five year old son was rejected for admission to Lovett Episcopal Day School. The enrollment at Lovett includes about 40% non-Episcopalians, and about 30% are Jewish. On March 26, Cecil A. Alexander, Atlanta architect, submitted his resignation as trustee of Lovett in protest. On June 14 the board of trustees by unanimous vote denied applications of Negroes and instructed the headmaster not to accept any applications from Negroes. On July 3, Episcopal Bishop Claiborne of Atlanta withdrew any "implied or official" Episcopal Church support of Lovett School, and announced that the Episcopal priest serving as headmaster at Lovett had submitted his resignation. The headmaster, the Rev. James R. McDowell, has accepted the position of headmaster of (Episcopal) Sewanee Military Academy in Tennessee. The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity has announced plans to picket the school; the Bishop has given permission for religious services to be continued: chapel, weekly Communion Service, and religious instruction.

Atlanta, May 25--The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Atlanta received its first Negro priest; the Rev. William E. Calhoun was ordained at the Cathedral of Christ the King.

Atlanta, May 28--Two Negro student chaplain internes were accepted at Grady Hospital, to begin in June. Both are Baptist and will serve the spiritual needs of hospital patients.

Atlanta, June 30--The board of directors of the Presbyterian Survey, official publication of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., adopted a policy of supporting Atlanta restaurants which have desegregated. The Board of Women's Work had already done so.

Atlanta, July 7--St. Mark Methodist Church admitted a Negro visitor. All Episcopal, Lutheran, most Presbyterian, and some Methodist and Baptist churches have admitted Negro visitors for some time without incident. (See "Example of Church Ambivalance"at end of appendix for account of Atlanta First Baptist.)

Augusta, April 29--The Augusta Evangelical Ministers' Association recommended voluntary desegregation of local schools. In a statement to the Augusta Herald the ministers said, "we believe that voluntary desegregation done in the Christian spirit is the most effective solution..." The resolution asked that ministers "be invited to join the asssociation, regardless of color or race, in compliance with the provisions of our constitution."

Carrollton, June 27--The Rev. Donald H. Harrison asked members of St. Margaret's Episcopal Church to lend their support to his opposition to organization of a white citizens council. Mr. Harrison is also chaplain to Episcopal students at West Georgia College, desegregated Fall, 1963.

Decatur, July 28--A Christian Church minister preached "the time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church ...must be open to all God's children without restriction."

Macon, July 1--Mercer University (Baptist) and Wesleyan College (Methodist) were among the ten establishments signing contracts with the federal government to operate the businesses where their post office stations are situated on a non-discriminatory basis.

Macon, Sept. 6--At least three Negro students have been registered for classes at Mercer University. One student is from Ghana; the other two are local.

Savannah, June 24--Bishop Thomas J. McDonough announced that Catholic schools in the Diocese of Savannah will be integrated effective September 1, 1963. This policy applies to all grades of both elementary and high schools.

Savannah, July 13--Clergymen issued a statement calling for a "real and just solution" of the racial crisis and the "immediate resumption of negotiations." The ministers included the Episcopal, Catholic and Methodist bishops of the city; they also offered their services in reaching a settlement.

Savannah, July 14--Negroes sought to worship at several white Savannah churches; all were turned away without incident.

Savannah, July 17--The Protestant Ministerial Association issued a request that July 28 be a day of prayer (during efforts to negotiate racial problems).

Terrell and Lee Counties, July 3--Work of rebuilding three southwest Georgia Negro churches began on this date, nearly a year after the buildings were destroyed by incendiary fires.

KENTUCKY, 1963:

Evarts, June--Last summer the Evarts Congregational Christian Church (United Church of Christ) invited children and teachers from the Negro churches of the community to participate in the Daily Vacation Church School. The minister, the Rev. Carolyn Welch, reported that the program was successful and was, she thought, enriching not only to the church but to the community. The same program was followed this year, with even larger attendance and community participation.

October 1963--The Kentucky-Tennessee Conference of Congregational Christian Churches (white) and the Tennessee-Kentucky Conference of Congregational Christian Churches (Negro) will hold a joint annual meeting for the second time, looking toward eventually combining the two conferences. Committee work of the two groups has already been unified wherever possible.

LOUISIANA, 1963:

Baton Rouge, July 29--Desegregation of the 11th and 12th grades in four Roman Catholic high schools in East Baton Rouge Parish will begin in 1964.

Buras, July 6-16--Window panes were broken in the rectory of Our Lady of Good

LOUISIANA, continued:

Harbor Church. It was the second time the rectory had been fired on since nearby Our Lady of Good Harbor School was integrated last September. Last November 13, 26 window panes were shattered by birdshot. On August 27 Our Lady of Good Harbor School, operated by the Catholic Sisters of St. Francis, was closed after being damaged by a midnight explosion. The school had been scheduled to reopen, still desegregated, on September 3.

New Orleans, March 24--An article by John Carporon in the Washington Post stated that the color bar had been removed in all Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, with an estimated 200 Negro Catholic youngsters attending formerly all-white parochial schools. Catholic schools in the archdiocese were desegregated in policy in the fall of 1962, but few had Negro students.

Ponte A La Hache, June 27--A Roman Catholic priest, who charged a Belle Chasse man punched him in a disagreement over the cleric's conducting a biracial religious instruction class, asked and got a court dismissal of simple battery against the man.

Plaquemine, Aug. 25--Negroes attended services at two white Protestant churches today: 7 were admitted to the Northside Baptist Church (seated in a separate section) and 8 attended the Episcopal church. At the First Methodist and First Baptist churches groups of Negroes were turned away.

MISSISSIPPI, 1963:

At the height of the 1962 riots on the University of Mississippi campus, Episcopal priests went out into the face of death as a sort of two-man truth squad, talking to students, relieving them of knives, shovels, bottles, bricks and other more lethal weapons.

June 2--The clerical delegates of the Mississippi Methodist Conference voted 89-85 in a closed session to sever relations with the Rev. Ralph Edwin King, a white Methodist minister who was arrested as a racial demonstrator. He was refused permission, by the bishop, to question the decision or to speak to the assembly.

Clarksdale, Aug. 8--An interdenominational group of ministers from other parts of the country tried without success to call upon the city government, to urge a reconciliation of differences.

Jackson, May 24--Negro and white clergymen held, for the first time, a joint session to discuss the city's racial problem and"to seek peaceable amelioration of the Negro's just complaints." They agreed to devote their sermons the following Sunday, May 26, to this issue.

Jackson, May 29--A group of 12 leading white ministers, including five bishops and representing eight denominations, released a statement urging "communications" between the races. The statement continued, "we have met with responsible civic leaders and with representatives of two ministerial associations... our progress has been exceedingly limited."

Jackson, June 16--Four young Negro women attended St. Andrews Episcopal Church without incident. (This was the day following the funeral of Medgar Evers.) Negroes were refused admission at Central Presbyterian and First Christian churches. The previous Sunday (June 9) Negro visitors were turned away at two Methodist and two Baptist Churches. One of the Methodist churches was Galloway Memorial, and on June 10 the pastor, the Rev. W. B. Selah, resigned. The assistant pastor, the Rev. Jerry Furr (signer of the "Born of Conviction"

MISSIPPI, continued:

statement in January) said he would also resign. Others were the Capital Methodist and Calvary Baptist churches and the First Baptist Church (which said Negroes had attended in the past but were unwelcome now because of racial tension). Five Negroes attended Mass at St. Peters Roman Catholic Church, where Negroes have gone regularly for years. On June 30 three white churches refused to admit Negroes.

June 28--Of the 28 young white Methodist ministers who signed the January 1963 "Born of Conviction" statement proclaiming their belief in "freedom of the pulpit" and opposing racial discrimination in Mississippi, 12 have left the state and seven have moved to other churches within Mississippi under varying degrees of pressure and frustration. Nine still remain in their original churches. Those who left the state did so voluntarily; none was expelled from the Methodist Conference. All were targets for segregationist reaction within their churches and communities; a few suffered violence or threats of violence. Tires were slashed, rocks thrown at parsonages, a cross was burned by the Ku Klux Klan at at least two parsonages. Harassment by telephone was general. One minister's wife was dismissed from her teaching job; another minister lost his part-time teaching position. All, however, have had some loyal support from their congregations.

Tupelo, July--The ruling board of the First Methodist Church voted 40-4 to seat Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA, 1963:

January 30-- The North Carolina Council of Churches, embracing 15 denominations, elected a Negro, Dr. Samuel E. Duncan, as vice president. The council also voted to hire a full-time worker in the area of social concerns and pledged funds to pay his salary. A resolution was adopted commending the governor for his Good Neighbor Council and encouraging "the employment of qualified people without regard to race."

June 17-23, 1962--The annual national conference of the Methodist Student Movement advocated the desegregation of swimming facilities at Lake Junaluska, the Methodist Southeastern jurisdiction summer assembly grounds in North Carolina. The students also voted to set up an interracial seminar in Mississippi or Alabama, at which Negro and white students will have the opportunity to confront the racial issue in the light of Christian ethics, and adopted a statement supporting Methodist participation in union discussions with other churches.

Ahoskie, July 22-28--Negro and white preachers jointly conducted week-long, nightly series of integrated services and meetings.

Charlotte, Summer 1963--An interfaith North Carolina Council on Religion and Race was formed.

Lexington, June--During this month the First Methodist Church admitted Negro worshippers.

Raleigh, May 12--As Negroes demonstrated here for the fifth straight day, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church declined to deliver a sermon because of his "keen disappointment" in his congregation's apathy over Raleigh's racial troubles. Only two or three members of the congregation had heeded Dr. Albert Edwards' request to express themselves to local businessmen on the racial controversy. "If Christian people do not express themselves at a time like this," he said, "then who will?" The church has admitted Negro visitors in the past and ten were present on this Sunday.

NORTH CAROLINA, continued:

The Raleigh Ministerial Association voted 42-1 in favor of desegregating business facilities.

Only one church, Calvary Baptist, barred and locked the church door as ushers turned away 12 Negro college students during the mass attendance by Negroes of local churches. Later, the church voted (80% affirmative) in favor of admitting Negroes and 12 Shaw University students were seated on May 19. The same week, Longview Methodist Church joined the list of churches indicating all persons are welcome. The Rev. Worth B. Cotton, pastor, told the congregation "as Christian Church we cannot turn these people away."

Raleigh, May 15--The First Baptist Church rejected (367-147) the application for membership of Charles Earle, a Shaw University student from Jamaica. The Southern Baptist Convention has loaned Earle $375 to help finance his education. Earle is president of the Student Council and has been a leader of student demonstrations.

Raleigh, May 20--The West Raleigh Presbyterian Church endorsed, and offered "encouragement and cooperation," the resolution of the Raleigh Merchants Bureau calling for lowering of racial barriers in government and business.

Raleigh, June 13--Six Episcopal clergy (4 Negro and 2 white) were turned away when they attempted to eat at downtown S. & W. Cafeteria. The ministers were attending a church conference at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh. The group prayed, read the Bible, and left quietly. The cafeteria desegregated the following week.

Thomasville, July 18--A shot was fired into a Negro church during a rally.

OKLAHOMA, 1963:

Jan. 24--The Oklahoma Diocese of the Episcopal Church approved a resolution requesting all Episcopal schools in the state to announce in all bulletins or promotional material that no students shall be "barred because of race, creed, or color."

Oklahoma City, Aug. 24--The N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council staged the first kneel-in here when 20 pairs of Negro youths attended 20 churches; they were turned away from three.

Summer, 1963--Catholic Bishop Reed of Oklahoma City has inserted a non-discriminatory clause in church construction contracts.

Tulsa, August 2--The National Council of Churches local chapter joined with the N.A.A.C.P. recently to help collect 10,000 signatures to a petition asking city officials to wipe out segregation in all public places with a city ordinance backed by stiff fines. Speedy approval was predicted for the measure, which is also supported strongly by Catholic and Jewish leaders.

SOUTH CAROLINA, 1963:

Charleston, June 27--Catholic hospitals in Charleston and Columbia will accept Negro patients this fall; all services will be available to them, hospital officials said. But Negro doctors will not be permitted to practice in these hospitals.

SOUTH CAROLINA, continued:

Columbia, Oct. 28, 1962--The first break in hotel segregation was accomplished by the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The body rented an entire downtown motor hotel so that its two Liberian missionary bishops, who are African, would be housed with white bishops during the annual meeting. Since restaurants (except for chain-store lunch counters) were still segregated, the two bishops took their meals with other bishops at Trinity Church or at private homes.

March 28--the Rev. Charles Webster, director of Baptist student work at Clemson College, charged that he had been forced out of his church post because of his contacts with Clemston's only Negro student--Harvey B. Gantt.

Farmington, Jan. 13--The Trinity Episcopal Church at Farmington, whose congregation of about 140 families is white, chose as pastor a Negro, the Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, of Detroit and a member of the Michigan Episcopal Diocese staff. The Senior Warden said the Rev. Mr. Pelham was "head and shoulders" above more than a dozen other candidates and the parishioners have accepted him with "widespread enthusiasm."

Florence, Aug. 27--The Rev. L. B. Burgess, pastor of the Mt. Zion AME Church, said some 12 Negro ministers probably will accept the invitation of the all-white Florence Pastors' Conference to join them. A joint meeting is anticipated soon.

Sumter, July 19--This city, which has been without racial demonstrations for two years, witnessed prayer groups at city hall and the courthouse.

TENNESSEE, 1963:

Knoxville, Aug. 4--Three hospitals (Baptist, Presbyterian, and Catholic) announced their simultaneous desegregation during previous week.

Knoxville, May 5--A group of Catholic and Presbyterian ministers sponsored an "Operation Friendship" in Blount and Knox Counties. Participating were 650 persons from 24 churches and synagogues. At the National Conference on Religion a and Race last January, the Interracial Home Visit program was one of the official recommendations. Chicago's Friendship House provides a service of consultation in person or by mail, "how to do it" literature, summer study weekends featuring actual participation in a Visit, and analyses of various aspects of the technique. It has assisted religious and secular groups, interfaith committees, private and civic human relations agencies, and ordinary citizens wanting to help eliminate racial discrimination at the grass roots level.

Southern cities other than Washington, D. C. and Knoxville, Tenn. where Interracial Home Visits have been held in cooperation with Friendship House are: College Park, Md.; Covington and Louisville, Ky.; and several other cities where those conducting the visits are not making them public at present.

TEXAS, 1963:

The Texas Council of Churches completed a Race Relations Progress Study in the Spring of 1962. The church report of the study consisted of 15 mimeographed pages and was one of eight commission reports studied by the conference. It was based on questionnaires completed by 873 churches (out of 4,178 mailed) and replies from 76 interdenominational agencies. The findings were presented to the Study Conference on Race Relations Progress in Texas held at Perkins School of Theology April 24-26.

TEXAS, continued:

The report revealed that chances of belonging to a racially integrated church in Texas are best when the church is: 1) a large church, 2) with a middle-class constituency, 3) composed of those with professional or graduate level training, 4) in a downtown urban location, and 5) is a Presbyterian or an Episcopal church.

One third (two-thirds of those having over 1,200 members) of the churches replying to the questionnaire claimed some degree of desegregation, token in the large majority. The conference workgroup warned that token desegregation, like a successful vaccination, often seems to retard significant integration.

Other areas studied were schools, colleges, public facilities, recreation, employment, hotels-motels-restaurants, and housing. The conference program was of high quality, but small attendance seemed to reinforce the findings of the work groups that the churches are quite willing to let government take the lead in fighting discrimination.

June 5, 1963--The Texas Annual Conference of the Methodist Church heard a report from the board of Christian Social Concerns calling upon all church-related institutions to make their service and facilities available to people of all races, and urged that the Conferences of the Central Jurisdiction (Negro) be included in the organization. The conference approved the report, but a resolution calling for the conference to go on record as favoring desegregation in all Texas Methodist schools did not get a second.

Waco, week of June 17-- At least two churches publicly announced they are open to all.

Amarillo, June 23--Approximately 40 Negroes worshipped in five white churches.

Beaumont, July 15--The Rev. Wm. B. Oliver III, of Dallas, has been appointed pastor of the Graham Congregational Church, effective September 8. He is the first white pastor to take an all-Negro church in the history of the United Church of Christ.

Dallas, July 17--The white congregation of the Cedar Crest Baptist Church has voted to admit Negroes if they appear at services. In the past several months, four Southern Baptist churches in Texas have opened their doors to Negroes, the first in the state to do so. Names of others are so far unknown.

Dallas, Aug. 4-- The city's racially-mixed South Oak Cliff area launched (under sponsorship of five white churches) a neighborhood program to promote community development and interracial cooperation.

Houston, July 2-- A third Negro, Terrance Boone, sought membership in the First Baptist Church Saturday and was referred to a conference of members. The church, of which Dr. Kenneth White, president of the Southern Baptist Association, is pastor, previously rejected membership applications of two Negroes. White said from the pulpit Sunday that the church has adopted a new policy of questioning applicants for membership.

Sherman--Biracial ministerial alliance has helped open communications on employment opportunities this year.

VIRGINIA, 1963:-

Sept. 27, 1962--The five-year-old Hemlock Haven segregation controversy ended as Southwest Virginia Episcopal laymen and clergy voted for a "separation by sex" plan at the youth camp near Marion, Va. The resolution to conduct a

diocese camp passed by voice vote within ten minutes after it was introduced. The special council was called last June by the Right Rev. William H. Marmion, diocesan bishop, to decide the camp question and to take a second look at the proposed 1963 budget of $275,112 (which was not passed at the regular Council meeting last May).

Spring, 1963--The Virginia annual conference of the Methodist Church set the academic year 1964-65 as the "absolute deadline" for integration of its church-related colleges.

Charlottesville, June 3--Thirty-one ministers of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Ministerial Association met Saturday to discuss current racial problems, and 30 agreed to request city council to appoint a biracial committee.

During his Sunday sermon, the Rev. Donald A. Givens, pastor of Jefferson Park Baptist Church, said "the church's sole purpose is to win souls to Christ...each member should remember this regardless of his feelings."

Danville, July 16--Thirteen white ministers again urged Mayor Stinson to enlarge his all-white racial advisory committee "to include citizens of both races." Ministers represented Baptist, Methodist, Disciples of Christ, Lutheran, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Catholic, Jewish and Greek Orthodox churches.

Danville, Aug. 7--The First Christian Church voted to oust its pastor, the Rev. Cecil Robert Taylor (38 and father of three sons) chiefly because he was one of 13 white ministers to urge city council to appoint a biracial committee to solve racial problems during massive demonstrations in May. Shortly before the first demonstrations began, the Rev. Robert L. McCan was voted out of the First Baptist Church because of a sermon in which he encouraged an end to discrimination. This is the second time the Rev. Taylor has lost a church; he was asked to leave Sandersville, Ga., in early 1962. A native of Lynchburg, Mr. Taylor said he hoped he could stay in the South.

Fredericksburg, April--The Methodist Church admitted its first Negro member. There was some criticism of the minister, the Rev. J. William Hough, and a petition was circulated for his removal. Both the governing body of the church and the local ministerial association asked that he be reappointed. On May 26 a second Negro was admitted to membership and "occasioned no comment." Mr. Hough was reappointed June 15.

Martinsville, June 7--Henry County Christian Civic League called on local business leaders to voluntarily desegregate public facilities and employment, and requested City Council appoint an official biracial committee.

Richmond, July 7--The Rev. Robert W. Hare (white), of Raleigh, N.C., became pastor of the (Negro) First Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

May 29--Three Episcopal bishops publicly supported the statement issued by the presiding bishop, the Rt. Rev. Arthur Lichenberger, urging members to support racial equality.

The Rt. Rev. Robt. F. Gibson, bishop of Diocese of Virginia (Richmond) reported there are integrated parishes, the youth conference at Roslyn has been integrated for several years, and the youth conference at Shrinemont in Rockingham County is integrated.

The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion bishop of Southwestern Virginia (Roanoke) said

VIRGINIA, continued:

the diocese has integrated parishes and the youth conference is integrated by race but segregated by sex, beginning this summer (Hemlock Haven near Marion).

The Rt. Rev. George P. Gunn, bishop of Southern Virginia, supported the statement but did not report any integration.

The bishops also noted that St. Stephen's School in Alexandria has accepted a Negro student and a Negro girl is on the waiting list of St. Catherine's School in Richmond. Her application has been approved by the board.

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1963:

October, 1962--Interracial home visits, patterned on those begun in 1955 by Friendship House, a Catholic interracial organization with headquarters in Chicago, began in the Washington, D. C. area. In January the Chicago consultation committee was co-sponsor with Protestant and Jewish groups for a metropolitan-wide mass Interracial Home Visit Day that brought 2,500 white visitors to the homes of 500 middle-class Negro hosts. In March the same interfaith committee arranged a second mass visit day, with a similar number of hosts--this time white--inviting in white neighbors and leading a discussion with Negro guests on equal housing opportunities.

June, 1963--Trustees of the House of Mercy, a home for unwed mothers, operated by the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Washington, D. C., voted to disregard race in future admissions. In its 70 years the home has never admitted a Negro woman, but the diocese had threatened to cut off financial aid if it failed to integrate.

June 14--Clergymen participated in the protest against racial discrimination in a silent march from the White House to the Justice Department.

Aug. 28-- More than 40,000 clergy and church members participated in the national demonstration before the Lincoln Memorial to dramatize the Negro demand for jobs and freedom from discrimination. The demonstration also supported the President's legislative program now before Congress.

* * *

Example of Church Ambivalence: The First Baptist Church of Atlanta, Ga.

(This account of attempts by Negroes to attend an Atlanta church is given in detail because of its extreme example of what can happen in a Southern church.)

April 21--Several Negro ministerial students have attempted to attend services at the First Baptist Church in the past few weeks, both on Sunday morning and at Wednesday night prayer meeting. Prior to this date Negroes had been admitted but were seated in the basement where the overflow crowd from the sanctuary listened to services over a public address system. On April 21 three Negro students were forcibly ejected, while one remained and another voluntarily left. Amos Brown, Morehouse ministerial student who was "dragged" out of the church by an usher, he said, commented that he had listened to the services on television "It would be terrific if he [Dr. McClain, pastor] tried to put into action some of the things he preaches about on Sunday morning." On May 2, 14 Negro and white theological students were turned away from prayer meeting.

May 17--In Detroit, Michigan to deliver chapel messages to the American Baptist Convention, Dr. Roy O. McClain agreed to meet with 30 ministers, most of them

Negroes, who were disturbed by reports that Negroes had not been allowed to worship in his church. Dr. McClain told his critics the First Baptist Church has no policy on integration or segregation. He said he'd had meetings with groups in the church trying to develop a better climate where integration could take place. "As far as I personally am concerned," Dr. McClain said, "I'm for integration." The ministers had asked the program committee to remove McClain from the program, but the committee declined.

June 24--An integrated group of eight students attended evening services despite being asked to leave by one usher. The area was roped off by ushers. On June 30 and July 7, a group of Negro and white students were turned away while Dr. McClain, on television, preached "ignorance is the mother of prejudice," and called prejudice "a cancer" which "will kill you, literally; it will eat your innards out." The group began picketing the church on July 7. They returned for evening services and an elderly white minister from California (already under $500 bond for attempting to enter the church with the group on June 30) was arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct-demented" on complaint of the pastor. He charged in court that he was dragged down the church steps by his heels. During the morning demonstration, radio and television newsmen were asked to leave their cameras outside the church or not come in. One usher came down the steps and placed his hand over the lens of a TV newsman's camera photographing the pickets.

A crowd of men, most dressed in sport shirts or tee shirts and slacks, gathered across Peachtree Street from the church during most of the morning service. Their comments on the situation rose to catcalling and jeers. They were not arrested or removed.

Nathan J. Porter, a young Brazilian-born Baptist minister who is a member of First Baptist, led a brief impromptu worship service with the whites and Negroes who were picketing the church after being refused entrance. Mr. Porter is a member of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board here. He spoke briefly with the group on the power of love and the need for forgiveness. The quiet demonstration seemed to bring more extreme reactions from onlookers and church members than on previous Sundays. A girl of college age walked down the church steps and away in tears after the service. Other members came down the steps, between the rows of pickets, with grim, drawn faces. After almost everyone had left the church grounds, except a few ushers clustered close to the building and the pickets who stood stolidly on either side of the front steps, a beautiful, blonde little girl came to stand at the center of the scene and leaned on a handrail on the steps. The little girl stood and looked quietly for a long time, neither smiling nor frowning, until the pickets dispersed.

Aug.. 25--The white minister who was arrested received the maximum misdemenor sentence: 12 months in prison and six months in public work camp plus $1,000 fine. His case has been appealed. On Sept. 17 he was removed to Grady Hospital because of a hunger strike, for intravenous feeding if necessary.

Atlanta, Georgia
Oct. 17, 1952

Southern Regional Council:

Sorry that the enclosed check has been delayed in reaching you. This makes the third effort of ours to send the check, and each time it was misplaced and never mailed. We trust however, that it will serve in a beneficial way..

Respectfully,

Friendship Baptist Church
By C. C. Shanks
Seig Finance Com.

$20.00
K.S.

card sent
10/20/52
K.S.

C.C.Shanks
Yates & Milton Stores
228 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

South
Wesley
Auburn
Atl

February 13, 1952

The Rev. Maynard H. Jackson
Friendship Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Attached is the Council's formal acknowledgement of the check for twenty dollars - membership for your church. Will you please convey to the officials and members of the congregation our appreciation for this contribution.

We are sending New South addressed to the church and to your attention, for the coming year. If you would like any other of our publications, we shall be happy to send them to you. A list is enclosed for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

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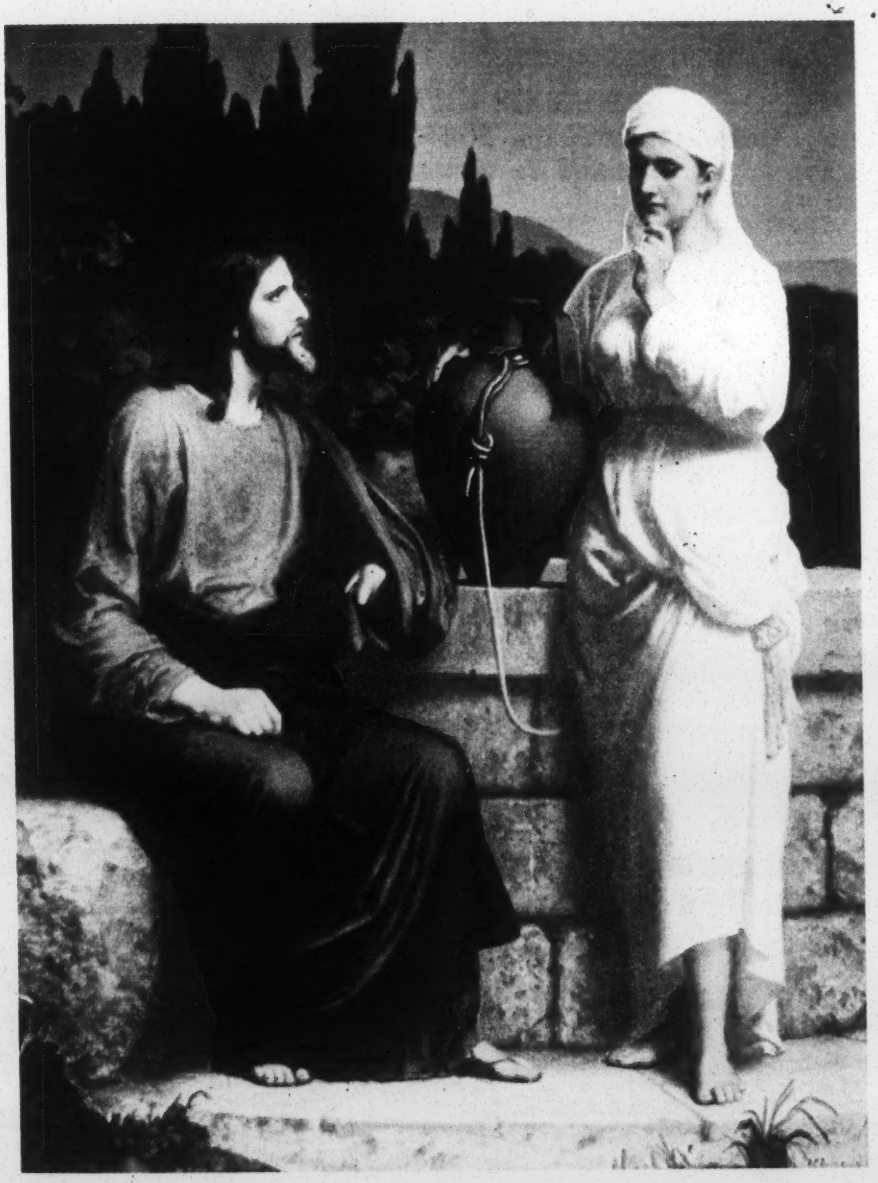
encl.



I That Speak unto Thee Am He

FRIENDSHIP BAPTIST CHURCH
Morning Worship, Sunday February 10, 1952
Maynard H. Jackson, Minister

***

Thank for 20 Institutional membership

Prelude		
Processional	"Holy, Holy, Holy"	209
Invocation		
Chant		
Hymn	"O Worship The King"	1
Scripture	Psalm 91 (page 564)	
Hymn	"He Leadeth Me"	428
Announcements		
Music		
Inspirational Reading		
Organ Interlude		
Hymn of Meditation	"O Love That Wilt Not Let Me Go" (Back of Bulletin)	
Message	"Brotherhood Today" Dr. George S. Mitchell	
The Open Door	"O Jesus, Thou Art Standing"	240
Doxology		
Benediction		

***

437 Mitchell Sr

Dr. George S. Mitchell, this morning's speaker, is director of the Southern Regional Council and is making a signal contribution to interracial and inter-class understanding throughout the country, especially in the South.

***

You will find the mid-week meetings to be held each Wednesday evening profitable and inspiring. The study group beginning at 7:00 with a devotional period, is open to all members as well as Church School workers. You're urged to attend. The Prayer Service, led by the deacons, will begin promptly at 8:00 o'clock.

***

Members of the Young People's Round Table plan to make a fellowship visit to the Baptist Student Center on Ponce de Leon Avenue next Sunday evening. Several cars will be needed and members who can help the young people make this trip are asked to indicate this to the Pastor or to Mr. Ivory Lyone, Chairman. The group will leave Friendship at 8:00 o'clock and return after a brief visit at the Center. Please help the young people in this venture.

***

You are urged to use your City Libraries. Improved facilities have not met with sufficient increase of reading. Your Librarians invite you to visit the various Branches and make full use of the things they offer.

***

The Young People's Round Table will meet this evening at 6:00. All young people of the Church are urged to join this group and invite others to come with you. Here's a great opportunity for the enlistment of young Christians and seekers-after-Christ in the work of the Church.

***

Familes of the Church are asked to register for participation in the Family Concert. Please talk to Mrs. M. H. Jackson about this project.

***

The Walter Landrum Deaconess Circle will meet Sunday afternoon, February 10 at the home of Sis. Willie Turner, 98 Electric Avenue, N. W. at 4:00 o'clock.

***

The Leila Perry Missionary Circle will meet Tuesday February 12 at the home of Sis. Ola Cook, 73 Vine Street, N. W. at 6:30 o'clock.

***

The Ellen Baker Missionary Circle will meet at the home of Sis. Ethel Reddick, 104 Griffin Street, N. W. February 13th at 6:00 o'clock.

***

O LOVE THAT WILT NOT LET ME GO

O Love that wilt not let me go,
I rest my weary soul in thee;
I give thee back the life I owe,
That in thine ocean depths its flow
May richer, fuller be.

O Light that followest all my way,
I yield my flickering torch to thee;
My heart restores its borrowed ray,
That in thy sunshine's blaze its day
May brighter, fairer be.

O Joy that seekest me through pain,
I cannot close my heart to thee;
I trace the rainbow through the rain,
And feel the promise is not vain
That morn shall tearless be.

O Cross that liftest up my head,
I dare not ask to fly from thee;
I lay in dust life's glory dead,
And from the ground there blossoms red
Life that shall endless be.

Amen.

***

The All-Citizens Committee on Registration is working to get all qualified Negro citizens to register.

***

A.P.H. No. 5232. Litho in U.S.A.

Sent to Chapel Hill address

December 10, 1959

Mr. J. C. Herrin
American Baptist Home Mission Societies
164 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Herrin:

To my embarrassment, somehow your letter of October 23 got lost in the shuffle before it was answered. I hope you will accept my apologies for this belated reply.

I have heard of you and your important new duties from Will Campbell and others. Certainly you can count on the Southern Regional Council for such cooperation and assistance as we can give you. As a beginning, we are putting you on our mailing list. You will be receiving, among other things, notices of the Southern Interagency Conference meetings which are held - usually in Atlanta - about four times a year. I hope that you will find it possible to join us in these meetings, and meanwhile that you will call on us for any information or advice we might supply.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

American Baptist Home Mission Societies

164 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

WILLIAM H. RHOADES, *Executive Secretary*

DOROTHY O. BUCKLIN, *Associate Executive Secretary*
PAUL O. MADSEN, *Associate Executive Secretary*

EDWARD D. RAPP, *Executive Assistant*

J. C. HERRIN, Program Associate
Southern Area Consultant

SOUTHERN OFFICE
227 East Franklin Street
Telephone 9-079

POST OFFICE BOX 188
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

October 23, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The American Baptist Convention has opened an office in Chapel Hill to do some research on what role they might play in strengthening and safeguarding equality of opportunity for all people, with particular interest in Negro higher education. There is a further concern to encourage and aid those seeking to realize an inclusive and ecumenical fellowship within the Church.

If you come across any materials in your work that would be helpful, and if you publish any studies, would you be so kind as to share them with us. In return, we offer the facilities of our office for any ways that would serve you and your organization.

Our warmest thanks and sincere good wishes.

Cordially yours,

J. C. Herrin

J. C. Herrin

October 13, 1953

Rev J H Jackson, Pastor
The Olivet Baptist Church
Thirty-first Street and South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr Jackson:

My thanks for your letter of October seven. I will be glad to write you about December first to see if you want to get some copies of the Questions and Answers - The Schools and the Courts to distribute at the January meeting at Hot Springs.

Meanwhile, would it be feasible for you to send a copy out to an appropriate person in each of your State Associations, with a letter suggesting that the Association buy a hundred or two at least and send them out to selected ministers or laymen? The precious weeks for getting the people of the South educated on this question are these particular weeks before the Court decides. If people learn the issue now they won't be easily confused by politicians when the Court speaks. Few could have more influence in getting the South to understand and accept the changes to come than the National Baptist Convention. I bespeak your earnest consideration of active steps that the Church could take.

Incidentally, here is still another pamphlet giving a check list for local people to use in finding out how wide is the difference between white and Negro schools. It is a useful follow-up on the first one that most needs pushing.

The first one is going well and is being used extensively by a wide variety of organizations throughout the South. Our largest order has come from the Georgia State Teachers and Education Assocation which has bought and mailed out eleven hundred.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure

ORGANIZED IN 1850
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CHAIRMAN OF DEACON BOARD

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MRS. HILDA N. BUTLER
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The Olivet Baptist Church

THIRTY-FIRST STREET AND SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
CHURCH PHONE: VICTORY 2-1081

Motto: "To the Glory of God; for the Weal of Man,"

J. H. Jackson, A. M., D. B., D. D., Pastor
3101 SOUTH PARKWAY

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MRS. HELEN DEBATO, PIANIST

FELLOWSHIP CHORUS
MRS. ETHEL COOPER,
PIANIST-DIRECTOR

October 7, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 8
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your letter of a few days ago.

I shall be very happy to cooperate with you in any way that I can, in the great work that you are doing. I do believe it might be of some advantage, to have copies of the little pamphlet at our January meeting in Hot Springs. We do not have a meeting on a national scale before that time.

Thanking you for your communication.

Yours truly,

J. H. Jackson

J. H. Jackson

JHJ:hnb

February 25, 1966

Mr. J. C. Herrin
Assistant General Secretary
American Baptist Convention
P. O. Box 188
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear J. C.:

We, too, are sorry you were unable to get to the Inter-Agency meeting.

Thanks for your good comment on the Report. Your school project makes exciting reading. Please keep us informed of the progress of it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

American Baptist Convention

Office of the General Secretary

Edwin H. Tuller, *General Secretary*

J. C. Herrin, *Assistant General Secretary for Work in the South*

P. O. Box 188
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514
Telephone (Area Code 919)
942-2804

Rec'd 2/21/66

19 February 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I regret that heavy snows and still heavier schedules have interfered with my real concerns. My car plowed eight miles through twelve-inch snow testing whether we could get to the last Inter-Agency meeting. We couldn't.

Your new format Report just came and is really first-rate. I deeply appreciate the work that surely went into such an interpretation, making it all the more appreciated. Also, the guide-lines you lay down afford one much hope for the future under your able guidance.

I am enclosing copy of the school project now underway. My hope is that Vernon can get in touch with our new Director, Godby, offices in Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, to discuss with him the possibility of introducing our students in this project to Democratic processes, involving them in voter education as part of their educational program. If he can find an occasion for sounding out the possibilities, I can follow up administratively. We obviously cannot take any large hunk of their time, but any balanced education for these youngsters must include awareness and responsibility on the matter of obtaining and exercising power.

Thank you for the Report, and all good wishes.

Cordially,

J. C. Herrin

JCH:me

File
Rel. Orgs
Amer. Baptist Convention

June 27, 1967

The Reverend J. Martin England
P. O. Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603

Dear Martin:

Forgive me for not having responded to your inquiry earlier. However, Ed Stanfield was away from the office all of last week and I wanted his ideas before doing so.

Enclosed is a list of those who come to us at the moment. If agreeable with you, and if such suggestions work out, I would hope we could periodically send you other names as we think of them or as other ministers come into this work.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

THE MINISTERS AND MISSIONARIES BENEFIT BOARD
of the
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
Post Office Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603
803-239-6896

June 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Dr. Carlyle Marney would like to invite to seminars, as part of his Interpreter's House program at Lake Junaluska, ministers who are not at present in the usual or traditional forms of the ministry.

Can you help us with names and addresses of ministers now working outside the institutional church? I enclose stamped, addressed envelope for your reply.

Cordially,

Martin

J. Martin England
Associate Director
Southern Regional Office

Rev. B. D. Cheney, Jr.
Regional Director
Joint Action in Community Service
136 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rev. Francis K. Walter, Director
Selma Inter-Religious Project
810 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Rev. Al Henry
Associate Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rev. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
5225 Ponce de Leon
Coral Gables, Florida 33124

Rev. John P. Murray
Executive Director
Houston Council on Human Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas 77004

Rev. Baxton Bryant
Executive Director
1207 18th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
30 Hamilton Avenue
Atlantic Beach, New York

Rev. Heslip Lee
Vice-President for Development
Shaw University
Raleigh, North Carolina

Rev. Will Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1207 18th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Rev. Cornelius Tarplee
Community Relations Service
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Rev. David B. Nickerson
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rev. Andrew Young
Executive Director
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rev. William G. Pollard, Executive Director
Oak Ridge Associated Universities
P. O. Box 117
Oak Ridge, Tennessee 37830

Rev. Charles R. Kelly
Houston-Harris Co. E. O. Organization
2002 Dallas Street
Houston, Texas 77003

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rev. B. D. Cheney, Jr.
Regional Director
Joint Action in Community Service
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Houston-Harris Co. E.O. Organization
2002 Dallas St.
Houston, Texas 77003

file

THE MINISTERS AND MISSIONARIES BENEFIT BOARD

of the

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
Post Office Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603
803-239-6896

March 25, 1968

file "Pols or S. Baptists"

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

not included

I am glad to send you a copy of the 1967 Annual Report of our Board.

In his report to the Board, Dr. Dean R. Wright deals with two questions which institutional investors are being asked about "socially desirable" investments. I think you may be interested in Dr. Wright's treatment of these questions, on page 8 of the Report.

I would be interested in your comment.

Cordially,

Martin

Martin England

RECEIVED MAY 7 1956

"Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

Dedicated to the task of helping Texas Baptists to carry into every area of life the whole gospel of Christ.

The CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION
of the BAPTIST GENERAL CONVENTION OF TEXAS

FOY VALENTINE, Director

307 BAPTIST BUILDING, DALLAS 1, TEXAS

May 3, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Yesterday at the L. K. Williams Ministers' Institute at Bishop College in Marshall, Texas, I read the enclosed paper entitled, "The Court, The Church, and The Community." Dr. J. M. Ellison of Virginia Union was present and was insistent in our discussion following my presentation of the paper that I send it to you for you to look over. He felt that he would like to see it printed, but I realize there are a good many things of this nature which have been written recently and put into print, so I am not at all ambitious about it. If, however, we can work out some way that seems wise to use it, I will be glad for us to do so since I believe that every constructive thing we can do in this area ought to be done right now.

I am grateful that your own work is going well, and I hope that I may have the opportunity of seeing you before long.

Sincerely yours,

Foy Valentine

Foy Valentine
FV:mh
Encl.

From A Missionary's Point of View

by Ross Coggins
Indonesian Baptist Mission
Surabaja, Indonesia

Would God that friends of segregation
    For awhile could leave our nation,
Come with me across the seas,
    Work by my side with Javanese;
Or, if not here, some other clime
    Where Christ is preached -- Oh, just one time!

But, lacking means of transmigration
    And knowing well the limitation
Of mere words upon a page
    These lines are framed: the world will gauge
The light we lift by darkness driven
    From countries whence this faith is given.

In times of swift communication,
    Nation cannot hide from nation
What it does. Within brief hours
    Headlines shout how hatred's powers
Close love's doors with jarring thud
    Because of race, because of blood.

A helpless, dark-skinned boy is slain,
    His slayers freed to slay again;
No mark of Cain upon their brow,
    They strut in triumph and avow,
"If a nigger is my brother,
    Let his keeper be another."

Is there no love that will transcend
    Man's petty strife and condescend
To men of other creed and hue?
    Forgive! They know not what they do!
Is it too much, we humbly ask --
    Unchain our hands to do our task.

The Court, the Church, and the Community
by Foy Valentine

Introduction

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States wrote an end to an era in American education. For that matter it may have sounded the death knell of the American caste system which has flatly contravened the basic ethical concepts of our Judaeo-Christian tradition.

It is imperative that we bear in mind that this decision has not solved our American race problem. As much as all of us might wish that the race problem could be exorcised by a legislative fiat, we are generally aware that this is impossible, that race prejudice is an infantile condition out of which men must grow, and that there are simply no easy solutions to hard problems.

Racism with which this Supreme Court decision deals is not, as Frank P. Graham says in his excellent article, "The Need for Wisdom," published in the Spring, 1955 issue of the Virginia Quarterly Review, the original creation or the continuing monopoly of the Southern people. It is very decidedly a world issue in which all the peoples of the earth are deeply involved.

The Supreme Court's ruling affects all the people of this nation. Neither individual Christians nor the church of Jesus Christ can afford to remain aloof from the problems which it creates or to ignore the issues which are involved. Christ himself has ordained his disciples to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world and this is an hour when both salt and light are drastically needed.

I. The Sources of Our Race Problem

The race problem in America today has many sources. It is important that these sources be considered at the beginning of this discussion.

It is fairly obvious that if it had not been for the pernicious institution of slavery upon which much of American civilization was built, the race problem would not be what it is in America today. It was slavery which originally introduced the Negro to America.

Even after slavery was abolished, there grew out of it a Southern credo which must be listed as one of the prime sources of our race problem. Howard C. Odem in Race and Rumors of Race says that at the heart of the Southern credo is the theme, "the Negro is a Negro and nothing more." Most Americans still do not regard the Negro as the same sort of human being as we ourselves are.

Another source of our race problem is our persistent isolationism--our intolerably naive provincialism. Frank P. Graham has a very excellent discussion at this point:

> In primitive, ancient, and later times what was different between groups of people was alien and what was alien was considered dangerous. To the Greeks the world was made up of Greeks and barbarians; to the Israelites, of Jews and Gentiles. Aristotle, the Greek, rated low the intelligence of the people of the north of Greece. Cicero, the Roman, later considered the Greeks to be given to much talk and more ineptness, held that Syrians were fit only to be slaves, that Britons were "incapable of learning, too stupid to be slaves, and unfit to be a part of the household of Athens," and called the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula wild and barbaric people. A thousand years later a resident of the Iberian peninsula, Said, an Islamic scholar of Toledo University, said that the races north of the Pyrenees were "of cold temperament never reached maturity, were tall and white of color, but lacked keeness of intellect." In the late eighteenth century the Emperor of China scorned receiving an

> Ambassador from the British King and made it clear that such a presumptous suggestion came from "outside barbarians," who had nothing to contribute to the superior Chinese civilization, and could not be considered by the Emperor of the favored people of the "Celestial Kingdom." In the mid-twentieth century other peoples, as a part of the pride of national, imperial, and totalitarian dominion, assert precedence in the originality of scientific inventions and the superiority of their political economy and way of life.

If we have come very far from the mind-set of Aristotle, Cicero, Said, the Emperor of China, and Krushchev, it is not evidenced by the popularity of the junior senator from Wisconsin or by the attendance at the klavernous meetings of the Southern Citizens Councils.

Another source of our race problem is the continuing doctrine of white supremacy. Alvin Walcott Rose, in an article entitled, "The Impending Crisis of Desegregation" appearing in Christianity and Society, Volume 19, number 4, page 23, says, "what Hitler, with his assertion of a German master race has done, is to reveal, in all its stark ruthlessness and self-centered, almost paranoid, distortion, what Western European culture has accepted as a major premise." While America has participated in two awful wars precipitated at least in part by the doctrine of a superior race, we ourselves have not been willing completely to abandon the doctrine of white supremacy. It keeps rearing its ugly head.

Still another source of our race problem is the misinterpretation of the Scriptures. There are many well-meaning people who still seek to justify their race prejudices by what they vaguely refer to as "Bible teaching." Many have supposed, and some have taught, that God placed a curse on the descendants of Ham, turning them black and ordaining that ever after they should be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." That this is not the case can be readily determined by anybody who owns a Bible or has access to one. Even a casual reading

of the passage, Genesis 9:18-27, reveals that (1) God placed a curse on no one; (2) Noah did the cursing after having awakened from a drunken stupor (the first man of distinction); (3) there is no indication of God's having approved Noah's act or of His having implemented it in any way; and (4) no reference is made to anybody's having been turned any color different from what he already was. Furthermore, the reference to "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in Joshua 9 is Joshua's pronouncement upon the Gibeonites, the inhabitants of a city of Canaan who had deceived Israel into making peace with them. The Gibeonites would have to be classified racially as Caucasians, like the Jews. So it can be readily seen that this often quoted passage does not provide a Biblical basis for race prejudice. It is equally improper to seek biblical authority for race prejudice in Genesis 11:1-9, which records the incident of God's confounding the builders of the tower of Babel. That God confused those mortals who sought to make a great name for themselves by building a tower reaching to heaven is quite clear. Not one word is said, however, about race. Verse nine simply closes: "...and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth." In spite of these obvious conclusions there persists a widespread misinterpretation of the Scriptures at this point.

Perhaps the economic conditions of the South where most of the Negroes live should be listed as one of the sources of our race problem. While this section of the Nation is now being called the Nation's number one economic opportunity, there is a sense in which it remains the Nation's number one economic problem. The extreme poverty of the South, particularly since the close of the

Civil War, has no doubt intensified the race problem.

The marked physical differences existing between whites and Negroes must also be listed as one of the sources of our race problem. If it were not for the obvious distinctions which exist between whites and Negroes, the whole race problem would hardly have assumed its current proportions.

The last source of the race problem which I shall list is segregation itself. For many years Negro and white people have been growing steadily apart. As Harry S. Ashmore suggests in his book, The Negro and the Schools, Negroes and whites have had less real communication in the last twenty-five years than ever before in the Nation's history. A Baptist deacon in East Texas illustrated this point quite well when he declared recently that there would be no race problem if the politicians and radicals did not keep up their endless agitation. His own contact with responsible Negro leaders in his community is so poor that he honestly feels the Negro is fully satisfied with whatever the white folks may decide is best for him. This lack of communication between the races has greatly intensified the race problem.

II. The Background for the Ruling

Now that the sources of our American race problem have been briefly considered it becomes necessary to examine the background for the Supreme Court's ruling on May 17, 1954. The decision was not, as many believed, Armageddon. It was but another milestone in the long, long road the Negro has travelled since he came to this country from Africa in chains.

This ruling cannot be understood apart from the rapid development--social, spiritual, moral, and economic--of the Negro people. This phenomenal development has hardly come as a surprise to Christians who are familiar with the transforming power of Christ. It should not have come as a surprise to any American who holds to the transforming dynamic of the democratic ideals upon which this republic was founded.

Another important background factor is the growing importance of public education in this nation's life. Whereas public education was so insignificant as to be practically unknown in the South seventy-five years ago, in 1954 the Supreme Court declared that public education "is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments." There are, in today's public schools, twenty-five million pupils and 900,000 teachers--big even for Texas, Baptists, or General Motors!

In the face of this development the separate but unequal educational facilities provided for Negro school children was inevitably called into question and just as inevitably came under fire. Even though a rather valiant effort has been made in recent years to improve the vastly inferior Negro school plants and curricula--an effort inspired at least in part by the white school board's fear of integration--the Negro educational system has remained except in isolated instances definitely unequal. In 1951-1952 the thirteen Southern states spent $115 per Negro pupil as over against $165 per white pupil. The number of books available per Negro pupil was less than half the number available per white pupil. The percentage of whites eating in federally-aided

school lunchrooms was almost twice as great as for Negroes and the expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance showed that some $8.00 more per year was spent to feed the whites.

The findings of scientific and social research also made their contribution in preparing the way for this momentous decision. Scientists have been practically unanimous in holding that the racial differences between humans so long magnified as being basic and deep-rooted are actually superficial. Their declaration that there is really only one race, the human race, has helped to prepare the minds of the people and the general cultural climate for the Supreme Court's ruling.

Then America has assumed, particularly in the last three or four decades, a place of leadership in world affairs which has made a rethinking of our domestic policies in the field of race relations imperative. When four-fifths of the world's people are colored and when this nation seeks to maintain its global prestige and leadership in the face of a challenging ideology which militantly promises those colored people no pie in the sky by and by but an equality of opportunity which America has not granted to her own colored citizens, thoughtful Americans could not help but prepare their own minds for the kind of action which the Supreme Court took on May 17, 1954. Many discerned, as Gunnar Myrdal put it, that here was an American dilemma from which this nation would have to discover a way of escape or ultimately perish. Even the politicians grasped enough of the issues at stake to help prepare America's thinking for the Court's decision.

Still another background factor, the importance of which some have overlooked, is the increasing spiritual power of more real religion. Considerably more of the Bible's obvious message concerning the equal value of every man had been absorbed by Bible readers in the Bible belt than the race baiters had hoped for.

Then there were numerous other contributing factors which helped to prepare the way for the Supreme Court's ruling. The organized labor movement for many years has fought a valiant battle against race prejudice. Professional sports contributed their bit to the acceptance of Negroes as human beings. World War II had a broadening and leveling influence among the Americans, black and white, who were brought together by it. The integration of the seminaries of the Southern Baptist Convention and of Wayland College must likewise be considered. Then President Truman's Civil Rights Committee had as long ago as 1947 boldly recommended

> ...the elimination of segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life. The separate but equal doctrine has failed in three important respects. First, it is inconsistent with the fundamental equalitarianism of the American way of life in that it marks groups with the brand of inferior status. Secondly, where it has been followed, the results have been separate and unequal facilities for minority peoples. Finally, it has kept people apart despite incontrovertible evidence that an environment favorable to civil rights is fostered whenever groups are permitted to live and work together. There is no adequate defense of segregation.

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution summed up these background factors in another way:

> As a matter of fact, segregation has been on its way out for a good long time and has been breaking down at the edges for more than a generation....Two great forces have been at work on segregation and the problem of race. One is secular, the other religious. The Christian of today cannot help but wince at the full implications, and the jarring clash of his creed, with discrimination against any person because of color.... Christianity cannot well afford to be on the wrong side of a moral force, as it was in some areas when it defended slavery.
>
> The other influence is secular. Segregation implies inferiority. There are those who argue that it does not. But those segregated believe it does.... Across two great wars now we, along with other free peoples, have preached the rights of men everywhere to be free and equal- we have encouraged long-oppressed peoples to rise....

These social changes which constitute the background for the ruling have been taking place over a long period of time. A new factor, however, which has appeared since World War II, is the marked acceleration of this rate of change.

III <u>The Ruling Itself</u>

The Supreme Court's historic decision of May 17, 1954, is a fascinating document. Its key section should be familiar to every American.

> In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.
>
> We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.
>
> In Sweatt V. Painter, supra, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for

> greatness in a law school." In McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, supra, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations:"...his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:
>
> > "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."
>
> Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in Plessy v. Ferguson contrary to this finding is rejected.
>
> We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

At the time this verdict was rendered no attempt was made to implement it. The Court had full cognizance of the gravity of the issue and left for a later time the ruling which would point the way for compliance with the law of the land.

On May 31, 1955, more than a year after its first decision, the Supreme Court ruled that a "prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" would have to be made. Again recognizing with wisdom and insight the necessity of a period of adjustment the Court allowed for such "additional time" as would be required in the public interest but with the insistent provision that such time be "consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date." The Court emphasized its earlier ruling by saying, "...It should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them."

IV. Problems Relating to the Court's Ruling

The problems relating to the Court's ruling are legion and Christians in every community ought to concern themselves imaginatively with them.

In the minds of many whites there is a nameless dread which though it may be illogical and unfounded is none the less real. Correspondingly there is a shrinking from the unknown on the part of many Negroes who, having lived and moved and had their being in fear in the past, are fear-full as they contemplate the future. Then the spectre of miscegenation keeps injecting itself into nearly every discussion of this matter. Though often crushed to earth it rises again with the help of race baiters who talk ominously of mongrelization.

In the schools themselves problems are beginning to develop. Some Negro teachers have already lost their jobs and many others stand to do so. Under almost any system of integration that is

adopted the general level of teaching is likely to be lowered at least temporarily. Crowding which is already bad may make the classroom situation even worse under integration.

The problems of the community are also serious. There appears to be a new polarization of sectional and racial antagonisms now taking place. The rapport which was in the process of being established between some Negroes and some whites in the community is now either broken or seriously impaired. As Ashmore has said, "Integration in a meaningful sense cannot be achieved by the mere physical presence of children of two races in a single classroom. No public school is isolated from the community that supports it..." (page 185) Owen J. Roberts, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, also dealt with the Community problem when he said that the ultimate solution of the problem of integration in the public schools "rests with the men and women who make and execute public school policy in thousands of local school districts, and their actions will be conditioned by the degree of understanding of the general public which supports their efforts with its tax dollars." (Ibid., pp. VII, VIII)

Of all the problems relating to the Court's ruling, however, none is more serious than that faced by Christians. They are being maneuvered as by a coldly calculating Evil Force, into a morally indefensible position. The American system of public education is now in the process of becoming integrated. If the nation's numerous church-related colleges and if the churches themselves slovenly continue to lag behind Caesar in rendering

unto God the things that are God's we shall do ourselves irreparable harm.

Christians have many reasons for applying themselves redemptively to this knotty social enigma. We should do so because of the unmistakeably clear Christian concept that God has made of one all nations of men and that Jesus came to break down the middle wall of partition between men. We should do so because our program of missions is at stake. We should do so because the Court's ruling has clarified the law of the land and Christians should obey the law. We should do so because the nation of which we are citizens has a great deal at stake in world affairs the outcome of which will depend partly upon a Christian solution of the problems brought into focus by the Court's ruling. An editorial in Christianity and Crisis gets at the heart of these problems faced by Christians:

> Like every society of human beings the Church is rooted in the culture, and at the more elemental levels of feeling and action the secular pattern overlies and all but stifles spiritual intention. Pronouncements by church bodies on economic and political questions often have sharp repercussions, but when the basic pattern of group relationships is challenged a deep and ominous rumbling of dissent is heard....
>
> The Church is forever in danger of shunning absolute judgments that are clearly dictated by Christian principle for fear of putting too great a strain on its "fellowship." It is under that kind of treatment that the fellowship evaporates. Unity in diversity is a valid ideal but one that is always in danger of corruption. The moral judgment now crystallizing about race segregation is akin to that which condemned slavery. It will not be abolished even in the Church at one stroke, but the important thing is that no congregation and no denomination should ever have a clear conscience while conforming to the pattern. If they can do so then the Christianity to which they subscribe is not that of the New Testament. Just as the relationship between a Hitlerized church and a free church was wholly artificial,

> so the kinship between people who believe that race segregation at the altar of God does no violence to the Gospel and those who affirm the contrary is strained and unauthentic.... There could be no unity in such fundamental diversity. It is difficult to see the race issue in any different light. -- Editorial, April 1, 1946

V. A Positive Program for Christian Action

Up to this point I have sought to point out, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, where we are and whither we are tending that we may better know what to do and how to do it. In the remaining time I want us to consider a program for Christian action that the Court's decision may be a stepping stone for God's people as they make great, new strides of progress for him.

Every Christian in the land should apply to race relations in general and to the problem of integration in the public schools in particular the advise of Dr. J. B. Weatherspoon: "Don't let your position be misunderstood and be sure your position is Christian." If, as Lillian Smith suggests in her book, Now Is The Time, silence is the Southern citizen's gift to the demagogues, it is also clear that silence is the Southern Christian's gift to the devil himself. Christians cannot afford to be silent on a subject about which the Lord has so much to say and Baptists, with a continual emphasis on the New Testament as our sole guide for faith and practice, cannot afford by silence and default to continue to emerge on the wrong side of this moral issue.

Every Christian, by virtue of his relationship to the Christ who proclaimed himself "the truth" declaring that his own should know the truth and be set free by it, ought to be informed both on race relations and on integration in the public schools.

The most thorough work ever done on the American race problem is Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma, published by Harper & Brothers available for $6.00. The best book yet to appear on the subject of integration in the public schools is Harry S. Ashmore's The Negro and the Schools published this year by the University of North Carolina Press for $2.75. The best article on the latter subject which has thus far been published is Frank P. Graham's "The Need for Both Wisdom and Good Faith" which may be had without charge from the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Route 1, Black Mountain, North Carolina. Information can also be gained by actual contact with informed Negro leaders in your community. A visit with the Negro school principal or regular fellowship with the Negro pastor near you would pay big informational, as well as other, dividends.

There are many ways in which a Christian can make his influence felt in the area of race relations. Recognizing the Citizens Councils as the revived Ku Klux Klans (a thorn by any other name would be as sharp) that they are, the Christian can throw the weight of his influence and testimony against them and their goal of a maintained white supremacy. The Baptist student preachers who have led the opening prayers (they are not willing to pray by the time they get to the end of the meetings) for the meetings of the Citizens Councils are young men who need wise but courageous Christian counseling. The members of the Citizens Councils likewise need an uncompromised Christian witness to establish a tension between them and the Christian ideal.

The Christian can write. A letter from a girl in Austin to the editor of the Baptist Standard published in this week's issue and sent out to more than 300,000 subscribers can not help but accomplish good. A thoughtful, tension-creating, Christian letter from a woman in Lockney, Texas published in the December Baylor Line can not return void. P. W. Chunn's letter written from the viewpoint of a Christian parent rather than the Baptist pastor, to the San Marcos school board bore its fruit. A letter to stores, hospitals, and colleges to show that you as a Christian do not feel that racial discrimination is necessary is in order.

There is a Christian in Texas I know who, in his frequent travels, makes it a point to find out whether or not the tourist court or the hotel where he wants to spend the night will accept Negroes. He points out to the proprietor that he is not seeking to antagonize but that his Christian convictions will not allow him to take for himself by virtue of the absence of pigment in his skin what would be denied to another human being solely because of the presence of that pigment. This Christian (they called them crack-pots in New Testament days) also pursues this course with regard to eating places. He has sometimes eaten cheese and crackers bought from a corner grocery store but his testimony is that the food eaten under such circumstances seemed to have with it meat which the world knew not of.

It seems unnecessary to multiply examples of what Christians can do. Those who are willing God will lead. Those who are not willing God cannot push.

Both on the international and the national scenes the relation

of white to colored people has become the dominant politico-ethical issue of our day. For any Christian to seek the transparent covering of neutrality for himself in this matter is for him to trample underfoot the message of Christ without which ours is a lost and hopeless society.

The Christian has the choice of being hated by the ignorant if he speaks out or of being despised by the wise if he is silent. He has the choice of being hounded by hell if he assumes the redemptive role of the Christian or of becoming alienated from heaven if he neglects the weightier matters of the law.

The witness of the Christian in the community in these trying times is not easy but it is tremendously worthwhile.

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

November 12, 1956

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In reference to your letter of November 2, I enclose my expense account for my travel to and from Atlanta to attend the recent meeting there with you. I am being as conservative as I can in the statement of my expenses and would not send it at all if it were not for the fact that we, too, are always so short on money with which to do our work. Thank you for giving me the privilege of being with you and meeting the very fine women from the various states.

I do not at this time have even the briefest of notes on my messages at this meeting. I know I should write these messages out and must, but when I can get to it I simply do not know. Personally, I doubt if the messages were written out in manuscript that they would be as effective as they seemed to be when they were spoken. It is a difficult task to transfer messages that are spoken under the inspiration of a gathering of people to a manuscript. I can only promise you that I will try to do this and get it to you as early as I can.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

ACM/jn
Enclosure

May 30, 1957

Dr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

We were delighted to learn that you have consented to serve as chairman to the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. I don't have to tell you that all of us here feel that there could have been no better choice and are confident that under your leadership the Tennessee Council will make an important contribution to the progress of the State.

We have heard from Mrs. Todd and have advised her of the financial aid which the Tennessee Council can count on. I am enclosing a copy of my letter to her setting forth the details.

The Inter-agency meeting which ended yesterday was very well attended. You were much missed and our thoughts were with you as you undertook your important duties at the Southern Baptist Convention. I hope every success attend your efforts there. We will, of course, be sending you a summary account of what occurred at the meeting of agencies here.

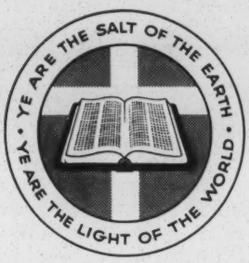
With appreciation and warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. - 1

RECEIVED MAY 22 1957



The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

May 21, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I had an orientation meeting with a group of very select people interested in the work of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. I have consented to serve as Chairman of this group because of my great interest in the questions involved and because they need someone to head the organization during this time until others whom I think are more qualified are ready to take over this leadership.

Mrs. Todd will write you definitely about bringing us up to date on the financial situation. We set Saturday, June 8, for a meeting of our state council to be held at Nashville from approximately 10:00 A. M. to 3:00 P. M. We are anxious to have Fred Routh with us for this meeting, since we understand that this organizational phase is under his direction. I will personally thank you for any literature you have on hand setting forth the method of work and the organization of the SRC and of the state units in their relation to it.

I regret it will be impossible for me to attend the meeting on May 28. I will be in Chicago in attendance upon our Southern Baptist Convention.

It is a pleasure to work with you in any way I can. Best of wishes.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

ACM/jn

RECEIVED JUN 11 1957

YE ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH · YE ARE THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD ·

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 7, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Thank you for your letter of May 30. We are making plans for our meeting here on June 18 with the Tennessee Council. I understand that Fred is to be with us. We are very happy about that. It looks like we have settled down to a long, hard pull in this matter of racial understanding and co-operation. Since we have not done very much of the educational work necessary for the solution of our problem, in our relationships with the Negro people, it will be necessary for us to make a good start of it now.

At any rate, we will continue to do our best. Come by to see us when you can.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

ACM/bl

Christian Life Commission

Light

Bulletin of THE CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION of THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

161 EIGHTH AVENUE, N. • NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

VOL. VI, NO. 1 MARCH-APRIL 1959

NEWS and WORK

"Light"

"Light" appears again. We hope it is here to stay. This is the title that was chosen by this Commission when it was called the Social Service Commission. Dr. Hugh A. Brimm had become the Executive Secretary in September, 1947, and felt very deeply that the Commission needed a periodical through which to communicate the ideas and work of the Commission to the Christian leadership of the Convention and the nation. In May of 1948 he brought out the first issue. Its circulation grew to 15,000. In October, 1952, publication was discontinued for lack of funds; but during these four eventful years "Light" won a lasting place in the esteem and appreciation of its readers.

Six years have passed. They have been six of the most challenging and formative years in history. Financial support for this Commission improved slowly, but not in a sufficient amount for us to resume the regular publication of a much needed periodical. We attempted to send out a Bulletin in the form of a newsletter, but an occasional printing was the best we could do. The financial horizon looks brighter now, however, and we believe we can sustain a regular publication.

"Light" will be published bi-monthly, beginning March 1. We invite your comments. Send us pertinent facts. Let us think and pray together about the Christian and his church in today's world.

On Seminary Campuses

Each year the Executive Secretary makes a visit to the campuses of our seminaries, where he is invited to present the work of the Commission to various classes and to bring the chapel message. Many conferences are held with the students. An increasing number of them are showing an interest in the place and work of the Christian Life Commission in the program of the Southern Baptist Convention.

The Executive Secretary represented the Commission at Southwestern Seminary on February 11-12, and at Southeastern on February 19-20. The week of March 17-20 he will attend the Spring Conference at Southern, and on the afternoon of March 17 he will participate in a program on the social responsibilities of the church.

Christian Life Workshop in Texas

The Christian Life Commission of Texas, directed by Dr. Foy Valentine, sponsored its third annual workshop at Southwestern Seminary, Fort Worth, February 8-9. The theme of the workshop was "Christian Principles Applied." Program personalities included: Robert E. Naylor, J. M. Dawson, Forrest Feezor, W. W. Adams, Cornell Goerner, William A. Lawson, and other prominent leaders.

The SBC Commission was represented on the program by its Executive Secretary, who discussed "Orientation in Christian Action in Retrospect." He was followed by Dr. Valentine, who presented "Christian Action in Prospect."

Consultation on Ministerial Education

A national Consultation on Ministerial Education will be held at Greenwich, Connecticut, March 6-8. Seventy consultants from over the nation have been invited to attend. Papers on the subject will be given, and a thorough study of the subject will be made, especially as it relates to the Negro ministry. This Commission will be represented by its Executive Secretary. A fuller report of this historically significant meeting will be given after the meeting is held.

Salt-o-Graphs

"Ye are the salt of the earth"

A police captain in a big city once said to a mission pastor in a slum area: "Reverend, why don't you get off this block? This is no place for a church." A devoted child of God would not agree with what the police captain said, but many would probably agree with what he meant. To him the church was something apart from a world of reality and should keep itself pure by removing from a place of defilement.

The Christian and his church are involved in all the material and social concerns that affect the lives of men. Inaction in these areas of life is a kind of action on the side of corruption, tyranny, and graft. These social evils feed on the inactivity of the Christian citizen and actually depend on him for their continuing existence. Call it social action, call it the social gospel, call it meddling in politics—call it what you will: it remains true that the church has no honorable choice but to be involved in the social order of mankind.

Jesus did not come into the world as a social reformer, but his coming has brought about many social reforms. He left his church well armed for social conflict in his gospel of love, mercy, and justice for all men. Shall we be content to make his gospel a message simply about the love, mercy, and justice of God? Is it the mission of the church to make its gospel attractive to men without seeking to make it effective among them? "By their fruits ye shall know them," said Jesus.

Moreover, the gospel is a message of peace and goodwill among men. We can make this message effective in the world by making better men through the spread of the gospel and its teachings throughout the world; by working toward the general acceptance of world law and order; and by the cultivation and direction of a world intelligence in social and economic relations.

—A. C. M.

Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.—Milton

WHAT THE CHRISTIAN CAN DO

FOR WORLD PEACE

PRAY. For my own attitude, that I may "seek peace and pursue it" in personal disputes. For the missionaries, for the statesmen, for the nation, for the United Nations. For the people of the world who are also seeking peace.

READ. What the Bible says. What the Southern Baptist Convention has said. What authors and leaders, magazines and newspapers are saying.

LEARN. What others are doing: Southern Baptists, missionaries, other denominations, governments, the United Nations—to fight disease, death, poverty, illiteracy, hunger, slavery, injustice, aggression.

WRITE. To your Congressmen, to the State Department, about proposed legislation. Find out how foreign aid is handled and how it could be improved. Refute the theory that our sole defense lies in increasing armaments. Insist the budget be spent to wage peace as diligently as to forestall war.

WORK. Through your church. In your local community. Support good local government. Study community problems—such as juvenile delinquency, crime, racial or economic exploitation or discrimination—and work for their solution.

GIVE. To local mission work. To world missions. To world relief, such as the Red Cross, CARE, and the UN organizations.

No peace is ever in store for any of us, but that which we shall win by victory over the sin that oppresses as well as over that which corrupts.

—Ruskin

From

THE SOURCE FILE

BOOKS

Christianity, Diplomacy and War, by Herbert Butterfield. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, $1.75.

Here is a thoroughly informed, Christian evaluation of the roles of diplomacy and war in human life—their history, purposes, limits, dangers, and possibilities.

The World Is Learning Compassion, by Frank C. Laubach. Fleming H. Revell Co., $3.50.

Our chief problem today is not communism, Dr. Laubach says; it is the *hunger* which gave birth to communism—the hunger of body, mind and soul. We are running a race, he warns, between compassion and suicide. This book is his eloquent witness to the conviction that compassion is on the march.

The Hate Campaign Against the U.N., by Gordon D. Hall. The Beacon Press, (booklet) 50c.

"As long as criticisms (of the UN) are based upon accurate statement of facts they are, of course, welcome. But the disturbing factor in most of this clamor is that it is the direct result of a deliberate campaign of distortion, mendacity and religious and racial hatred, conducted by a network of fanatical organizations. Gordon Hall has rendered a public service in cataloguing these agencies, the record of their sponsors, and the contents of their publications."—Philadelphia Evening Bulletin.

The Roots of American Communism, by Theodore Draper. The Viking Press, $6.75.

The untold story of the formative years of the Communist party in America: a vividly revealing and fully documented survey of its origins, its founding in 1919, its underground activities, and its emergence as a unified, legal party. By tracing the party's earliest ties to Russia and the Comitern, it helps us to understand what is happening to communism throughout the world today.

FILMSTRIPS

(May be borrowed from the Methodist Board of World Peace, 740 Rush St., Chicago 11, Ill. 35 mm., no rental fee, postage only.)

Structure for Peace—How the United Nations works; 20 min.

Around the World on Less than 75c—How the U.S. contribution to the UN is used to build for peace; 45 min.

To Live Together as Good Neighbors—Purposes and programs of the UN and its specialized agencies, from a Christian viewpoint; 15 min.

Sharing Skills—The UN Technical Assistance program helping the peoples of underdeveloped areas; 10 min.

Let There Be Life—The World Health Organization (WHO) and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) at work in many lands; 10 min.

Let There Be Bread—How the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) meets the problem of hunger through seed, soil, livestock improvement, etc.; 10 min.

Night Into Day—What the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is doing to further education throughout the world; 10 min.

One World or None—A discussion starter on social and political implications of atomic energy and weapons; 10 min.

We Are All Brothers—Basic facts on race, presented with humor; 20 min.

Pick and Shovel Ambassadors—Story of Christian young people in work camps, with a challenge to work in one's own community; 15 min.

BOOKLETS

Order from: Methodist Board of World Peace, 740 Rush St., Chicago 11, Ill.

The Meaning and Foundations of World Peace, $1.00 per 100.

Christian Faith and the World Crisis, 25c ea.

Order from: Friends Committee on National Legislation, 104 C St., N. E., Washington 2, D. C.

Is Disarmament Possible?, 5c ea. and postage.

Questions on Disarmament and Your Job, 10c ea.

Order from: American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

How to Compete With the Russians (Reprint from New York Times), 5c ea.

Continued on Next Page

THOUGHTS ON PEACE

It is our destiny to live in an era of struggle with an international movement intent on the creation of a new social order which would involve the destruction of the ideals of a Christian society. "We live in a dynamic world," writes Harold Cooke Phillips in *The Timeless Gospel.* "A dynamic world is a dangerous world in which our life is imperiled. Yet the dynamic ages of history have been the creative ages. God can do more when the waters are stirred than when they are stagnant."

In the desire of the Christian citizen for world peace the force of arms must not be decried, nor should its strength be ignored. The maintenance of peace among the nations without resort to arms is an ideal toward which we should continually strive. During the period of our striving to attain this ideal, there are substitutes we can use for armed force. One of these is the substitute of law for the agelong rule of war in the settlement of disputes.

There will always be hostile elements in the population of a nation, and now and then there will arise national leaders who will attempt to gain their ends by unlawful means. Each time this happens there are flashes of danger to the peace of the world. Then we usually witness agitation to make concessions, to make adjustments in our foreign policy, or to surrender territory and the positions that have been built up from which to guard the peace.

We try to bring peace by disarmament. But the disarmament of ideas favorable to war is more important than the scrapping of armaments. This disarmament of ideas must take two forms: the removal of misinformation on the one hand, and the growth of understanding, goodwill, and mutual respect on the other. The one can be achieved by the processes of education, the other by the application of religious teaching.

The view is often stated that too much emphasis on internationalism will weaken, if not destroy, one's loyalty to one's own country. This viewpoint is the basis for much of the criticism that is directed against the United Nations. But in the higher view of national and international relationships the two ideals are not opposed, but complimentary to each other. "No other nation can mean to us what our own nation means," writes an emminent patriot. "Here are the roots of our heritage, and here our central loyalties belong. It is because we feel so deeply about our own land that we understand how other people feel about theirs. If we will use our patriotism to interpret theirs, we will grow, not in bitterness, but in understanding and sympathy for the people of all nations."

We at times identify the causes of war with the personalities of certain political leaders—the Napoleons, the Hitlers, the Mussolinis. We would do better to think also of the unhappy social conditions which brought those leaders to power. And if we would heed the lessons of history, we should bear in mind that the oppression of minorities, the interruption of economic development and frustrated hopes for better living standards could bring desperate men to power again in one world area or another, and thus evoke the threat of war. We should consider ourselves fortunate in being able to learn some of these lessons from the cold war now in progress. Here again are areas of need through which the churches and the schools can become effective instruments of goodwill and understanding.

BOOKLETS Continued

Order from: Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Your Opinion Counts, Dept. of State Pub. 5606, 10c ea.

How Foreign Policy Is Made, Dept. of State Pub. 6519, 10c ea.

United States Foreign Policy and Disarmament (Speech of Hubert H. Humphrey in the Senate, Feb. 4, 1958), no price listed.

The Search for Disarmament, Dept. of State Pub. 6398, 20c ea.

The Quest for Peace, Dept. of State Pub. 6391, 40c ea.

Report to Congress on the Mutual Security Program (June 30, 1958), no price listed.

Charter of the United Nations, Dept. of State Pub. 2353, 15c ea.

You . . . And the United Nations, 1958, Dept. of State Pub. 6518, 20c ea.

The Widening Circle (An account of public-private cooperation in the International Educational Exchange Program of the Dept. of State, 1957), Dept. of State Pub. 6442, 25c ea.

U.S. Participation in the U.N., 1957, Dept. of State Pub. 6654, (paper), 75c ea.

Know Your Communist Enemy (series of 5 booklets), 10c per booklet.

Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, Dept. of State Pub. 5888, 15c ea.

Order from: The Church Peace Union, 170 E. 64th St., New York 21, N. Y.

The United Nations: Facts and Fallacies, single copies free.

Order from: Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 E. 38th St., New York 16, N. Y.

Effects of Radiation and Fallout, Public Affairs Pamphlet 256, 25c ea.

Southern Baptists and World Peace

Even before Jeremiah thundered his anger against the false prophets who cry " 'Peace, peace;' when there is no peace," men of moral perception have wrestled with the problem of war. As early as 1891 Southern Baptists spoke out against it, and began a search for a practical approach to "secure the universal substitution of arbitration in the place of war."

In 1895 the Convention saw the need for an international organization of mediation and urged "the establishment of an International Arbitration Court, or High Court of Nations." This emphasis was repeated in 1925; and from 1931 until 1936 the Convention urged the ratification of the protocol of the World Court, stating, "We can see no sound reason for continued delay by the Senate and we urge prompt action."

Other actions by the Convention proposed a conference on disarmament ('21, '37), opposed UMT and large expenditures for military training and armament ('32, '34, '36, '46), and recommended constructive action for peace through prayer and peace committees in the local churches.

In 1940 the threat of war drew near America, and the Convention drew up a resolution condemning war and urging "all possible wisdom and every possible precaution to prevent our nation from becoming involved in the present world conflict." They also protested the shipment of scrap-iron to Japan and recognized the right of conscientious objection. Although acknowledging "the right of national self-defense," they also stated: "We believe no war should be identified with the will of Christ."

In 1943 a Committee on Southern Baptists and World Peace was appointed, and continued through 1946. This committee formulated a statement of six principles, which were unanimously adopted by the Convention, and which are, stated briefly:

"1. No isolation—recognizing that all nations are members one of another.

"2. Democracy, or the right of all nations, both great and small, to self-government.

"3. International organization for peace, implemented with necessary police power and an international court of justice.

"4. The worth of every individual respected, toward the elimination of race prejudice and hatreds which undermine respect for the individual.

"5. Economic opportunity for all peoples, toward elimination of disastrous trade barriers and enforced poverty.

"6. Religious liberty, not alone tolerated worship but the right to conduct missions, to hold property dedicated to religious uses, to establish schools and printing presses, and to exercise civil rights without discrimination on grounds of religious faith."

This committee also published a booklet "The Coming Peace," helped unofficially in the organization of the United Nations Organization (more than seven of the nine suggestions offered were incorporated into the UN charter), and attended the San Francisco Conferences urging the cause of religious liberty.

Since 1928 the majority of resolutions and reports brought to the Convention for action have been prepared by the Christian Life Commission (formerly Social Service Commission). In 1952 the following steps toward peace were outlined:

"1. Redouble our effort to reconcile men with God.

"2. Do not tolerate any complacency about war.

"3. Combat a mood of hysteria or blind hatred.

"4. Reject fatalism about war.

"5. Oppose primary reliance on military strategy to meet Communist aggression.

"6. Press for positive programs which have immediate possibilities for peace and justice."

The Convention's most recent action was the appointment in 1958 of a nine-member Committee on World Peace, headed by the Convention President, Brooks Hays, to "report to the 1959 Convention on ways and means by which Southern Baptists can contribute to the cause of world peace."

(For further information on the Southern Baptist position on world peace, write to the Christian Life Commission for a copy of *Statements on World Peace by the Southern Baptist Convention,* 50c per copy.)

Tracts Published By The Christian Life Commission

AVAILABLE WITHOUT COST

"The Christian Life Commission" (pictorial)

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"Should Liquor Advertising Be Prohibited?"

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Gambling

"A Senator Speaks on Gambling"

"What's Wrong With Gambling?"

Juvenile Delinquency

"Juvenile Delinquency: A Challenge to the Churches"

"Juvenile Delinquency: A Plan of Attack"

Race Relations

"The Christian's Obligation to All Races"

"Race Relations: A Charter of Principles" (Statement of SBC, 1947-48)

"Race Relations: A Christian View"

"Race Relations: A Factor in World Missions"

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"Christian Principles Applied to Moral Problems" (8 pages)

Light

Published Bi-Monthly by the

CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

A. C. MILLER—Executive Secretary and Editor

JAN NISBET—Editor's Assistant

161-8th Ave., N.
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Light is distributed to active pastors, SBC agency heads, state secretaries, state editors, BSU directors and local BSU presidents, as well as to any individual who writes requesting it.

Form 3547 Requested

Non-Profit Organization
U. S. Postage
PAID
Nashville, Tenn.
Permit No. 858

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

September 21, 1953

Rev. Ralph A. Phelps
Southwestern Baptist Seminary
Seminary Hill Station
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Mr. Phelps:

Here is a pamphlet we have just got out on the issues coming up in the Court. Obvious advantage in getting widespread educational use made of it in the remaining months before the Supreme Court rules.

We want it to be used by local discussion groups. In many instances they could be bi-racial.

Object: to bring the matter down from closed-door offices of the state school officials and get it into the homes of everyday citizens.

I have sent copies to Dr. Miller at Nashville and to Barnett and Brimm at Louisville, and to Waddell at New Orleans and McDowell at Wake Forest.

I would be very grateful if you would do what you can to get the availability of the pamphlet known within your circles.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

September 29, 1953

Rev. M. C. Allen
National Baptist Union Review
~~523 Second Avenue~~, South
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Allen:

This is an obviously useful pamphlet.

I do hope that on looking through it you will think that it merits some mention in the National Baptist Union Review. It is of the greatest importance at this juncture for the people of the South to understand the issues involved in the whole matter of the schools.

I sent copies on to Dr. Jackson in Chicago, and President Benjamin Mays has written to Mr. Jackson in praise of the pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

October 29, 1953

Reverend James P Wesberry
Pastor
Morningside Baptist Church
1700 Piedmont Avenue N E
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr Wesberry:

Thank you for your kind letter of October 19 about the pamphlet QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Could you ingeniously contrive any way for some appropriate organization to bear the expense of sending out copies of QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS to Baptist pastors in Atlanta and throughout the State? I stagger under the load of merely getting them printed and must depend upon various organizations, mostly churches, for getting them out.

It is really of first importance to use to full advantage these remaining precious months before the Supreme Court decides when people's minds are still open.

Appreciatively

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Morningside Baptist Church

James P. Wesberry, Pastor

1700 Piedmont Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta, Georgia

October 19, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 22
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Brother Mitchell:

It was a joy to hear from you recently and I thank you so much for the pamphlet you so kindly sent. I hope to find time to make a study of it soon. If I can be of service to you, it will be a pleasure.

I would suggest, of course, that you mail a copy of this to all of our Baptist pastors in Atlanta; and if you have time and money, to send them with a letter to all of the pastors of the state. You are doing a fine work and I am grateful for your friendship and for the work that you are doing.

May God bless you always.

Sincerely,

James P. Wesberry

JPW:ms

Morningside Baptist Church

James P. Wesberry, Pastor

1700 Piedmont Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia

"Glorious things of thee are spoken,
Zion, city of our God;
He whose word cannot be broken
Formed thee for His own abode:
On the Rock of Ages founded,
What can shake thy sure repose?
With salvation's walls surrounded,
Thou may'st smile at all thy foes."

THE MORNING WORSHIP SERVICE

Sunday, October 18, 1953
Eleven O'Clock

PRELUDE: Blessed Jesus, We Are Here.....Bach
*PROCESSIONAL HYMN No. 3 - Holy, Holy, Holy!.....Nicaea
(Congregation rise as choir enters-Sing on 2nd verse)
*INVOCATION - DISCIPLE'S PRAYER
*GLORIA PATRI
INTERLUDE: Jesus, And Shall It Ever Be.....Federal Street
READING OF THE SCRIPTURES
MORNING PRAYER - CHORAL RESPONSE
*HYMN No. 4 - All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name.Coronation
THE LORD'S OFFERING
OFFERTORY: Meditation.....Fletcher
*DOXOLOGY
ANTHEM: How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds.....Shelley
SERMON: "THE MATCHLESS NAME OF JESUS".....Pastor
*INVITATION HYMN No. 82 - Jesus, I My Cross Have Taken

Those who wish to unite with this church by profession of faith, by transfer of letter or by statement of experience and baptism are invited to present themselves during the singing of this hymn. It is requested that no one leave the sanctuary while the invitation is given. This is an important period.

*BENEDICTION - CHORAL AMEN
POSTLUDE

*Congregation standing.

In the name of our Master we bid you
a most cordial welcome to this House of God,
its worship, its comfort and its peace.

THE EVENING WORSHIP SERVICE

Seven-thirty O'Clock

PRELUDE: In the Cathedral.....Pierné
CHOIR MEDITATION: Softly and Tenderly Jesus Is Calling
.....Thompson
Ladies Choir

*INVOCATION
*HYMN No. 257 - Encamped Along the Hills of Light..Sankey
HYMN No. 273 - Thou, My Everlasting Portion.....Vail
OFFERTORY: Faith.....Overholt
ANTHEM: Transformed.....Smythe
SERMON: "THE TEXT THAT CHANGED THE FACE OF THE WORLD"
.....Pastor
*INVITATION HYMN No. 23 - Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me
*BENEDICTION
POSTLUDE

*Congregation standing.

GREET OUR NEW MEMBERS!

".....and the Lord added unto His Church"

By Letter: Mr. and Mrs. George E. Johnson, 903 Lindbergh Drive, N. E. For Baptism: Mr. Wyatt Johnson, 903 Lindbergh Drive, N. E.

MEET FOR THE MASTER'S USE!

Sun.	11:00 A.M.	- Sunbeams I (ages 4 and 5) meet.
Tues.	11:00 A.M.	- Choir Mothers Guild.
	8:00 P.M.	- J.O.Y. Class Meeting.
Wed.	6:15 P.M.	- Church Night Supper.
	7:00 P.M.	- PRAYER MEETING. The Pastor concludes our study of "The Pull of the People".
	7:30 P.M.	- Pastor's Cabinet.

PAGING ALL BOYS - Ages 8 through 13 ---------

A BOYS CHOIR will be organized this Wednesday afternoon at 5:00 o'clock in the Choir Room. You are cordially invited to enroll.

GIVE TO STATE MISSIONS THROUGH YOUR SUNDAY SCHOOL OFFERING N E X T S U N D A Y !

OUR PASTOR SAYS------

We are indebted to WSB-TV and to the Atlanta Christian Council for the privilege of telecasting our Morning Worship Service today. It is estimated that over 40,000 people will see and hear our program. How deeply grateful to God we are for this marvelous opportunity to witness for Christ to so many people! Please be much in prayer for this service. As you enter the Sanctuary this morning, you can help us in a fine way by filling the pews in the very front and in the transepts first. Thank you for your beautiful spirit of cooperation.

Today is the SECOND ANNIVERSARY of our entrance into our beautiful new building. During these two years we have been blessed abundantly. We all rejoice that during this period God has blessed us in every possible way. He has given us many fine new members and our gifts have increased to all causes. There is much yet to be done - but, thanks be unto God we are on our way. Let us recommit ourselves to Him today and march into the future with even greater faith and courage.

This is also REFORMATION DAY! The Christian Council sponsors a great Reformation Day Service at the Municipal Auditorium this afternoon at 3:00 o'clock which will be preceded by an half hour of concert music by the Salvation Army Band. Internationally known Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of Washington, is to be the guest speaker. I sincerely hope all of our members can attend.

Tonight, I begin preaching a series of sermons entitled, "GREAT TEXTS IN THE LIVES OF GREAT MEN," commencing tonight with "The Text That Changed the World." Let us make our Sunday evenings count for Christ, too. Come, be in your place at 7:30 o'clock and bring others with you.

The 44th annual session of the ATLANTA ASSOCIATION OF BAPTIST CHURCHES convenes this week, opening Tuesday at 1:00 at the Kirkwood Baptist Church for afternoon and evening sessions and Wednesday at 9:30 A.M. at the Sharon Baptist Church for its closing program.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, IS UNITED NATIONS DAY!

February 12, 1954

Mr. Claude U. Broach
St. John's Baptist Church
Hawthorne Lane
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Broach:

I was in Charlotte a few days ago and somebody - I think perhaps the Clarksons - praised you and your Church's work greatly.

I send you some things by and about the Southern Regional Council.

We would like to have some relationship with you and your work and hope that perhaps you would become a member of the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosures

April 19, 1954

Mr. Thomas F. Byrd
c/o First Baptist Church
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Byrd:

Our best thanks for that grand editorial from The Advertiser. One of the best ever done on this subject.

We have had success with our pleas to the Fund for the Republic, which has staked us well to three and a half years of help for paid personnel in each of 12 Southern states. Now if you can sell your DeKalb holding for a sizeable fortune, and shave some of it to honorable SRC, we'll be in the best of shape!

Come to see us,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

File

REV. R. W. COLEMAN
4933 COLISEUM STREET
UPTOWN 2795
NEW ORLEANS 15, LA.

November 15, 1954

RECEIVED
11/19/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Folks:

Please find enclosed the final plans for our Tour to Europe and the Near East, and the Baptist World's Alliance. Now that the time is an important factor, we would be very glad to know what you think about the Tour and your intentions. We do hope that you will be a part of the party. Please note dates of departure and return to New York. There has been a slight change in the Tour in order to give us the opportunity to spend a day in Damascus.

There will be three classes of passengers on the ship, take your choice: The regular Tourist Class, $1,579.00; Cabin Class, $1,691.00; First Class, $1,984.00. Our space on the ship has been secured, so please let us know your plans. The Company demands a deposit of $250.00. Make all checks payable to the American Express Company, 209 St. Charles Street. State that you are a member of my party. If you are not prepared to make the down payment now, let the Company know when you will.

With kind regards,

R. W. Coleman

R. W. Coleman

ITINERARY PREPARED FOR THE

REVEREND R. W. COLEMAN AND PARTY

ATTENDING THE CONGRESS OF BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE

IN LONDON, ENGLAND- 1955

June 15	NEW YORK	Leave New York aboard S.S. "Queen Elizabeth"
June 20	CHERBOURG	Arrive. Proceed by boat train to Paris.
June 21	PARIS	Morning tour of modern Paris visiting the Madeleine Church. Palace of the Invalides, Arc de Triomphe. Sacre Coeur Church. Old Montmartre, etc. Afternoon tour of Historic Paris, visiting the Louvre Museum. the Sainte Chapelle, the Sorbonne, Notre Dame Cathedral. the Bastile, etc.
June 22	PARIS	Day free at party's disposal.
June 23	PARIS	Day free at party's disposal.
June 24	AMSTERDAM	Leave Paris by train for Amsterdam.
June 25	AMSTERDAM	Full day deluxe motorcoach excursion to Alkmaar, Volendam and Marken. By motorcoach with guide via Zaandam, where Peter the Great lived in 1697 to learn the art of shipbuilding. Zaandam is the centre of the lumber industry with dozens of windmills and hundreds of small waterways. Further via Krommenie, Uitgeest Limmen, Heiloo to Alkmaar, where the picturesque and colorful cheese market is visited. We have a look at the public Weighhouse, the Town Hall and the 15th Century Church. The famous Dutch cheese can be bought here. Lunch at Alkmaar. We leave Alkmaar through the picturesque country of meadows, filled with cattle and intersected by small canals. Numerous fine farms and lots of windmills will be seen. Via the famous city of Edam we arrive at the well known fishing village of Volendam on the bord of the former Zuydersea, now Yssel Lake. After a short sightseeing of Volendam, we cross the stretch of water between Volendam and Marken. We visit the most interesting Isle of Marken, with the green wooden houses on piles as a protection against the floods. Both at Volendam and Marken a few home interiors will be shown, showing how these people have lived there for generations. We return from Marken to Volendam, and from there via Monnikendam Broek in Waterland to Amsterdam in time for dinner.

June 26	LUCERNE	Leave Amsterdam by Rheingold Express for Lucerne.
June 27	MILAN	Leave Lucerne by train for Milan.
June 28	VENICE	Leave Milan by train for Venice.
June 29	VENICE	A day of city sightseeing on foot and by gondola with guide. Morning tour on foot via St. Mark's Square, the Church of St. Mark, Ducal Palace, Bridge of Sighs, Dungeons. Afternoon tour by gondola via the Rialto, Santa Maria Della Salute, the Church of the Friars, the Statue of Colleoni by Verrocchio, Lace and Glass Factories (when open).
June 30	FLORENCE	Leave Venice by train for Florence.
July 1	FLORENCE	Full day excursion of Florence. In the morning by motorcoach with guide visting Medici Chapels, Piazza della Signoria, Loggia dei Lanzi, Palazzo Vecchio, Uffizi Galleries Pitti Palace, Galleries and Royal Apartments. Return to hotel. In the afternoon by motorcoach visiting Cathedral, Giotto's Tower, Baptistry, Church of Santa Corce, Piazza Donatello, San Domenico, Fiesole, panoramic view of the city and the valley of the Arno, Piazza S.S. Annunziata Della Robbia Medallions on facade of the Foundling Hospital.
July 2	ROME	Leave Florence by train to Rome.
July 3	ROME	Full day sightseeing by motorcoach with guide visiting Vatican City's Collections of Art, including the Sculpture Museum, the Picture and Tapestry Galleries, Candlestick Gallery, the Sistine Chapel, Raphael Stanzas and Loggias, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Piazza Vittoria with the Roman Water Reservoir the New Appian Way, Tomb of Cecilia Metella, the Catacombs, St.Sebastian Gateway the Arch of Constantine, the Colosseum, Temple of Claudius, "Domus Aurea" (Golden House of Nero), Column of Trajan, Church of St. Peter in Chains.
July 4	ROME	Day free at party's disposal.
July 5	ROME	Day free at party's disposal.

July 6	ATHENS	By plane from Rome
July 7	ATHENS	Morning tour of Athens by motorcoach with guide via Constitution Square the Academy, the University, the National Library to the National Museum (visit), thence to Mars Field Park, Omonia Square, the Byzantine Church, Kapnikarea, the Metropolis of Athens (visit) and the Tower of the Winds (visit). Return to hotel. In the afternoon, tour of Athens by motorcoach with guide via Old Palace, Herodes Avenue Stadium, Temple of Jupiter Arch of Hadrian, Acropolis (visit), Theseum.
July 8	ATHENS	Day free at party's disposal.
July 9	BEIRUT	By evening plane from Athens
July 10	BEIRUT	Full day excursion to Damascus and return.
July 11	JERUSALEM	By afternoon plane from Beirut
July 12 & July 13	JERUSALEM	Two days tour to the Holy Land 1st Day: Morning: Drive from hotel by private auto with guide for a tour to Bethlehem (visiting) Garden Gethsemane, the Church of all nations, the tomb of the Virgin Mary past the valley of Jehosophat, valley of Cedron, Shepherds' Fields, the field of Boaz, Visit the Church of the Nativity. The chapel of St. Jerome, the Milk Grotto the Crusaders' cloister. and Rachel's Tomb. Return to Jerusalem for lunch. Afternoon: Visit the Old city of Jerusalem, entering it by St. Stephen's Gate visit St. Anne's (Pool of Bethesda), Esco Homo, Pilate's Judgment Hall, the Chapel of Flagellation, the way of the cross (via Dolorosa), the Russian Excavations, the Holy Sepulchre. Calvary. Return to hotel for dinner and overnight. 2nd Day: Morning:Visit the Old city of Jerusalem. the Dome of the Rock, where Abraham wanted to sacrifice Isaac, The Aksa Mosque, the Wailing Wall, the Spice Street, Chapel of St. James, and St. Mark's, the Citadel. David's Tower and the old Bazaars. Return to hotel for lunch. Afternoon: Drive to Mount Olives, visit the place of Ascension, the Russian Tower, the Church of Pater Noster, continue to Bethany, visit Lazarus Tomb, House of Mary and Martha, the recent excavations, continue to Jericho, past the Apostles' Fountain, the Good Samaritan Inn, to the Dead Sea, back to Jericho, visit Elisha's fountain. view the Mount of Temptation, visit the recent excavations, and continue to river Jordan. Return to Jerusalem for dinner and overnight.

Thu. July 14	EN ROUTE	Leave Jerusalem by overnight plane
Fri. July 15	LONDON	ARRIVE
		American Express arrangements terminate July 15 on arrival London and recommence on July 28 on departure London.
July 16 to July 22	LONDON	Attending Baptist World Alliance Convention
July 23 to July 27	LONDON	Days Free
July 28	SOUTHAMPTON	By boattrain from London
		Sail on S.S."QUEEN ELIZABETH"
Aug. 2	NEW YORK	ARRIVE

vg

GENERAL INFORMATION

REGISTRATION AND PAYMENT: Registrations may be made through your local travel agent or at any American Express Office. A part payment of $250.00 is required to protect your reservation. In the event that the passenger cancels his tour reservation four weeks or more prior to the departure date of the tour, the part payment will be refunded in full; and if the passenger cancels his tour reservation less than four weeks prior to departure date of the tour, the deposit will be refunded in full less any cancellation fee assessed by the Steamship Company. Final payment is due four weeks prior to departure from New York.

STEAMSHIP TRANSPORTATION: Tour prices are based on minimum rate trans-Atlantic steamer transportation eastbound and westbound in tourist class. When superior accommodations are assigned. supplementary charges will be made.

AIR TRANSPORTATION: Tourist Class between Rome-Athens-Beirut, First Class Beirut-Jerusalem-Cairo, Tourist Class Cairo - London.

RAILWAY TRANSPORTATION: Second class on the continent, First class boattrain in England.

MOTOR TRANSPORTATION: Travel by motorcoach as shown in the itinerary.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS: Double rooms (with twin beds and private bath where available) at well selected hotels, on the basis of two persons sharing a room. Those desiring single rooms will be so accommodated subject to reservations being available. A supplementary charge will be made for single room reservations.

MEALS: Three "table d'hote" meals continental breakfast, lunch and dinner each day are provided. In the event of ordering meals a la carte the supplementary charge must be paid by the tour member to the hotel. Meals en route or when traveling on trains, meals in restaurant cars or buffet cars are included.

SIGHTSEEING: Sightseeing programs in cities as outlined in the itinerary are provided for on the basis of one seat in motorcoach. Included are the services of an English speaking guide and entrance fees to places of interest.

TRANSFERS: Tour members are transferred between railroad station or city airline terminal and hotel and vice versa. This service is included in tour prices.

TOUR ESCORT: Services of a tour escort are provided for the European portion of the tour.

TAXES AND GRATUITIES: All taxes and gratuities throughout the European journey (not trans-Atlantic) so far as these are the same for all in the party and calculable in advance are included in the tour arrangements. Individuals pay for all such services as are strictly personal and exceptional.

NOT INCLUDED IN TOUR PRICE: Gratuities on ocean steamers. French and Italian port taxes, deck chairs and steamer rugs, cost of passport and visas. laundry. wines and mineral waters, liquors, food and refreshments, not included in regular tour arrangements.

No arrangements from arrival London July 15 to departure July 28, 1955.

TOUR PRICES: All tour prices quoted in this booklet are based on tariffs and costs in effect at time of publication (April 1, 1954) and are subject to change without notice should there be any revisions in such tariffs and/or costs prior to sailing date of the tour from New York.

POSSIBLE CHANGES: The American Express Company reserves the right to cancel any tour prior to departure, in which event the entire payment will be refunded without further obligation on the part of the Company. Occasionally the land portion is extended or curtailed because a steamer arrives or departs on a different date from that shown in the itinerary, and there may be other instances in which changes in a tour become necessary or advisable. Any additional or extra expense resulting therefrom shall be borne by the passenger and any saving refunded to the passenger.

February 13, 1956

Mrs. George R. Martin
600 N. Twentieth St.
Birmingham 3, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Martin:

I can certainly say your letter also was a gracious letter. Please let me know anytime that you will be in Atlanta. It would certainly give me strength and courageous to have a conference with you.

I am delighted to know about Mrs. William McMurry. The next time I am in Birmingham I will try to let her know and if she will find it possible I will have a conference with her.

You are indeed a globe trotter and you are doing a magnificent work. With the best of wishes to you in all of it, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
In Charge of Women's Work.

MET:mf

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION

Auxiliary to Southern Baptist Convention

600 NORTH TWENTIETH STREET • BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

MRS. GEORGE R. MARTIN, President
4908 Powhatan Ave., Norfolk 8, Virginia
MRS. WILFRED C. TYLER, Recording Secretary
MISS ALMA HUNT, Executive Secretary
MISS LA VENIA NEAL, Treasurer

Norfolk, Virginia,
February 11th, 1956.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly: -

Your gracious letter has just been received. You cannot know how disappointed I am that I shall be in the mid-west at that time. I leave on Tuesday morning and will be gone about three weeks, attending State Conventions in that area. I do regret this, but I am sure you well understand what it means to be "globe trotter". That is exactly what I seem to be - and that is the name my family has given me. It is so hard, though, to turn women down when you think they need you.

If what you wish to discuss with me could be discussed with any of my co-workers, I would glady refer you to Mrs. William McMurry, at our Birmingham Office. She is in charge of the department of work which relates to the work you are doing. In fact, I might say that she is eager to move faster than the women will follow.

Or, if the matter is not too urgent it is possible that I might even make Atlanta at a time when you would be available. I was there just a few days ago. And I always stop there on my way to and from Birmingham. I can get better plane connections there than going by Washington.

If you care to write to me further about the matter which is on your heart then send it here and it will be forwarded to me in the west.

Sincerely yours,

Alice R. Martin

Mrs. George R. Martin.

HYACINTH 3-8770

C. LAVOISIER FRANKLIN, M.A.D.D.

Minister

MT. LEBANON BAPTIST CHURCH

CHAPLAIN
CITY PRISON, BROOKLYN

230 DECATUR STREET
BROOKLYN 33, N. Y.

National Baptist Convention

To GSM: March 5, 1956

I met at a meeting in Washington in February, 1956, this man. Says he runs the Social Relations interest of the National Baptist Convention. Says he will stir them up when needed.

From: GSM

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

November 1, 1956

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I wish first of all to thank you for securing the delightful room for Mrs. Miller and me during the meeting which closed yesterday. Both the room and the place were very restful, and Mrs. Miller received much benefit during the two days we were there.

I want to thank you in all sincerity for the very wonderful meeting we had. I have never seen a more earnest group at work. I know that much good will come from this meeting as these people who attended go back into their various communities. I think it was a good sign of the "seven thousand who have not bowed their knees unto Baal." I think, too, that the reception given by all who were there to the emphases we brought from the Bible was especially encouraging and indicative of final victory. Thank you for inviting me.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

ACM/jn

May 19, 1958

Mr. Kyle Haselden
The Baptist Temple
Quarrier Street at Morris
Charleston 1, West Virginia

Dear Mr. Haselden:

Thank you for your letter of May 15, concerning reprint privileges. You may quote from the aforementioned article if the indicated credit is given.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

MINISTRY:
KYLE HASELDEN
OSCAR E. MYERSCOUGH
SAMUEL HOYT BROWN

MINISTRY OF MUSIC:
RODERICK P. THOMPSON
RICHARD F. BOWER

MISSIONARIES:
DR. AND MRS. JOHN M. C. BISSET

The Baptist Temple
Quarrier Street at Morris
Charleston 1, West Virginia

May 15, 1958

Copyright Dept.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen,

I respectfully request permission to quote from Dr. Benjamin E. Mays' "The Moral Aspects of Segregation, in a forthcoming publication. Proper credit will, of course, be given.

Sincerely,

Kyle Haselden

Kyle Haselden

SOUTHWESTERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
SEMINARY HILL, FORT WORTH 15, TEXAS

CHRISTIAN ETHICS
T. B. MASTON
C. W. SCUDDER

May 9, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I want to express my appreciation to you for the materials that you are sending to me in response to the request of Victor Glass. I have tried to accumulate all such statements that I can and had talked to Victor about the one made by the Atlanta groups. Naturally, I also appreciate the gift subscription to the New South. I was a member for a number of years of the old council on inter-racial co-operation and have tried to keep up at least to some degree with what the Southern Regional Council has been doing in recent years.

Again thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

T B Maston

T. B. Maston

TBM:cw

Ref orig Baptists - Gen

September 23, 1963

Reverend J. Martin England
The Ministers and Missionaries Benefit
Board of the American Baptist Convention
106 Perrin Street
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Martin:

It was good to have a chance to talk with you in my office the other week. I was glad to hear of the American Baptists' continued concern for those ministers of the South who have been punished by their congregations and their heirarchical superiors for their stands in behalf of more humane racial relations.

Last Winter in Mississippi 28 young Methodist ministers, all native to the state, issued a statement. I thought, and many others shared my view, that this was the finest of a long series of ministerial manifestoes which have come out of the South these last few years. It was not just an appeal for law and order, and it was not merely a statement of humanitarian values which I or any other layman could as well have written. In the very deepest sense their statement was pastoral, speaking unashamedly, without any embarrassment, the gospel with the authority that only ministers can have. I am informed that at least 19 of these men are now gone from Mississippi and for all I know the rest may be on their way. This despite the fact that they happened to be Methodists, and as such

have a right to a pulpit within their conference. Here, I think, is a sad case of a church surrendering a strength which organizationally it has (which, of course, your own Baptist church does not have).

I have no way of knowing or even estimating what incalculable influence the witness of these men meant in Mississippi or elsewhere. I do know that Mississippi is now the poorer by at least 19 valiant men, and that its strength to meet the hard challenges that lie ahead of it is lessened by their loss.

The roll call of those ministers of all denominations, including even rabbies, whom we have lost in the South since 1954 because they spoke too plainly for their congregations' comfort is, I sometimes think, almost the saddest part of some very sad years. For how much longer must we in the South exile our finest?

So I think it is a wonderful thing for the American Baptists to try to help these men find pulpits and welcome elsewhere, and for other denominations and church bodies and church friends to do likewise, as they can. But I think it would be an even more valuable thing if you could help them stay, and could somehow support them while, as pastors, they try to recover their people.

I have never been able, altogether, to convince myself that men are blamable who do not assume a share of the cross; men are weak, and compassion for them seems to me a sort of elemental duty. My inability to see that they are blamable probably sets me somewhat apart from you and other clergymen. But on the other hand, it does seem clear to me that when a man does take up a bit of the cross, he has no right to put it down. There is something in the Scriptures about not turning back when you set your hand to the plow.

I am sure that I don't need to explain to you that the above is not said in any criticism of the men who have accepted exile from the South. It is said in criticism, however, of denominational policies, and of an ethos of emotion and thought which encourages the acceptance of exile. Every time that you or I or anyone else instantaneously and compassionately responds to the distress of evicted minister by attempting to find him a pulpit above the Potomac or find a safe place below the Potomac, we are doing

out bit, I think, to take the church out of the South. For it has been these men who have been, in any valid sense, the church in the South these last few years. I don't, of course, mean that they have been alone. Thankfully, a goodly number who have preached and ministered as courageously and as well as they did are still with us, in the pulpits of both "white" and "Negro" churches. But we have lost a lot.

I have a great hesitancy about discoursing of these themes, because I never seem to be able to do so without employing, as I did above, a vocabulary which is not my usual, and in which I am not expert. But perhaps this clumsy attempt will be understandable to you.

Let me add one more thing. So many times, church representatives come to us and to similar organizations and offer service. I wish the church would take itself seriously, and ask not to serve but to be served. Frankly, we secular agencies can probably do our jobs as well without or with the help of the church. And the church cannot and never could save the world except by being itself. My own pastor said in his sermon last week that he - nor any Christian - needed no person to instruct him about race relations and civil rights, that he needed only the New Testament, which tells us that we shall either live in love or abide in death; and I breathed a prayer of thanks for this affirmation of the integrity and the sufficiency of the church and its gospel. So don't take the church from us; keep it here, and ask us to help you.

With all best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Rev. Will D. Campbell
Rev. Elbert Jean
Rev. John Morris
Rev. Eugene T. Drinkard

File Rels. Orgs - Baptists - gen

October 13, 1965

Mr. Kenneth L. Cober
Executive Director
Division of Christian Education
American Baptist Board of Education
and Publication
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Cober:

Your letter to Mr. Dunbar arrived shortly after his departure to become Director of the Field Foundation. Should you wish the participation of someone else on our staff, I am certain it could be arranged, since we would like to be of any possible help in your conference.

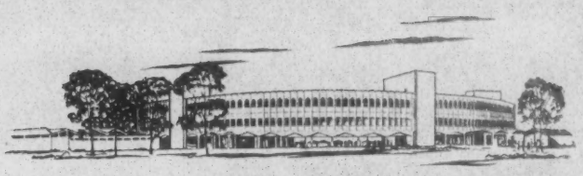
Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

KENNETH L. COBER, executive director
Telephone (215) 768-2255
DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

Rec'd 10/11/65



AMERICAN BAPTIST BOARD OF EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION
VALLEY FORGE PENNSYLVANIA 19481
HAROLD W. RICHARDSON, executive secretary
C. HERBERT LINDEWALL, treasurer

October 8, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are inviting you to participate in the Biennial Christian Education Directors' Conference of the American Baptist Convention. This may require some further explanation.

Every two years national, state convention, and city society Christian education staff personnel meet for a week or more to consider matters of vital importance to our denominational program of Christian teaching. The dates of the next Biennial are February 1-10, 1966 and our place of meeting is the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta. This year the major amount of time of our program will be spent in a consideration of the current racial revolution, its background, future strategy, and its relevance to our American Baptist ministry of Christian education. A copy of the tentative program is enclosed which will give you an idea of its scope and depth. We will have approximately 110 persons attending the conference which will include 10 or 15 pastors of both Negro and Caucasian churches in the South in addition to our staff personnel.

You will notice that we have listed for Monday, February 7, several of the organizations active in the Rights Movement. We wonder whether you could be with us to speak for thirty minutes on the work of the Southern Regional Council and then to permit a short period for questions from the floor. You will notice also that a panel is listed in the afternoon to deal with the question "Future Strategy." We would like all of those making presentations during the day to serve as members of the panel and to talk among themselves regarding where they think the Rights Movement should go in the future and what are the greatest needs in the development of opportunities and rights for our Negro citizens.

We will provide you with $50 for expenses and honorarium. We feel that you will make a significant contribution to our group and we strongly hope that you can accept our invitation.

Cordially yours,

Kenneth L. Cober

Executive Director

KLC:s

1966 BIENNIAL DIRECTORS CONFERENCE
AMERICAN BAPTIST BOARD OF EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION
INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Tentative Design

	Tues. 2/1	Wed. 2/2	Thur. 2/3	Fri. 2/4	Sat. 2/5	Sun. 2/6	Mon. 2/7	Tues. 2/8	Wed. 2/9	Thur. 2/10
MORNING		Bible Study Clarence Jordan -Negro History & Culture -The Negro Family	-Field Trip: -Koinonia Farm	-The Negro and the Church -The Negro & Christian Education	-Reuel Howe	-Reuel Howe -Worship in Atlanta Churches	-Urban League -Southern Regional Conference -SNCC -NAACP	-Relevant Government Programs: -Civil Rights Legislation -Anti-Poverty -Operation Head Start	-Group Discussion "What is this saying to us?"	-Field Program -Concluding Remarks by Kenneth Cober
AFTERNOON	Arrival	-The Negro and Economic Life -The Negro and Political Life	Story of Koinonia -Panel of Americus Citizens & Clarence Jordan	-Problems of the City-- South and North	-Reuel Howe	-Reuel Howe	-SCLC -CORE Panel: -Future Strategy -Summation	-Life in an Inner City Slum -Field Trip	-Groups Continued -Panel -Summation	Departure After Lunch
EVENING	Dinner -Welcome and remarks by the President Orientation Keynote Address -Dr. Benjamin Mays	Visits in Homes	Fort Valley Teachers College -The Negro & Education -Summation	-The Changing South -Ralph McGill -Summation	-Reuel Howe	-Reuel Howe	-Free Evening	-Northern Approach to Racial Problems -Summation	-Discussion of Field Program	

file Rel. Organ.

December 29, 1965

Mr. Joseph John Hanson, Director
Department of Church School Administration
Division of Christian Education
American Baptist Board of Education and Publication
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania 19481

Dear Mr. Hanson:

Thank you for the additional information on your February Conference. I look forward to being with you at 9:45 A.M. on February 7.

Incidently, if you have occasion to re-do your schedule, please note we are the "Council" not Conference.

While you and your colleagues are in the city, we would be pleased to have you visit our office if you have time.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

KENNETH L. COBER, executive director
Telephone (215) 768-2255
DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

AMERICAN BAPTIST BOARD OF EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION
VALLEY FORGE PENNSYLVANIA 19481
HAROLD W. RICHARDSON, executive secretary
C. HERBERT LINDEWALL, treasurer

Rec'd 3/7/66

MJ file

March 3, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Let me express appreciation to you for the splendid contribution which you made to our recently conducted Biennial Directors' Conference at I.T.C. The members of our group were very much impressed by the work of the Southern Regional Council and appreciated your informative and clear-cut presentation. Also, the contribution you made as a panelist in the afternoon, May I say that all of our delegates were moved by the entire experience and left Atlanta with a much greater understanding and motivation to play an effective part in the Civil Rights Movement.

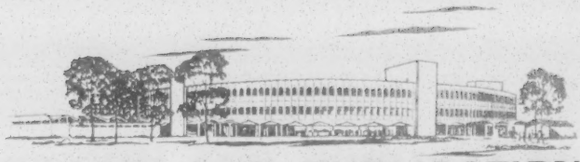
Cordially yours,

Kenneth Cober

Executive Director

KLC:s

DEPARTMENT OF CHURCH SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION
JOSEPH JOHN HANSON, director
Telephone (215) 768-2258
DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION



AMERICAN BAPTIST BOARD OF EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION
VALLEY FORGE, PENNSYLVANIA 19481
HAROLD W. RICHARDSON, executive secretary
C. HERBERT LINDEWALL, treasurer

December 22,1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At the request of Dr. Kenneth Cober, I am sending a detailed copy of the daily schedule for our American Baptist Biennial Directors Conference, to be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia, February 1-10,1966.

We are looking forward with eager anticipation to your leadership in this significant program, conducting the session on Monday, February 7 from 9:45 - 10:30 a.m., related to the theme "Southern Regional Conference". It is our earnest hope that nothing will prevent you from reaching ITC in time for this appointment.

Living accommodations are being provided at the Atlantan Hotel as well as the Interdenominational Theological Center. If, perchance, you desire a hotel room for personal use, we suggest that you write directly to Mr. D. L. Flippin, Atlantan Hotel, 111 Luckie St. NE, Atlanta 3, Ga., identifying yourself as a leader in the American Baptist Biennial Directors Conference, and indicating the date of your arrival, type of accommodation desired and time of departure.

Please do not hesitate to request further details or information, if desired. With cordial greetings, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Joseph John Hanson

Joseph John Hanson

JJH:pg
Enclosure

MR. PAUL ANTHONY

AMERICAN BAPTIST BIENNIAL DIRECTORS' CONFERENCE

Interdenominational Theological Center
Atlanta, Georgia

February 1 - 10,1966

Tuesday, February 1

Afternoon	Arrival and Check-in -Atlantan Hotel... -Interdenominational Theological Center
5:30 p.m.	Registration at ITC
6:00 p.m.	Dinner -Welcome and remarks by President Richardson of Interdenominational Theological Center -Orientation -Keynote address. Dr. Benjamin Mays

Wednesday, February 2

7:15 - 7:45 a.m.	Breakfast
8:30 - 8:45 a.m.	Singing...Announcements
8:45 - 9:15 a.m.	Bible Study. Dr. Clarence Jordan
9:15 -10:30 a.m.	"Negro History and Culture". Dr. David Shannon
10:30 -11:00 a.m.	Coffee Break
11:00 -12:15 p.m.	"The Negro Family". Dr. Charles Gomillion
12:30 - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
3:00 - 4:00 p.m.	"The Negro and Economic Life".
4:00 - 4:15 p.m.	Free Period
4:15 - 5:15 p.m.	"The Negro and Political Life". Dr. Wiley Branton
5:30 - 6:00 p.m.	Dinner
7:00 - 8:30 p.m.	"Curriculum Interpretation"

Thursday, February 3

7:15 - 7:45 a.m.	Breakfast
8:30 a.m.	Field Trip to Koinonia Farm, Americus, Georgia -Bible Study. Dr. Clarence Jordan -Lunch and Story of Koinonia
Afternoon	Panel of citizens from Americus, Georgia, moderated by Clarence Jordan.

Thursday, February 3 Cont.

6:00 p.m.	Dinner at Fort Valley Teachers College
7:00 p.m.	"The Negro and Education". President Troup
8:00 p.m.	Summation. Vincent Harding
8:15 p.m.	Return to Atlanta

Friday, February 4

7:15 - 7:45 a.m.	Breakfast
8:30 - 8:45 a.m.	Singing...Announcements
8:45 - 9:15 a.m.	Bible Study. Dr. Clarence Jordan
9:15 -10:30 a.m.	"The Negro and the Church". President Richardson
10:30 -11:00 a.m.	Coffee Break
11:00 -12:15 p.m.	"The Negro and Christian Education".Dr. Andrew White
12:30 - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
2:00 - 3:00 p.m.	"Problems of the City--South". Rev. Donald Sneller
3:00 - 3:15 p.m.	Free Period
3:15 - 4:15 p.m.	"Problems of the City--North". Miss Marjorie Penny
4:15 - 4:30 p.m.	Summation. Vincent Harding
5:30 - 6:00 p.m.	Dinner
Evening	Free

Saturday, February 5

7:15 - 7:45 a.m.	Breakfast
8:30 - 8:45 a.m.	Singing...Announcements
8:45 -12:00	Dr. Reuel Howe -Coffee Break
12:30 - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
3:00 - 5:15 p.m.	Dr. Reuel Howe
5:30 - 6:00 p.m.	Dinner
7:00 - 8:30 p.m.	Dr. Reuel Howe

Sunday, February 6

7:15 - 7:45 a.m.	Breakfast
8:30 -10:00 a.m.	Dr. Reuel Howe
10:00 -12:00	Worship in churches
12:30 - 1:00 p.m.	Dinner
3:00 - 5:15 p.m.	Dr. Reuel Howe
5:30 - 6:00 p.m.	Supper
7:00 - 8:30 p.m.	"Ministry with Youth"

Monday, February 7

7:15 - 7:45 a.m.	Breakfast
8:30 - 9:00 a.m.	Bible Study. Dr. Clarence Jordan
9:00 - 9:45 a.m.	"The Urban League". H. N. Arnold
9:45 -10:30 a.m.	"Southern Regional Conference". Paul Anthony *
10:30 -10:45 a.m.	Coffee Break
10:45 -11:30 a.m.	"SNCC". Miss Joyce Barrett
11:30 -12:15 p.m.	"NAACP".
12:30 - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
2:00 - 2:45 p.m.	"SCLC". Rev. Andrew Young
2:45 - 3:30 p.m.	"CORE".
3:30 - 3:45 p.m.	Free Period
3:45 - 4:45 p.m.	Panel, moderated by Miss Elizabeth Miller -Future Strategy
4:45 - 5:00 p.m.	Summation. Vincent Harding
5:30 - 6:00 p.m.	Dinner
Evening	Free

Tuesday, February 8

7:15 - 7:45 a.m.	Breakfast
8:30 - 8:45 a.m.	Singing...Announcements
8:45 - 9:15 a.m.	Bible Study. Dr. Clarence Jordan
9:15 -10:30 a.m.	"Relevant Government Programs". Rev. Charles Hamilton
10:30 -11:00 a.m.	Coffee Break
11:00 -12:15 p.m.	Film: "Detached Americans" -Discussion
12:30 - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
1:30 - 2:00 p.m.	"Life in an Inner City Slum". Hector Black
2:00 - 5:00 p.m.	Field Trip
5:30 - 6:00 p.m.	Dinner
7:00 - 8:15 p.m.	"Northern Approach to Racial Problems". -Rev. Louis Mitchell

Wednesday, February 9

7:15 - 7:45 a.m.	Breakfast
8:30 - 8:45 a.m.	Singing...Announcements
8:45 - 9:15 a.m.	Bible Study. Dr. Clarence Jordan
9:15 -10:30 a.m.	Group Discussion: "What is this saying to us?"
10:30 -11:00 a.m.	Coffee Break
11:00 -12:15 p.m.	Continuation of group discussion.

Wednesday, February 9 Cont.

12:30 - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
3:00 - 4:00 p.m.	Continuation of group discussion.
4:00 - 4:15 p.m.	Free Period
4:15 - 5:15 p.m.	Panel, moderated by Miss Elizabeth Miller
5:15 - 5:30 p.m.	Summation. Vincent Harding
5:30 - 6:00 p.m.	Dinner
7:00 - 8:30 p.m.	Field Program

Thursday, February 10

7:15 - 7:45 a.m.	Breakfast
8:30 - 8:45 a.m.	Singing...Announcements
8:45 -10:30 a.m.	Field Program
10:30 -11:00 a.m.	Coffee Break
11:00 -12:00	Concluding Statement. Dr. Kenneth Cober
12:30 - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
Afternoon	Departure

Bring up Feb. 1, 1966

November 8, 1965

Mr. Kenneth L. Cober
Executive Director
American Baptist Board of
Education and Publication
Division of Christian Education
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Cober:

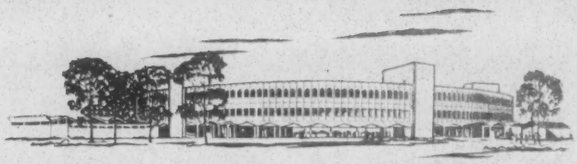
I will be pleased to take part in your meeting February 7. If we may be of any assistance to your meeting, supply any particular literature, etc., please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:nm

KENNETH L. COBER, executive director
Telephone (215) 768-2255
DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION



AMERICAN BAPTIST BOARD OF EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION
VALLEY FORGE PENNSYLVANIA 19481
HAROLD W. RICHARDSON, executive secretary
C. HERBERT LINDEWALL, treasurer

November 2, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of October 13 indicating that Mr. Leslie Dunbar is no longer related officially to the Southern Regional Council. In view of this, may I ask if you personally could take the assignment which we have suggested.

I am enclosing a copy of the latest revision of our program, and you will note that the Southern Regional Council is scheduled for a presentation on Monday, February 7. We would like this presentation to occupy thirty minutes and then to permit approximately fifteen minutes for questions from the group. We would also like to have you serve on a panel in the afternoon in which the persons presenting the program of the various "Rights Movements" would discuss together what they see as the future strategy in the whole area of race relations. In other words, in addition to making a speech the first thing in the morning, we would like you to plan to spend the day with us and participate in the panel.

We will be very happy if you will find it possible to do this. As indicated to Mr. Dunbar, we will provide you with an item of $50 to cover expenses and honorarium.

We will be glad to hear from you at the earliest possible time so that we can complete the final revision of our program and make it available to all participants.

Cordially yours,

Kenneth Cober
Executive Director

KLC/cp

Enclosure

Revision 10/14/65

1966 BIENNIAL DIRECTORS' CONFERENCE
AMERICAN BAPTIST BOARD OF EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION
Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia

	Tues. 2/1	Wed. 2/2	Thur. 2/3	Fri. 2/4	Sat. 2/5	Sun. 2/6	Mon. 2/7	Tues. 2/8	Wed. 2/9	Thur. 2/10
MORNING		..... Negro History and Culture The Negro Family -Charles Gomillion	Field Trip -Koinonia Farm	..... The Negro and the Church -President Richardson The Negro and Christian Education	Bible Study - Reuel Howe	- Clarence Jordan..... - Reuel Howe Worship in Churches	Urban League Southern Regional Conference -SNCC -NAACP	..... Relevant Government Programs -Charles Hamilton Film "Detached Americans"	..... Group Discussion "What is this saying to us?"	Field Program -Concluding remarks by Kenneth Cober
AFTERNOON	Arrival	The Negro and Economic Life -L.E. Milton The Negro and Political Life -Wiley Branton	Story of Koinonia -Panel of Americus Citizens and Clarence Jordan	Problems of the City — South and North -Donald Sneller -Marjorie Penny Summation	-Reuel Howe	-Reuel Howe	-SCLC -CORE Panel Future Strategy Summation	Life in an Inner City Slum -Hector Black Field Trip	Groups Continued Panel Summation	Departure After Lunch
EVENING	Dinner -Welcome & remarks by President Richardson Orientation Keynote Address -Dr. Benjamin Mays	Field Program Curriculum Development	Fort Valley Teachers College The Negro and Education -President Troupe Summation -Vincent Harding	FREE EVENING	-Reuel Howe	Field Program -Ministry with Youth	FREE EVENING	Northern Approach to Racial Problems -Louis Mitchell	Field Program	

See Rels. Orgs - Baptist, Gen.

File CC
all corres. sent E S for handling

January 31, 1967

Rev. Chalmer Mastin
First Baptist Church
Kalamazoo, Michigan

Dear Rev. Mastin:

We will be happy to be of any possible assistance to your group on their visit April 18-25. I am asking Mr. Ed Stanfield of our staff to do any follow-up you may wish.

The best, and least expensive, accommodations we know of are at Gammon Theological Seminary, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia. You might write to Dr. M. J. Wynn, President of Gammon, to see if these facilities are available during the time you are here.

Frankly, I am uncertain as to what work your group could accomplish in a week. I suspect the greatest value would come from the meeting and talking with as many people as possible while here. You might, however, also like to write Mr. Hector Black (whose work was described in a recent issue of Look Magazine) who is working in an Atlanta slum with the very poor. His address is: 560 Magnolia Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
Rels. orgs
Baptists

October 27, 1967

Rev. Martin England
American Baptist Convention
Southern Regional Office
P. O. Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603

Dear Martin:

Thank you for thinking of us concerning the New York fund-raising conference. Regrettably I cannot attend but I shall keep this possibility in mind.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE MINISTERS AND MISSIONARIES BENEFIT BOARD
of the
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
Post Office Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603
803-239-6896

October 18, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Though you will likely not be able to attend Sydney Prerau's conference in New York, you or your colleagues may be interested in the service offered by his Institute.

Mr. Prerau has served our Board many years, and has also been helpful to many other organizations in interpreting tax matters to fund-raisers. I can commend him without reserve.

Cordially,

Martin

Martin England

See Rels. Orgs. "Baptists"

August 13, 1968

The Reverend Martin England
American Baptist Convention
Southern Regional Office
P. O. Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603

Dear Martin:

I shall be more than happy to hear from Dr. McCan, and to be of any possible assistance to him.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE MINISTERS AND MISSIONARIES BENEFIT BOARD
of the
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
Post Office Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603
803-239-6896

August 6, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

A good friend of mine Dr. Robert McCan, is the new president of Dag Hammarskjold College. I believe you have contacts and resources that might be of great help to the College, and I am just as confident that you will find it a potential instrument for meeting some deep human needs for which you have long had a concern.

I have taken the liberty of giving Dr. McCan your name. You may expect to hear from him about his plans.

Cordially,

Martin

Martin

McCan address: 2025 Mass. Ave., Washington DC 20036

December 30, 1968

Mr. Martin England
Southern Regional Office
The Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board
American Baptist Convention
P. O. Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603

Dear Martin:

The description of the job you raised in your letter of the 17th is intriguing to say the least. At the moment I have no suggestions but I shall keep this in mind.

Every good wish for the New Year from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE MINISTERS AND MISSIONARIES BENEFIT BOARD
of the
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
Post Office Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603
803-239-6896

December 17, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

A director is needed for a metropolitan center which has pioneered in building bridges between people of all races, classes, and religious beliefs.

The genius and utter dedication with which the place has been filled will be hard to match. Somewhere the right person is being made ready.

Charisma, integrity, dedication, commitment, are qualities which are being sought. My own estimate is that the job requires ability to meet a White House dinner invitation, a flat tire on a lonely road, a disaster in the kitchen, or a street riot, with poise and imagination. The operation is a big one, in terms of staff and budget, but administrative ability alone will not be enough.

If you know of someone you think might grow into what this place needs, I will be glad to pass on a name.

Cordially,

Martin

Martin England

THE MINISTERS AND MISSIONARIES BENEFIT BOARD
of the
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York

ROBERT G. MIDDLETON
President
CHARLES C. TILLINGHAST, JR.
Vice President

DEAN R. WRIGHT
Executive Director
MALCOLM R. CARY
Treasurer
J. MARTIN ENGLAND
~~*Administrative Secretary*~~

P.O Box

Rel. Orgs
Baptist - gen

106 Perrin Street
Greenville, S.C.

P.O Box
10201
Greenville
S.C

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

There was not time for me to meet you at the meeting of the S.C. Human Relations Council in Columbia in September. I expect to be in Atlanta on Nov. 5 and 6, and would like to stop by on one of those days if it is convenient. I have greatly valued your publications which I have seen, and would like to get better acquainted with the Council.

Cordially,

Martin England

October 22, 1953

Reverend A C Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission
Room 414
161 Eighth Avenue North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr Miller:

Many thanks for your letter of October seven.

Here is still another pamphlet! This one is intended to be used as a follow-up by local discussion groups that have worked through the Questions and Answers one.

Do do what may seem feasible toward getting them known and used within the Southern Baptist Convention.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure - 1

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
ROOM 414, 161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

J. B. WEATHERSPOON
CHAIRMAN

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 7, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 8

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the pamphlet from the South African Institute and for the one on the question of segregation in the schools. Both of these are very informative and helpful. I am especially glad to have the one on the school question at this time. I agree with you heartily. We must keep on toward the mark of the high calling in this work to which we have committed our lives.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

ACM:el

A. C. Miller

February 9, 1954

Dr. A. C. Miller
Christian Life Commission
Baptist Building
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

I would like to open with you for the Denomination a matter which seems to me worth deliberation.

Some minister with whom I talked in recent travels - I am sorry to say I have forgotten who it was but the idea grew with me later on - pointed out that most people in the field of human relations who have been trying to think ahead in the schools matters in the South, had too easily accepted the assumption that school children themselves are without prejudice and would, in cases in which unsegregated schools appear, readily welcome the children of the other group. What was said was that in the South a great many children and perhaps most children, will strongly reflect the views of their parents and much will be done here and there to make children of the incoming group quite uncomfortable.

That opens a whole additional field for positive educational effort with parents. Clearly the only organizations which can take on this problem and make worthwhile progress with it are the Churches.

I quite realize that of recent years Sunday School lessons have come to include, routinely, religious instruction on this point. But doubtless also in many local churches, the direct application of those teachings to local situations is passed over. And in any case, Sunday School lessons reach children usually, and this is really a problem of adults.

If you agree that this whole idea has merit, I do think that the Christian Life Commission would do a great service to the Denomination and to the South and to the Country if, with all due circumspection and devotion, effort could be made to get this task understood and acted upon locally. The problem would only be sold in a reasonable time if Christian conscience takes it up.

What I would hope for would be serious consideration of the matter by your own and any other appropriate Church Boards. Perhaps if the matter came to be discussed in all charity and earnestness in the various Church papers, that would be a good way to get the issue out. I have no fear of what the ultimate reaction of Baptist people over the South would be when the matter came to be really understood.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
ROOM 414, 161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

J. B. WEATHERSPOON
CHAIRMAN

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 15, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are now confronted with one of the greatest opportunities for service in the South which we have ever had. The announcement of the recent decision by the Supreme Court on the issue of segregation in the public schools has presented us with a challenging opportunity to see what we can really do in the field of human relations.

I wish you would write me a few of your thoughts and indicate the direction your work will take in seeking to get our people settled down to meeting the task we must face. I shall be grateful for any word from you.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

ACM:RC

A. C. Miller

RECEIVED
JUN 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 21, 1954

Mr. A. C. Miller
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
Room 414, 161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

I appreciate your letter of June 15. Two things, it seems to me, stand out for early effort.

1. Southern school jurisdictions having any substantial number of Negro population should arrange for representation of the Negro citizens on their local school boards. It is important for such persons to be able, representative, and courageous. By appointment where practicable; by encouraging suitable Negro persons to run for election where the office is elective. It is a pretty flat statement, but I think over a period of years it is true to say that in the South we have come to that situation in which our manifest and most important public service, namely the schools, can no longer successfully be administered with the white monopoly of government. No small part of the Negro demand in the present matter is a demand for participation in this and other governmental services. Those Southern school jurisdictions which will make this proper and long overdue arrangement have a much better chance of reaching agreement as to the steps taken.

2. Local discussion groups, containing in most instances only a small number of people, but wherever practicable, interracial in character. It would be well if in many instances they followed denominational lines. The task is to find in each of the many communities a small number of private citizens -- quite possibly church women -- who, in three, four, or five meetings will explore the issues and find the facts as to the local schools. This is the beginning of a helpful adjustment town by town.

A third step which is desirable is for some local citizen body, working with the school officials, to draw up a plan suitable for applying within the funds available, maximum education to the child population involved. For so many children, how many schools? Where located? How many classrooms? Etc. A plan for the education of the youth of the community should be made

without any regard to racial aspects. It would then be possible to see in what ways and at what fiscal costs the simple community educational plan is warped to accord with existing and prejudiced racial practices.

Still another matter involves interest by the churches in the prospective attitudes of parents toward the whole matter of compliance with the decision of the Court and, specifically, on the matter of instructing their own children in attitudes proper for Christian persons to use when integration actually appears. Put very simply, that is a question of whether Christian parents will say to their children on the morning when they are being readied for their first integrated classes: "Jenny, there are going to be some little new children in school this morning and Mama wants you to be nice to them."

All of these things make up a lot for people and churches to do, but they are not beyond the capabilities of the people and institutions involved.

With warmest good wishes,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 9, 1954

Mr. A. C. Miller
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

We are still warmly appreciative of your purchase of a hundred copies of Answers for Action: The Schools in the South.

I am wondering as to further promotion within the Denomination. Would it be proper and wise for me to write to some official of each Association in the Southern states? If that would be useful, and if you could send me a list of them, I would be glad to get letters out. But if you have already reached them through channels of your own, never mind.

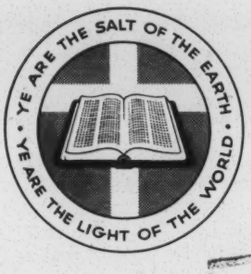
I am glad to report that the pamphlet has been picked up widely in the Methodist Church, in the Episcopal Church, in the Catholic Committee of the South, in the Southern Presbyterian Church, etc.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Seg 88997 Cattrell
of
Dr. Miller



The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
ROOM 414, 161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE —
Phone No. 41631

J. B. WEATHERSPOON
CHAIRMAN

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED
9/20/54
Southern Regional Council

September 17, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In reference to your letter of September 9 I am sorry that our channels of distribution from this office to the denomination at large are simply too limited to handle effectively a very large quantity of your very excellent tract "Answers for Action." It should be in the hand of everyone of our pastors and some 2 to 5 local church leaders in every community and church.

We are gradually seeking to extend our contacts for distribution of our literature but at present I regret to say that we do not have the opportunity for a very great coverage in our denomination.

I assure you that we shall continue to work on this matter and do what we can to get this very valuable information into the hands of our pastors and leaders.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

ACM:RC

A. C. Miller

August 11, 1955

Miss Marjorie Howard
Secretary to Dr. Cornett
127 Ninth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Miss Howard:

Please tell Dr. Cornett when he is available that 9:00 a.m. on the morning of August 31st is excellent, and I will be here.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

EDUCATION COMMISSION
OF THE
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION
OF
BAPTIST COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
127 NINTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

August 9, 1955

AUG 11 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your letter of August 5 to Dr. Cornett came as he was leaving the city. He asked that I write and ask if an appointment at 9:00 a.m. on the morning of August 31 would be a convenient time. If not, please let him know when you could see him.

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Sincerely yours,

Marjorie Howard

Marjorie Howard
Secretary to Dr. Cornett

August 5, 1955

Dr. R. O. Cornett
127 Ninth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cornett:

August 31st is all right. And I will hope to see you that day.

For the time being I remain free on September 1st, but do not promise to hold it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

EDUCATION COMMISSION
OF THE
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION
OF
BAPTIST COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
127 NINTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

August 4, 1955

AUG 5 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Developments in my calendar have made it impossible for me to come to Atlanta until after August 25. Could we make an appointment for either August 31 or September 1?

Sincerely yours,

R. Orin Cornett

R. Orin Cornett

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EDUCATION COMMISSION
OF THE
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION
OF
BAPTIST COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
127 NINTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

July 25, 1955

JUL 26 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 22 addressed to Dr. Cornett. Dr. Cornett is out of the city and will not return until the first of next week. At that time your letter will have his personal attention.

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie Howard

Secretary to Dr. Cornett

June 22, 1955

Mr. R. Orin Cornett
Southern Association of
Baptist Colleges and schools
127 Ninth Avenue N.
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Cornett:

I will be in this office Monday, August 1, Friday, August 5, Monday, August 8 and from Monday, August 29 forward.

I do hope you will come by. You are moving fruitfully and I would like to help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/vc

EDUCATION COMMISSION
OF THE
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION
OF
BAPTIST COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
127 NINTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

July 21, 1955

JUL 22 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Because several of the state conventions of Southern Baptists are becoming interested in helping the Negro Baptist colleges in their respective states, this office is being called upon for various educational services and surveys heretofore made available only to our own educational institutions. For example, earlier this month I made a survey of Selma University, Selma, Alabama, at the request of Dr. A. H. Reid, Executive Secretary of the Alabama Baptist Convention, for the purpose of interpreting its needs and the possibility of initiation of a program leading to accreditation. For your information I am enclosing a copy of the recommendations submitted to the trustees on July 13, which they accepted enthusiastically, voting to put all four parts of number I into effect August 1, and to move as rapidly as possible in effecting the others.

My purpose in writing is to ask for the privilege of an interview with you which would assist me in relating any further work in this field to the efforts of your organization in behalf of Negroes and their educational institutions. I need also the benefit of any orientation and counsel you might be able to afford, since I am deeply interested in this developing phase of our work.

I can schedule a trip to Atlanta either during the week of August 1 or after August 25. May I have word from you as to the possibilities in the light of your own schedule? I should need at least an hour with you, and could make good use of two hours, but do not want to impose upon you unduly.

Sincerely yours,

R. Orin Cornett

R. Orin Cornett

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enclosures

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE TRUSTEES
OF SELMA UNIVERSITY

I. Assign first priority to the matter of accreditation as a junior college. In this connection:

A. Instruct the administration to discontinue offering of college work beyond the sophomore level, at least until accreditation requirements are met.

B. Provide for the further separation of the department of theology from the college, in order that all costs may be separated.

C. Instruct the department of theology to discontinue offering work toward the B.D. degree, restricting the course offerings in theology to those which apply on the Th.B. degree.

D. Instruct the new president, when elected, to plan a specific program leading toward junior college accreditation, and to submit it to the trustees for approval.

II. Ask the Baptist State Executive Board to nominate one or more Alabama white Baptists for election by the Alabama Colored Baptist Convention to membership on the chartered group of fifteen trustees of Selma University.

III. In selecting the new president, endeavor to secure a Negro of outstanding educational, theological and cultural qualities. Preferably, he should be a person who is not identified with any specific group of leaders within the Alabama Colored Baptist Convention. He should have the following qualifications:

A. Basic Christian faith, character and dedication

B. Maturity of viewpoint, patience, and thoroughness

C. A Bachelor's degree from an accredited college

D. At least three years of training in an accredited seminary, or a doctor's degree in an academic field

E. Experience in the ministry and also in the administration of educational institutions, at elementary, secondary or college level

F. The ability to work as a leader among both white and colored people

G. An understanding of the contribution Selma University can make to the progress of Negro Baptists if it receives the leadership and support it needs

IV. Adopt a policy which provides that paid employees of Selma University shall be ineligible to serve as members of the board.

V. Divide the responsibilities presently assigned to the Dean and Registrar, replacing this position by two, as follows:

A. Registrar and Dean of Admissions

B. Academic Dean (or Dean of the Faculty)

The Registrar and Dean of Admissions would be responsible for the admission of students, correspondence with prospective students, and maintenance of the records, granting of transcripts, and follow-up of alumni and former students. He should also teach at least one course.

The Academic Dean would fulfill the duties ordinarily assigned to that position, and would also carry the major responsibility, directed by the president, for the setting up and carrying out of the many procedures necessary for meeting accreditation requirements. The burden of responsibility for the academic improvement of the institution would fall largely upon him. He should also teach at least one course.

VI. Instruct the new president to plan for step-by-step upgrading of salaries over a three year period, to meet junior college standards. He should plan increases in salary for only those faculty members whose qualifications meet the standards. Moreover, in the employment of new faculty members he should recommend to the trustees persons whose qualifications include the master's degree in the field to which they are assigned for teaching. The faculty should be notified that those without the master's degree will not be retained beyond June, 1957. A plan for assisting faculty members to complete graduate work should be worked out.

VII. Authorize the new president to employ faculty members without regard to race, placing the primary emphasis upon potential value to the institution and to those it serves.

August 25, 1955.

Dr. Cornett
Education Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 8th Ave. N.
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cornett:

I have talked with Dr. Mitchell by telephone and find that it is perfectly agreeable with him to see you on Thursday, September 1st. He will be expecting you some time in the course of that morning.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

EDUCATION COMMISSION
OF THE
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION
OF
BAPTIST COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
127 NINTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

August 25, 1955

I wrote Cornett OK 8/25/55

AUG 26 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

During my telephone conversation of Monday with Mr. Fleming, of your staff, I asked if it would be possible for me to come to see you on September 1 instead of August 31, since I am trying to arrange also for a conference with Dr. Donald C. Agnew, of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. I remember that both August 31 and September 1 were originally free on your schedule, but that you could not promise to hold September 1 open. Mr. Fleming indicated the possibility that you may be clear sometime September 1.

May I inquire as to whether the early part of the afternoon of September 1 would be satisfactory.

I indicated to Mr. Fleming that I would appreciate receiving word from you Monday, August 29, if possible. This is no longer necessary, though it would be extremely helpful if I could hear from you by Tuesday, August 30.

Sincerely yours,

R Orin Cornett

R. Orin Cornett

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Mr. A. C. Miller,
Christian Life Commission,
Baptist Building,
Nashville, TENN.

December 12th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Miller,

This confirms my telephone call about the possibility of getting hold of consultants in social science, for work with local groups on matters of school desegregation.

We have engaged John Hope, who works mainly for the NNA in the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in Nashville, to serve SRC part-time as a Chief Consultant. He will manage a program that will make available to local groups (for our own purposes mainly SRC-called groups of citizens or of interested school officials or of SRC staff and State Board people), social science people from various Colleges and Universities, on a one or two day basis. If your group, working with some local unit, should wish to make a direct arrangement with John Hope I am sure he would welcome it. I think the arrangement would be that suitable social science people could be used at a cost of thirty-five dollars per working day, plus the travel expenses involved. He will have both white and Negro persons available; our recommendation would be favorable to the use of Negro persons in many instances.

If we can be helpful on it we would want to, but what Mr. Hope is setting up is available to you without our intermediacy.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
c.cs.
C.H. Parrish.
John Hope.
Fred Routh.

Mr. A. C. Miller,
The Christian Life Commission,
161 Eighth Avenue, North,
Nashville 3, TENN.

December 23rd., 1955.

Dear Mr. Miller,

Do make any use you can of John Hope and/or his other related group of consultants.

I tried to telephone you this morning about the rest of your letter of December 21st., which worried me a bit.

Point is that present opinion of the matter of opening the schools is an unimportant datum. If Columbus had asked the red indians what they thought of Cadillacs they wouldn't have had much ground for knowing. Very few Southern white people have ever seen an unsegregation, and they have little more basis for judging it, and every guy is against what he doesn't understand, so people are against it. The matter was neatly put by the U.S. Solicitor General, or whoever he was, named Sobeloff, in the hearing about February, 1955, before the Supreme Court. One of the justices asked what would be the state of local opinion in such an such circumstances. Sobeloff: "Your honor, I had not supposed that the enforcement of one's civil right depended upon a public opinion poll".

So there seems little good in sounding out opinion as it stands. Much more to the point to get people into the experience of working out the facts and a possible solution, with responsible Negro people. The thing to pursue is this process. Getting that going anywhere is worth all the energy people have; painstakingly finding out what they think the absence of that process is ... surplus.

Methods: Community self-survey.

Have the local school board by an official act impanel a citizens' committee, white and Negro, to find the facts and advise it what to do. People will gladly serve if officials asked (they won't for a voluntary group), and together they'll find the solution surprisingly easy,

Mr. A. C. Miller,
The Christian Life Commission,
Nashville.

December 23rd., 1955.

in most circumstances. In tough circumstances it may well be that by agreement, and perhaps in return for concession somewhere else, wisdom calls for delay.

The Church to take the lead in getting small groups together, to find the facts, and work out possible solutions.

Nothing's any good unless the Negro people are chosen for their courage, and are accorded respectful, considerate, equal conference.

That Nashville workshop is a honey, and we all praise it.

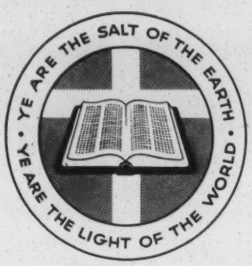
Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

P.S. Case similar. Before the U.S. Courts opened voting to Negroes many said "no good", and "blood will run". Bunko.

Churches - Baptist - Southern Baptist Conv.



The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH

NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Home 4400 Hill Dr. CY2-6350

December 21, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your telephone call and for your letter under date of December 12. It seems this is a good move to have John Hope available as a chief consultant.

We are planning a workshop for this community on the order of the one we had last March. If Mrs. Raymond Tesch who is the head of our committee on arrangements does not already have his name, I shall be glad to tell her about him.

I really need to talk with you quite often. I am anxious to make a very thorough study of our constituency at least in order to get at just what their reaction is on the public school issue. I know of no way that we can get at the grass roots in our communities for such a study. Of course when we go into it on a scale involving our whole Convention, the cost will be considerable.

Will you give me a statement on your considered opinion of the value we could get from such a study? Our objective is that we are constantly sitting down in groups and planning our work in view of what we assume the situation to be. We have never made a scientific study that reveals anything like the mass opinion of our people on the question.

Thank you for writing me and thank you for yourself and for your service.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

ACM:RC

A. C. Miller

RECEIVED DEC 23 1955

January 27, 1956

Mr. A.C. Miller, Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

We received one copy of a paper called "White Citizens' Councils" published monthly by the outfit at Winona, Mississippi, which I have ticked on Page 2 of the enclosed list of pro-segregation groups we have seen mentioned in print.

I suppose they would be glad to send you their publication if you wrote them.

Delighted with the conduct of Tennessee, including its Governor.

Do come to see us and the next time I can be hear Nashville at all I will come to see you.

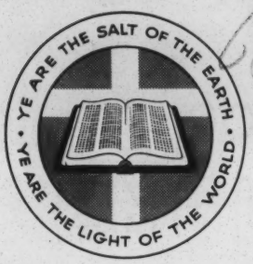
Here is a talk I did a month or so ago. Has got most of what I can think up in it. Though there is much more to say. I will hope for a chance to talk with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.



The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

January 25, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 26 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the booklet enclosed with your letter of January 20. Yes, you have sent our office this booklet; in fact there were several of them in the material when I came to the office. Only one of them is left. It is a very thorough work on the subject. I wish we might reprint it in revised form and make it available for distribution over the South. I am wondering if it is still being distributed in any appreciable numbers.

May I ask if you get any literature in your office put out by the Citizens Councils? If so, do you have enough to share a selection of it with me? I would like to be in a position to counteract some of it.

You have noted in the press the reception our governor gave the motorcades from Chattanooga and from Memphis. We are rather proud of him for his resistance to their demands. We are fortunate in having a 4-year term for the governor with the provision that he cannot succeed himself. This does make a big difference.

I really need to sit down with you and talk with you. Some of these days when you are in Atlanta I am coming to see you.

I wish you would grab a moment and write me a letter setting forth some of the main issues in the racial movement as you see it.

Best of wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

ACM:RC

A. C. Miller

Baptists
S.B. Cn.

February 14, 1956

Mr. A.C. Miller, Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission
Southern Baptist Convention
Room 414, 161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

I was in Dallas the other day for the annual meeting of the Texas Commission on Race Relations. A man from your group named Foy Valentine was helpful and convincing as a participant on the right side.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mcf

February 20, 1956

Mr. A.C. Miller, Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

Many thanks for your kind letter of February 14.

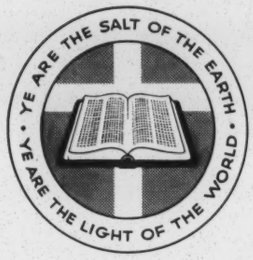
We will enter your subscription for New South and will send the Commission a bill.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

RECEIVED FEB 15 1956



The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 14, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am grateful for your letter of January 27, for the list of anti-integration groups over the South, and especially for the copy of your address to the Hungry Club. I like your arguments and the punch that you put in them.

There is bound to be a way for us to get our material out to the people at the grass roots, but up until the present I must confess that I have not discovered how it can be done.

We enjoyed so much the brief visit of Mrs. Tilley last week. She gave us some information on the proposed actions of the Georgia legislature that are not encouraging. But I have a feeling that you are a good general and ultimately will outmaneuver those who turn their legal guns from their vantage point on the Southern Regional Council.

Will you please enter a subscription for The New South to the Christian Life Commission, 161 - 8th Ave., N.; Nashville 3, Tenn. Please send us a statement for this.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

ACM:RC

A. C. Miller

April 4, 1956

Mr. A.C. Miller, Executive Secretary
Christian Life Commission
Southern Baptist Convention
Room 414, 161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

I am slow in answering your kind letter of February 29 only because I took the precaution of getting it sent to the various top people on our staff here, in order that its contents might be duly noted.

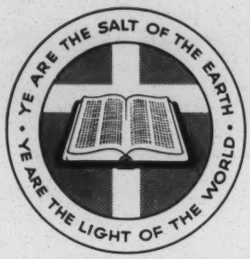
I have learned to trust you to do the best than can be done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

① HCF ✓
② FR ✓
③ DTL
④ 95M



The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 29, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAR 1 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter about Foy Valentine at Dallas. I am to be with him and an able staff from March 4-8 at San Marcos, Texas in what we call in our work a Christian Life Conference. It is under the direction of the pastor of the First Baptist Church. We were there in a similar meeting two years ago at which time we had present each evening in five discussion groups about 300 people. One of these discussion groups is on race relations and the current issues involved.

We have had a growing group which has been meeting here in Nashville for more than a year, seeking to cultivate the atmosphere and make it easier for the School Board to attain its objective in the desegregation of the schools according to the Supreme Court ruling.

We have discussed these matters in South Carolina, and in North Carolina. On March 1 and 2 we will be at Southwestern Seminary where we will meet four large classes and speak in chapel. We have been in touch with Dr. A. H. Reid, executive secretary of the Baptists in Alabama, on the Montgomery situation, offering him our services to be used for getting into the situation at Montgomery. We have an invitation from the students of Mississippi. We have tried to make this Nashville experience a sort of model project which we can recommend to other communities.

I want you to know and those associated with you that we deeply regret the action of churches against their pastors such as happened to our mutual friend, Jack Stafford. I urged Jack from the beginning of his trouble to let us help him, and when he was finally asked to resign I wanted to get into the matter, especially after the Judge had him written up in the South Carolina press. But Jack did not want any action on the matter because he felt it might prejudice his case further in securing a position. I have a life long friend in Chaplain Dow Heard in the Veterans Administration office at Washington. I wrote him about Jack and urged him to give him first consideration as a chaplain.

I am writing this to you because the officials of the Southern Baptist Convention here have received a rather strong complaint from Jack stating that the Southern Convention had been derelict in trying to help him. I think this complaint has been sent to certain officials in the National Council of Churches at New York.

We cannot publish all we do along these lines and there is a lot that the Southern Baptist Convention group is doing which does not reach the papers nor the radio broadcaster except when somebody slips up.

I am writing about this only because I do not want you to feel that we have been entirely derelict at this time when the very destiny of our nation and of the world is under a severe test.

Best of wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

ACM:RC

A. C. Miller

10:40 AM

KC May 29

3:00 30

71.50

1.50

.60

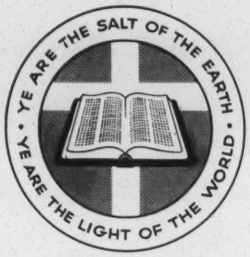
2.35

.50

7.20

83.65

May. 7. 56 Please return to GSM



The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

May 16, 1956

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED MAY 17 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I enclose a copy of the April issue of our Christian Life Bulletin. This issue was devoted to some statements on the racial question, as you will observe.

I am presuming that you may have a few people to whom you can send this Bulletin. It may be of interest because it includes a statement on the racial issue which our Commission will make to the Southern Baptist Convention in its meeting in Kansas City on May 30. It also contains the statement sent to the press some weeks ago by a group of Southern Baptist people. Under separate cover I am sending you a dozen or so of this issue.

Best of wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

ACM:wml
Enclosure

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION

Auxiliary to Southern Baptist Convention

600 NORTH TWENTIETH STREET • BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

MRS. GEORGE R. MARTIN, President
4908 Powhatan Ave., Norfolk 8, Virginia
MRS. WILFRED C. TYLER, Recording Secretary
MISS ALMA HUNT, Executive Secretary
MISS LA VENIA NEAL, Treasurer

DEPARTMENT OF MISSIONARY FUNDAMENTALS
Mrs. William McMurry, Secretary

May 21, 1956

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

After checking my calendar I find that I have the following open dates:

September 3-4

October 2-4; 15-20

Thank you for a copy of Gleanings from the conference of last year.

Sincerely

Mildred McMurry

McM:if

September 20, 1956

Southern Baptist Convention

HCF
FBR
CHP
JC
JH
FBI

These two recent productions were handed me by Mr. A. C. Miller. A pretty good job of arguing -- at least the blue one, and maybe the red one.

Encls:
The Unity of Humanity by John Hall Jones
"Integration" by T. B. Matson

December 17, 1956

Mr. A. C. Miller
The Christian Life Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

Perfectly true about Scotland. The Board, when I asked them, said I might cease my job January 15th. They turned the show over to Harold Fleming who will do a better job than ever I did. At 55 I want to knock off and read my books. Have already shipped the books to Scotland. Shall sail myself with wife March 8th.

Nice thing is there will be a two-unit motel next door and the entire personnel of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention is invited to come and stay at the Mitchell's motel. In the remotest Highlands. Possibly a spot called Applecross. And British taxes forbid me to earn more than $400 a year, so that in the later part of each summer the motel would be free!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED DEC 17 1956

December 14, 1956.

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,-

Under this date I have submitted to the editorial committee of Broadman Press (Sou. Bapt. Sunday School Board, Nashville) the manuscript by Roger Crook, Meredith College, Raleigh, N. C. under the title, "Sit Down With Abraham".

I have had an exchange of corespondence with the author and have acted according to his instructions.

I have heard over the grapevine only something about your moving to Scottland. Let me say I envy you. I will be moving somewhere myself before another half dozen years.

Best of wishes.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller.

December 21, 1956

Mr. A. C. Miller
The Christian Life Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

I will pay you a warm compliment. I experience in you the same confidence in good purpose that I knew in my father; and he was a good man.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

December 19, 1956.

RECEIVED DEC 21 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,-

What a letter! What a man! Now you have arrived at the place I have been aiming at. But here I am ten years further along in life than you are and I am no where near a "motel in the remotest highlands" of Scottland.

Well, that you are is something I can be happy about whether I ever arrive or not. Does sound good that when I am in your neighborhood I might not have to go without a bed.

In all seriousness, my good friend, we will miss you greatly. I have always felt peaceful like when I knew you were around somewhere. "Only eternity", as some of the preachers say, will reveal the good you have done. Please, my good friend, let us have a word from you or about you every now and then.

Best of wishes ever and always to you and to Mrs. Mitchell.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

May 31, 1957

Mr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

The morning paper carries news of the Chicago action on the report of the Christian Life Commission.

I know the effort, courage, and conviction which has been needed to make this action possible. You have done a very real service for all Southerners and particularly for all Southern Baptists. I am grateful beyond expression.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT ARKANSAS

HOME ADDRESS:
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

JOHN S. McLEES
SECRETARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

June 12, 1957

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

I cannot tell you how much I appreciated your nice telegram congratulating me upon my election as president of the Southern Convention. Yours was among the first messages I received and it was a real inspiration to me.

I hope we will have the pleasure of seeing you the next time we are in Atlanta. Hope all goes well with you, and with kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Brooks Hays

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

July 8, 1957

Dr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

The 500 reprints you were kind enough to send arrived today. We are ever so grateful.

I am sorry we didn't have an opportunity to talk at the Race Relations Institute last Wednesday. Perhaps we will have another chance soon.

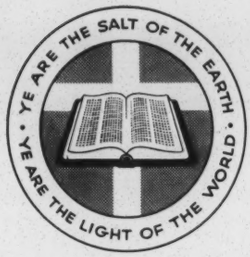
Meanwhile, my warmest regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JUL 5 1957



The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

July 3, 1957.

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Secy.,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming,-

Under separate cover we are sending to your organization 500 copies of the reprints of our report to the recent convention meeting at Chicago. These were requested either by you or by Fred Routh. Anyhow here they are.

There is always a delay in printing, but I hope these may be used although they are somewhat late.

Best of wishes now and ever.

Sincerely Yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller.

October 22, 1957

Dr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

It occurs to me that if the material we have on the Fund for the Republic is of any value, the sooner you have it the better. Therefore, enclosed you will find what we have been able to pull together. On a number of the pieces of information I have attached explanatory notes. If you need more explanation of any of the materials, let us know.

As a possible thought, Congressman Brooks Hayes was acting chairman of a Select Committee to Investigate Foundations of the 82nd Congress. This group issued a report on January 1, 1953. It has no particular significance here except that the president of the Southern Baptist Convention is in an excellent position to speak authoritatively as to foundations, use of funds, communism, etc.

It might also be of incidental value that two good Southern universities are recipients of Fund money; the Vanderbilt University Law School ($200,000), and the University of Virginia Law School ($3,500). Of course, practically every Baptist college and hospital in the South has received money from the Ford Foundation. While

enclosures: over

FFR Facts: 2, 3 & 4
FFR Bulletin, May 1956
Sept "
Article - Presby Outlook, Mar. 5, 1956
Booklet - FFR, May 31, 1955
Charleston News + Courier editorial
& HCJ answer

the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic have no further official connection, the money came from the same place.

Probably your greatest difficulty will arise from the Fund's treatment by the House Un-American Activities Committee. Please note the Fund is not listed by this Committee as being a subversive organization. The original committee investigation of the Fund was scheduled for June 27, 1956. On June 20, 1956 the hearing was postponed and has not been resumed. Some of the material enclosed will give you the more detailed story.

When I get your letter tomorrow it will be taken care of as best possible. I am sorry that the Christian Life Commission has to get caught up in this madness, though I suppose such was inevitable. At any rate, if there is the least possible help which we can offer, we will consider it a privilege to do so.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

October 23, 1957

Dr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

Your report on hate literature, I believe, was issued by the American Jewish Committee, 386 - 4th Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. Under any circumstances, the facts of the report are correct. I don't expect you would want to use some of the particular language of the report, but the facts themselves can be used without question.

Enclosed you will find other materials which may be of some value to you. Among them are several hate sheets, including the White Sentinel, which you may not have seen. They have no particular value, but I thought you might like to see some of the originals. Also enclosed is a GUIDE TO SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS prepared by the Committee on Un-American Activities. Some of the organizations which may give you the roughest time have been cited by the Un-American Activities Committee (see page 151). These at least can be taken care of very simply by citing that fact to anyone who makes use of the material. Notes are attached

to most of the other material. Unfortunately, we need this material for our files, so when you are through with it would you please return it to us.

We may well not be able to do so, but if a particular source of hate literature gives you a bad time, we will try to get as much background information as possible for you.

The November 5th meeting should be an important one and we certainly hope you will be able to make it. Again, if there are any specific jobs we can do, let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures.

GUIDE TO SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS... Rev. ed. Jan. 2, 1957

"Origin of Hate-Literature..." Oct. 1, 1956
THE VOICE, Vol. 101, No. 1001
Propaganda Sheet from: Tenn. Society to Maintain Segregation
"Is Segregation Un-Christian?"
THE RELIGIOUS REVIEW, Sept. 1, 1957
Reprint from THE NATION'S SCHOOLS - "Crusaders for Segregation", by Glen Robinson
THE SOUTHERNER, Vol. 1, No. 2, March, 1956
Montgomery Citizens Council Monthly Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 3. May 28, 1956
THE VIRGINIAN, Vol. II, No. 10, Oct., 1956
THE WHITE SENTINEL, Vol. VI, No. 2., Feb., 1956
FACTS, Pub. by: Anti-Defamation League
Nov.-Dec., 1956, Vo. II, No. 6.
Oct.-Nov., 1955, Vol. 10, No. 6.
June, 1955, Vol. 10, No. 4.
January, 1956, Vol. II, No. 1.

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 22, 1957.

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn St., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul,-

I enjoyed the conversation which we have just concluded by telephone. I need so very much to spend a few days in Atlanta. May make it for this next meeting on November 5 and 6.

I enclose the paper to which I referred. I doubt if it will be necessary to include anything about Kaspar in the material I send out, but it will not hurt to have on file any information about him that is available.

I shall be very grateful for any and all information you can release to us about these personalities, The Fund for the Republic, and any other material you feel will be good background information for our otherwise uninformed editors on what is going on in the south.

Best of wishes to you and to each of our mutual friends there.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller.

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 25, 1957.

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,-

I am very grateful for your prompt and courteous attention to my request for information. The items received Wednesday and those that came Thursday have given me much help as well as encouragement.

I have noted the items you wish returned for your files. We will certainly do so. And if by any chance we miss some pieces that should be returned please notify us.

Although the editor of The Baptist Record of Mississippi checked with me by telephone Monday before his deadline on Tuesday and had my manuscript in hand I find he did not print it in the Thursday's issue which came this morning. I could have misunderstood him about the issue he would use it in or he has received pressure against printing it. We will see next week.

Thank you so very much.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller.

January 27, 1958

Dr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

Thank you for your kind letter of January 22. I can readily understand why you feel that you cannot accept the invitation to membership on the Council at this time. The important thing is for you to be able to continue the able and devoted work you are doing for the Christian Life Commission. This strengthens all of us, and I do want you to know that we are sensitive to the very heavy load you are carrying.

We will continue to look forward to every occasion that brings us together.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

January 22, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am writing in further reference to the gracious invitation of the Southern Regional Council to become a member of it. I am grateful for your second letter under date of December 14, with the additional information you enclose. Really I did not need any further information about it, although I am glad to get this glimpse of the great membership of your Council.

You have no idea, Harold, how much I would like to accept membership in the Council, but having considered the matter entirely on my own, it is my firm opinion that I can be of better service to the Council as the director of this Commission in a co-operative relationship. Please let me do it this way, and I assure you that I will remain on call for any service you want me to perform and will attend every meeting I can because of my utmost confidence in you and the men associated with you in the gigantic task the Council has set for itself in the transformation of the Southern region of our country.

You may be assured of my gratitude for the honor you have extended me and for the confidence that is manifested in me by this invitation.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

ACM/jn

February 5, 1958

Dr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

We were disappointed to learn that you cannot be with us on the 25th. However, we more than understand your very heavy schedule and the demands made on your time.

All here send their very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Memo re February 25th Meeting.)

Ch. rel / F.S.R.

Christian Life Bulletin

PUBLISHED BY THE CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

A. C. MILLER, Executive Secretary—Treasurer • 161 EIGHTH AVE., N. NASHVILLE 3, TENN.

1958-1 Published Bi-Monthly January-February

News of The Commission and Its Work

At the annual meeting of this Commission at Ridgecrest in August, 19 of its 30 members gave four days in a careful study of every phase of its work and to the formulation of its future program. The results of this thorough and intense study may be summarized as follows:

(1) The development of the research function of this Commission to include studies in social trends, social services, and social attitudes.

(2) The devolpment of methods of communication that will enable us to share our source materials and findings with those agencies which may desire them.

(3) The projection of these plans calls for an increase in our staff to include an Associate Secretary with technical training in research science, and a secretary to work with him, with sufficient equipment for both of these workers. The increase in the general work of the office would call for one additional worker as office assistant. These three additional workers, with the two persons who compose its present staff, will form a staff personnel of five workers, for whom additional office space and equipment should be provided.

(4) The Commission authorized its Chairman, Dr. Adiel Moncrief, to appoint a committee on personnel and equipment to study the cost involved in this program advance.

(5) This committee brought its report to the Administrative Committee of the Commission on the evening of December 9. They stated that the additional personnel and equipment needed for the enlarged program of this agency would require an increase of $18,198.00 in our annual budget. This amount, added to the $21,000.00 already allocated from Convention funds for 1958, would bring the total budget needs to $39,198.00 in order to project the kind of program this Commission believes is needed by Southern Baptists.

Dr. Adiel J. Moncrief, Chairman of the Christian Life Commission, represented the Commission in a recent meeting of the Churchmen's Council for Decent Publications at Washington. The permanent organization of this group was completed. Plans were made for extending public education on the widespread and intrenched traffic in obscenity and to strengthen law enforcement in connection with this problem.

The Christian Life Commission received laudable commendation from this group for its conferences at Glorieta in August on this traffic. The full statement adopted by our Glorieta workshop is given on Page 4 of this issue of the *Bulletin.*

The Vice-chairman of the Commission, **Paul Sanders,** attended meetings of a Churchmen's Seminar on Economic Life on February 4-5. Mr. Sanders was invited to this meeting by **John W. Thomas,** Executive Director of the Council on Social Progress of the American Baptist Convention. The program dealt with the application of Christian principles to various areas of industrial relationships and economic life.

The Commission is to be represented by its Executive Secretary, **A. C. Miller,** at the Tenth Annual Conference of POAU to be held at Atlanta on February 10-11. He is on the program to discuss "Sectarian Encroachments on the Public Schools." On February 13-14 he will be on the campus of Southeastern Seminary at Wake Forest for meetings in some of the classes and for a chapel address. On January 14 he attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Baptist Joint Committee at Washington, which was called to consider some questions of co-ordination in the work of the Joint Committee with the various state and convention groups charged with similar responsibilities.

"SPEAKING THE

By A. C.

From time to time the Christian Life Commission receives communications from those who express their disagreement with certain policies and procedures in its work. The right to express one's views is in complete accord with the historic position of Baptists on the freedom of thought and of conscience. No member of this agency or of its staff feels that he is beyond criticism. At the same time we believe that criticism which merits serious consideration should be based on fact.

In order to clarify some of the questions that have been raised and to correct some of the statements that have been made, the Commission wishes to give the following information.

1. **Attitude.** Some have said that this Commission has the attitude that those who differ with its views are not Christian. This idea may grow out of the name—The Christian Life Commission. This name is not meant to convey the idea that those who agree with or represent the Commission are the only Christians, nor that its members are specialists above all others in the Christian life. The name was adopted in order to emphasize the fact that moral and social relationships are a vital part of the Christian's life and responsibility.

Again, it is felt by some that those who represent the Commission presume to speak for Southern Baptists. This idea no doubt grows out of newspaper headlines and news stories written by editors and reporters who do not understand the democratic polity or principles of Baptist churches and the relationship of these churches to their denominational organization. No Baptist or group of Baptists, who accept as this Commission does the New Testament teaching on the freedom in Christ of the individual's thought and conscience, would ever attempt to speak for any other Christian or Christian body.

2. **Literature.** The Christian Life Commission has published 27 tracts and booklets on 11 subjects listed alphabetically as follows: **the aged; alcohol; Christian citizenship; daily work; family life; gambling; juvenile delinquency; moral problems; pastoral counseling; race relations, and salacious literature.**

We have been asked if we distribute these tracts and booklets among our people and their churches without their consent. The facts are: (1) the literature we publish has been developed in answer to requests for information on these subjects from members of Southern Baptist churches and organizations; and (2) with the exception of the *Christian Life Bulletin* and two other special mailings to pastors and Board members, we send these materials only to those who request them. These requests have come from Southern Baptists in both urban and rural areas throughout the Convention and from missionary stations and military installations abroad.

This procedure for giving information and suggesting interpretations on social issues is in accordance with the program and function of the Christian Life Commission as given it by official action of the Southern Baptist Convention.

3. **Racial Literature.** During the years of 1955 and 1956 a type of literature characterized by false propaganda and sordid caricatures of the Negro people began to flood the South. A survey of this literature clearly shows that most of it was sent into this region from the North and West. Among the main points of origin were New York, New Jersey, (St. Louis) Missouri, Colorado, and the West Coast. Large quantities of this printed poison were periodically shipped to points of racial tension for distribution throughout these areas.

One of these publications was *The White Sentinel,* published by a man who writes in one of his own pamphlets: "I became one of the leaders of the Young Communist Movement. I sat on the inner circle. I was taught how to kill, terrorize, promote strikes, and ridicule religion." In October of 1956 this man was arrested on a morals charge involving a 15-year-old boy, and in February of 1957 he was convicted in court for the offense of sodomy and sentenced to a two-year term in the Missouri state penitentiary.

Other literature of this kind came out of Denver, prepared and distributed by a man who writes thus in his autobiography, *Confession of a Stalin Agent:* "I served the communist party with fanatical zeal for several years."

Another publication called *Common Sense* originated in New Jersey. The House Committee on Un-American Activities stated in a report on December 17, 1954: *"Common Sense* represents itself as 'the nation's anti-communist paper' . . .

Such patriotic claims provide poor disguise, however, for some of the most vitriolic hate propaganda ever to come to the attention of this committee." The major portion of one of its issues contained a defense of the late Robert H. Best. Best was an American newsman who broadcast Nazi propaganda in Germany during the war, and who was convicted in the U. S. District Court at Boston for treason and sentenced to life imprisonment.

The spread of this type of printed material fed the flames of racial violence and called for an informative and wholesome literature to counteract it.

4. **Special Funds.** In view of the urgent demands made upon the Christian Life Commission by the developments described above, and at a time of the greatest moral decline in the history of our nation, the funds allocated to this agency by the Convention were not sufficient to enable it to meet its responsibilities. It was necessary for the Commission to go afield for additional funds.

One of the sources from which the Christian Life Commission solicited and received additional funds for its work was The Fund for the Republic. The widespread propaganda in opposition to this Fund has given rise to some criticism of this Commission. This propaganda, however, is based on several assumptions that have no basis in fact. These false assumptions are given below in italics and followed by the statement of documented facts:

(1) *It is claimed that The Fund for the Republic is listed by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive organization.*

The truth is: A letter direct from the office of the Attorney General of the U. S. states that The Fund for the Republic is not now and never has been on the Attorney General's list as a subversive organization.

(2) *A second statement repeatedly made in this propaganda is that The Fund for the Republic is listed as a subversive organization by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities.*

The truth is: In the full listings of subversive organizations and communist fronts as released by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in House Document No. 226 under date of January 2, 1957, The Fund for the Republic is not listed or even mentioned on any of its 169 pages, including the index.

(3) *A third claim made in the propaganda against The Fund for the Republic is that it is a communist front.*

The truth is: This claim is not supported by the listing of the Attorney General nor the listings of the published findings of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities.

5. **Additional Facts.** In reference to some of the criticism directed against the Christian Life Commission, some additional facts need to be given:

(1) The Christian Life Commission has received a total of $30,000 from The Fund for the Republic —an original grant of $15,000 received in June of 1956 to be used in 1956-57, and a terminal grant of $15,000 received in March of 1957 to be used in 1957-58. The Commission solicited and accepted these additional funds to supplement its budget funds for the cultivation of racial understanding and reconciliation in keeping with the Christian conscience and responsibility.

(2) On the basis of our request, The Fund for the Republic gave us financial help. This Fund has never sought to exercise any control over the use of these funds, nor has it sought to direct or influence the Christian Life Commission in any way.

(3) This whole transaction by the Commission has been open, forthright, and aboveboard. The initial news of the acceptance of this money was released through the Baptist Press and printed in 11 state denominational papers. In December of 1956, this announcement was published on the front page of the *Christian Life Bulletin* and sent to above 25,000 active pastors and 500 other leaders over the Southern Baptist Convention.

(4) In soliciting additional funds for its work the Christian Life Commission has done what any other agency is permitted to do in accordance with the Financial Plan of the Southern Baptist Convention. Moreover, the money received from this Fund is just as worthy as the millions of dollars that have been accepted from its parent organization, The Ford Foundation, by Baptist institutions throughout the states affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention.

STATEMENT ON THE TRAFFIC IN OBSCENE LITERATURE

The following statement was submitted to and adopted by the Conference on the Traffic in Obscene Literature conducted by the Christian Life Commission at Glorieta, August 8-14, 1957:

"We realize the grave problem that confronts the people of our nation in the high tide of pornographic, obscene, and indecent literature that is published and circulated, openly and secretly, throughout the land.

We recognize that such salacious publications, many of them directed toward children and young people of high school and college age, portraying immorality and glorifying laxity in sex relations, are responsible for much of the increase in juvenile delinquency and crime during recent years.

We recognize that the tide of indecent literature indicates a sickness in society that can be healed only by moral and spiritual forces.

We therefore earnestly recommend that Southern Baptist pastors, church leaders and members in every community unite in a crusade to drive obscene publications from circulation, and to sponsor literature that is clean and wholesome. We recommend that the crusade be carried on in the following areas:

1. In our homes, where Christian principles and character should be constantly exemplified and exalted.

2. In our churches, through all the denominational and local agencies. We urge that our church publications deal more candidly with the sex problems of youth so that they may have guidance that will immunize them to the poison of pornography. We urge our churches to develop wholesome recreation programs for youth as an integral part of their ministry to the community.

3. In our communities, in co-operation with individuals and organizations representing all other religious faiths, and with all groups interested in public decency and community betterment, such as the Parent-Teachers Associations, civic clubs and social agencies. We urge co-operation with the Churchmen's Council for Decent Publications in efforts toward extending public education and strengthening law enforcement in connection with this problem."

IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS

Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age, by a Co-Founder; (Harper & Bros.). Here is an inside and wide-angled view of Alcoholics Anonymous, a movement unique in its spiritual impact and social influence. It is for all who are interested to know the history of how A.A. started, how its principles of Recovery, Unity, and Service were evolved, and by what means this fellowship has grown and spread its message around the world.

The Church Faces the Isms, Arnold B. Rhodes, Editor; (Abingdon Press). What is the true nature of the competing claims on men today? How can the church and its members apply the Christian faith to our modern world of competing allegiances? Christians—especially church leaders—will find this analysis a practical and useful help as they seek to deal fairly and effectively with groups and movements which challenge the larger denominations of Protesttantism today.

With All deliberate Speed, Don Shoemaker, Editor; (Harper & Bros.). This is the story—dispassionately told, accurate, and fair—of desegregation as it has proceeded in the South in the turbulent period since the U. S. Supreme Court's decision of 1954. The distinguished writers who tell the story have had a single aim: to measure with facts and objective analysis the degree of compliance or noncompliance with the Court's constitutional decree.

This account reveals in perspective differences between border areas and the deep South, the problems peculiar to both urban and rural localities, how the colleges and universities have faced the problem, and the substance of state legislation bearing on the issue. This book will be of fundamental importance to all who are concerned with the future of America's schools.

BULLETIN OF
The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

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May 28, 1958

Dr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

Enclosed are the clippings from the Atlanta Constitution of May 23 which you requested. I am also including several other bits of publicity in which I feel you would be interested.

As I mentioned over the telephone, all of us here were pleased and gratified at the excellent work of the Southern Baptist Convention and we readily recognized the major role you played in that good work.

The interagency meeting has been completed and we will send you the minutes as soon as they are prepared. All here expressed regrets that you could not be at the meeting. However, your absence was readily understood.

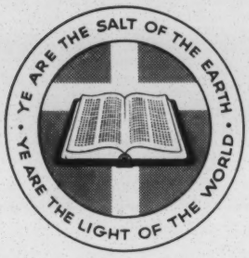
All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - Newspaper Clippings

Relig Org



The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 3, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Your letter of May 22 came while I was at Houston. I am just beginning to get a little squared away in my office after an absence of two weeks, including the Houston meeting.

I must confess that I am at a loss to know just what I should do about my relationship to the Tennessee Council. I do not get the mail that is addressed to me at the office of the Council. However, Virginia opens it and refers it to the proper people unless there is something that I should do about it. I presume that Mr. Drummond received your letter and Vita Sheet on Mr. Canfield.

We have met a number of times and plan definitely for a financial campaign, but when we meet again to hear the report of our committees, we find that nothing has been done. Personally, I can see no way of interesting anyone in the work here until we can get money enough to back him for a few months, at least. I have been working at this matter again this week. What we will be able to do about it, I am very sorry that I cannot forecast.

I wish to assure you of my interest in the Tennessee Council and in all the work of the Southern Regional Council. I do not like to be connected with a situation which seems so difficult to get things moving. We will try to get a meeting the latter part of this week and I will write you about it.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

ACM:ew

P.S. This mtg. has been arranged for Friday, June 13 at 4 P.M.

January 23, 1959

Dr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

Here is the last revised copy of the Southern Interagency directory.

It was a great pleasure seeing you at the last meeting, and I only regret that we did not have more opportunity to talk. I hope we can remedy that next time.

The very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

January 15, 1959

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Osborn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Please send me your latest revised copy of the names and addresses of those who participate in the membership of CCD. Since returning to my office just a little while ago, I have been unable to find a late copy and I would like to have one that shows all the names and the addresses.

I enjoyed the meeting at Atlanta yesterday and today very much. You may rest assured that I will be at each of these meetings except at those times when conflicting dates might make it impossible.

Best of wishes to you and to each and all who are associated with you.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

ACM:ew

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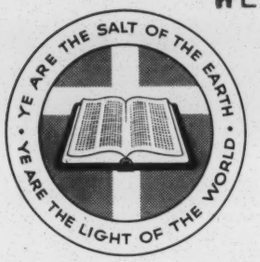

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 5, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was refreshing to have your letter yesterday, as it always is. I suppose we did not realize when we were writing and signing this statement that it would have so broad a circulation. It seems that we got our message over and I am glad we did.

For a long time I have felt that a halt should be called on these men who so glibly accuse worthy men of such unworthy ends and acts.

I am glad that we got by another Southern Baptist Convention meeting without being stampeded by the demagogues who tried it a little again this year. As far as the Southern Baptist Convention is concerned, it seems that we have arrived to the point of greater maturity. I hope we will continue to grow in this respect.

Please convey to those associated with you my good wishes. I am looking forward to seeing some of you here at the opening days of the Fisk Institute. I regret that I shall have to be away for a meeting in Pennsylvania beginning July 6.

Thank you again for writing.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

ACM:ew

Light

Bulletin of THE CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION of THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

161 EIGHTH AVENUE, N. • NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

YE ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH • YE ARE THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD

VOL. VI, NO. 3 JULY-AUGUST 1959

Commission Secretary Attends Conferences On Aging

The Executive Secretary of the Christian Life Commission attended two significant conferences on the aging the week of June 22-26, at the University of Michigan.

The first was the Twelfth Annual Conference on Aging sponsored by the University. For more than a decade the leaders in the Extension Department of this great school have been studying this vital question and growing problem in the American population. At this conference they sought to assess past experience and current research to give new insights and encouragement to the planned development of systems and programs of individual preparation which will give vitality, meaning, and social significance to the retirement years.

The second conference was a three-day workshop conducted by the Special Staff on Aging of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in cooperation with departments and agencies of the federal government and other organizations. This was a National Leadership Training Institute leading up to the White House Conference on Aging in which the Christian Life Commission has been invited to participate.

Both the institute and the conference were designed to assist states, communities, individuals, and organizations in program planning and in guiding their activities for the aging, and as special preparation for the White House Conference. The information and insights received at these conferences will be of valuable help to the Commission in planning and promoting conferences for leadership training in this vital area of our Christian service.

Christian Life Conferences At Summer Assemblies

The Christian Life Conferences at Ridgecrest and Glorieta assemblies in August have for their theme "The Christian Citizen in Community Action." The conference program will consist of workshops on the problem of alcohol and alcoholism, obscene literature, racial tensions, and church-state relations considered in the light of community life and responsibility. The workshops will be followed daily by a period of Bible study on "The Christian Gospel and Social Frontiers," and an evening period of questions and open discussion on the subjects considered in the workshops and Bible class.

We extend a special and urgent invitation to each member of the Christian Life, Social Service, or Civic Righteousness committees of the various states to be present. We join Dr. Carlson and his office in urging all who are members of the various state Public Affairs Committees to come and participate in the workshop on church-state relations at the community level. All who are interested in helping to find a solution for these community issues so vital to the moral and spiritual welfare of the people have our cordial invitation to attend these meetings at Glorieta, August 6-12, and at Ridgecrest, August 20-26.

In addition to these conferences by the Christian Life Commission, there will be available other periods of Bible study and worship in the program of the annual Bible Conference sponsored by the Sunday School Board, with special times for fellowship and recreation for all.

The Christian Life Commission At The Convention

Three significant actions relating to the work of the Christian Life Commission were taken by the Southern Baptist Convention at Louisville. (1) The Convention approved the report of the Committee on Total Program that "each commission is currently conducting an important program which should be continued as a vital service to the denomination." (2) It approved the allocation of $31,500.00 to the operations budget of the Commission for 1960, an increase of $8,500.00 over 1959. (3) It approved the recommendation of the Committee on World Peace that the Convention commit to the Christian Life Commission the program on world peace, including the appointment of a Southern Baptist observer at the United Nations.

Salt-o-graphs

"Ye are the salt of the earth"

Throughout the inhabited parts of the globe there are some causes that *drive* people together: the growth in population, the forces of nature, the aggression of enemies. There are other causes that *draw* people together: the instinct for association, the needs of livelihood, the desire for culture. The result is that on every continent or island of the sea human life forms itself into communities.

The individual and the family group are becoming more and more dependent upon community life. In spite of the development of nuclear weapons that threaten to destroy whole cities, man is not likely to scatter into mountain caves or country cabins for his permanent abode. He is more likely to go underground, to emerge about the first minute he can. For an indefinite future people will live in communities large and small. It is necessary, therefore, that this community life be made wholesome, healthful, and moral.

Such a goal is not attained by accident. It is achieved by men "toiling upward in the night"—and through the day. Society is becoming more complex. With the awakening of multiplied millions of submerged peoples over the world, and the growth in the world population being counted in other mutiplied millions, human society is not likely to become any less complex. Yet with all of its complexities, it is striving for unity. The relations among men must become so adjusted that they will produce the maximum of justice, happiness, and peace with a minimum of disease, danger, and conflict.

The story of man begins in a peaceful garden. The story of redeemed man culminates in a beautiful city. It is a city into which nothing enters that defiles. It is a city where man lives in loving fellowship with God and with one another. In that city the strength of each is held in trust for the good of all.

"Then let me learn the language of that home
While here on earth I be;
Lest my poor lips for want of words be dumb
In that high company." (Anonymous)

—A. C. M.

Advance Needed In Human Relations

by
Adiel J. Moncrief, Jr.*

The racial conflict of our region has set back the cause of Christian missions in vast areas of the world. The repercussions of this conflict are heard in Africa, India, and the Near East, where their terrific impact turn the multitudes against our missionary enterprises and do great damage to the moral leadership of America. The gravity of this conflict and the urgency for its solution cannot be overemphasized.

The Christian Life Commission constantly pleads for a change of mind and a change of heart on the part of those among our Southern Baptist constituency who resist racial democracy. We urge that communication between the Negro and white races be re-established and maintained; that good will and mutual trust be more earnestly and prayerfully sought under the Holy Spirit, who has through the centuries given clear social vision and has enabled us to develop strong bonds of love and understanding for all the children of God.

We would exert no force that would abridge the freedom of any individual in Christ or that would compromise any man's conscience; nor would we in the slightest degree infringe the autonomy of any local church. But we have a deep conviction that the exercise of such liberty by many of our brethren with respect to their attitude and relations toward the Negro people may prove to be a "stumbling-block" and "an opportunity for the flesh." (Gal. 5:13-14).

We cannot forget that the Church is the body of which Christ is the Head. It must be governed by Christ's declared truths and be subject to his will. It must be motivated by his love and guided by his mind; otherwise it becomes no better than any human society. It loses its prophetic voice and "is no longer good for anything except to be thrown out and trodden under foot by man."

The Commission is concerned for the future of Baptists in this struggle. We believe that Baptists, along with many other Christians, are on trial in the court of world opinion as well as in the eyes of God. We plead for a reconsideration by our people and their churches of their position on this issue in the light of Christian truth. We urge them to engage in a prayerful and steadfast advance in their relations with the Negro people that will give content and power to the Christian gospel in terms of true brotherhood and justice to all peoples.

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*Dr. Moncrief is Chairman of the SBC Christian Life Commission, and pastor of the First Baptist Church of St. Joseph, Mo.

World Peace and the United Nations

In this and subsequent issues of LIGHT this page will be used for questions and answers relating to the work of the Christian Life Commission on world peace and the United Nations. One of the principal functions of the Commission is to give authentic information on the areas of work committed to it. Since this is a new advance movement for Southern Baptists, we believe the first need to be met is that of basic information on this question. We will do our best to give an objective answer to all questions sent us relating to this subject, regardless of the opinion expressed.

Since several questions have been asked since the Convention met in Louisville, we will answer three of them in this issue.

Q. *"What precedent do Southern Baptists have for their action at Louisville on world peace and on the appointment of a United Nations Observer?"*

A. Southern Baptists have a great deal of precedent. As early as 1891 the Southern Baptist Convention appointed its President, Judge Jonathan Harralson, as delegate to a meeting to study and urge the securing of arbitration in place of war. A resolution urging arbitration for all nations was adopted in 1895, and in 1921 the Convention asked that a conference on disarmament be called. The year 1925 saw a resolution adopted by the Convention which approved the adherence of the U. S. to the Permanent Court of International Justice; and every year from 1931 to 1936 the Convention urged the U. S. to ratify the protocol of the World Court. From that year to the present, a resolution or statement on peace, war, or disarmament has been adopted almost every year. In 1943 a Committee on World Peace was appointed by the Convention. It served until 1946, formulated six principles as a basis for world peace, and cooperated unofficially with the U. S. government in the organization of the United Nations, with seven out of its nine suggestions being incorporated in the U. N. Charter.

Q. *"Isn't the U. N. a nest of communist spies?"*

A. There is nothing to spy on in the U. N. All its debates and decisions are open to every member. Nothing in the U. S.-U. N. Headquarters agreement prevents the U. S. from prosecuting for espionage or subversion any of its own citizens employed by the U. N. The exchange of missions between nations leaves open the possibility, but the concentration of delegates in one area makes it easier to guard against espionage.

Q. *"Since the U. N. does not name God in its Charter and does not open its meetings with prayer, isn't it therefore atheistic?"*

A. The Constitution of the U. S. does not name God, but is not therefore atheistic. The U. N. General Assembly opens its meetings with a moment of silence so that each delegate may offer silently his own prayer in his own language. A prayer room for delegates and employees is open at all times. The U. N. Charter expresses the hopes and aspirations of religious and peace-loving people throughout the world and is a document consistent with beliefs common to the major religious groups of this country.

ANNUAL DINNER

The annual Convention dinner meeting of the Christian Life Commission was held on Tuesday night, May 19, in the Mason-Dixon Restaurant at Louisville, Ky.

The following members and their wives were present: Dr. and Mrs. Henlee Barnette, Kentucky; Rev. Walter Thompson, California; Dr. and Mrs. Robert McCan, Tennessee; Dr. and Mrs. W. M. Shamburger, Texas; Rev. Carl Daw, Tennessee; Dr. and Mrs. W. Howard Lee, Virginia; Dr. and Mrs. C. Douglas Jackson, Georgia; Dr. R. B. Culbreth, Florida; Dr. Julius Corpening, South Carolina; Dr. and Mrs. Wayne Dehoney, Tennessee; Chaplain Fred Bell, Dr. Dewey Roach, Dr. and Mrs. Howard Colson, Dr. and Mrs. A. C. Miller, and Miss Jan Nisbet, all from Nashville, Tennessee.

The following guests were also present: Dr. C. Emanuel Carlson, Executive Director, and Dr. Barry Garrett, Associate Director, Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs; Mr. Harry Seamans, Organization Liaison Officer, U. S. Dept. of State; Dr. Foy Valentine, Executive Director, Texas Christian Life Commission; and Rev. Jack Wilson, pastor, Kansas City, Missouri.

In the absence of the chairman Dr. C. Douglas Jackson was chosen to preside. Among the matters discussed were the Commission's report to the Convention and the recent meeting of the President's Committee on Government Contracts in Washington. This meeting was attended by eight of the Commission members, five of whom reported briefly on the proceedings.

COMING AND GOING

The Christian Life Commission wishes to express appreciation for the service performed by its four outgoing members. These men who have served faithfully over the past few years are: Dr. J. Guy Saunders, Maryland; Mr. Robert N. Nicholson, Oklahoma; Dr. W. M. Shamburger, Texas; and Dr. Wayne Dehoney, local member from Jackson, Tennessee.

We are happy to introduce the following new members: Rev. Leonard Carmack, pastor, First Baptist Church, Brunswick, Maryland; Rev. Joe Ingram, pastor, Nogales Avenue Baptist Church, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Mr. Orba Lee Malone, attorney, El Paso, Texas; and Mrs. Douglas Hills, Superintendent of Cradle Roll Work, BSSB, Nashville, Tennessee.

The following members were re-elected for a second term: Dr. G. Avery Lee, Louisiana; Dr. Adiel J. Moncrief, Jr., Missouri; Dr. Olin T. Binkley, North Carolina; Dr. Robert McCan, Tennessee; and Dr. Howard P. Colson, Dr. Dewey R. Roach, Dr. R. K. Galloway, and Dr. Daniel R. Grant, local members from Nashville, Tennessee.

CHRISTIAN LIFE CONFERENCES—GLORIETA—AUGUST 6-12

Light

Published Bi-Monthly by the

CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

A. C. MILLER—Executive Secretary and Editor

JAN NISBET—Editor's Assistant

161-8th Ave., N.
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Light is distributed to active pastors, SBC agency heads, state secretaries, state editors, BSU directors and local BSU presidents, as well as to any individual who writes requesting it.

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Dr. Harold. C. Fleming 57
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

March 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of March 8th regarding the next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference to be held on April 21st and 22nd, was received in this office. The letter was addressed to Dr. A. C. Miller, so I thought I would notify you that Dr. Miller retired from this position as of March 1, 1960. He is now living in Sedona, Arizona where he serves as pastor of the little Baptist church. If the invitation to attend this meeting should be extended to him personally, would you please contact him there. Since it is a very small place, you can write to him merely at Sedona, Arizona.

I am forwarding your letter on to the new Executive Secretary of this Commission. Dr. Foy Valentine has accepted the call to serve in this capacity and will assume his duties on June 1st. If you should wish to contact Dr. Valentine before this time his present address is: The Christian Life Commission of Texas, 307 Baptist Building, Dallas 1, Texas.

I am sure you will hear from Dr. Valentine in regard to reservations for this Conference.

Sincerely,

Mrs. R. L. York

Mrs. R. L. York
Office Secretary

Notified, info. forwarded, Dr. Miller, Dr. Valentine

File
Info passed on to 4th floor

Light

Bulletin of THE CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION of THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

161 EIGHTH AVENUE, N. • NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

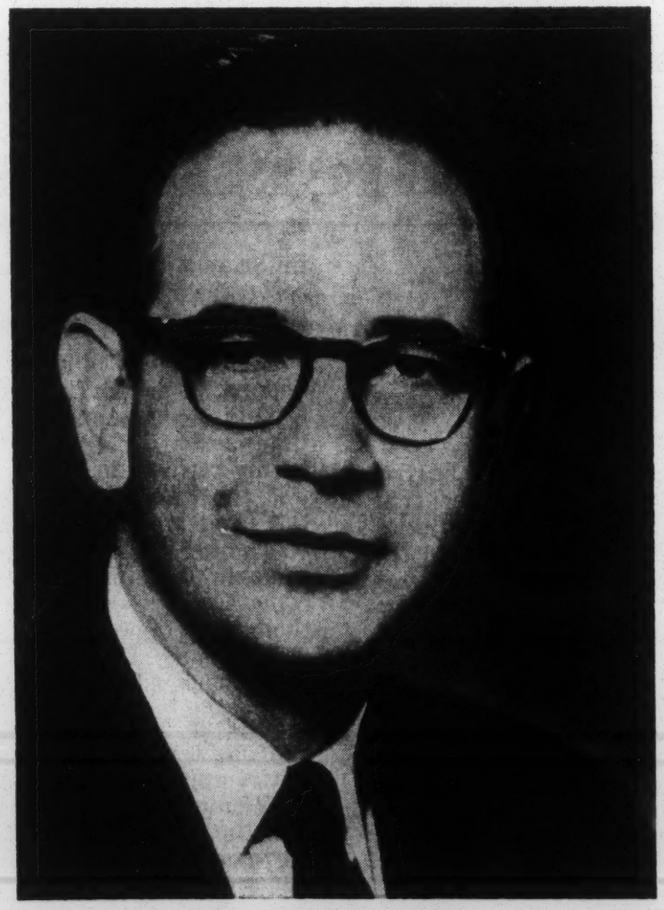
VOL. XII, NO. 1 MARCH - APRIL, 1960

VALENTINE HEADS COMMISSION

Dr. Foy D. Valentine of Dallas, Texas, has been elected Executive Secretary of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention succeeding Dr. A. C. Miller. He will begin his new duties June 1.

Dr. Valentine has been director of the Christian Life Commission of the Baptist General Convention of Texas since 1953, when he also succeeded Dr. Miller, who left the Texas position to assume the Southern Baptist Convention leadership post in Nashville.

A native of Edgewood, Texas, Dr. Valentine received his Bachelor of Arts degree at Baylor University, Waco, Texas, and his Master and Doctor of Theology degrees at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas.



DR. FOY VALENTINE

Dr. Valentine's previous pastoral and denominational experience includes the following: pastor of the Jonah Baptist Church at Jonah, Texas, from 1942 to 1943; pastor of the Golden Baptist Church at Golden, Texas, from 1944 to 1947; director of Baptist student activities for colleges in Houston, Texas, from 1949 to 1950; pastor of the First Baptist Church of Gonzales, Texas, from 1950 to 1953; and special representative in race relations for the Texas Baptist Convention from 1947 to 1948.

Dr. Valentine is the author of a number of tracts on various aspects of Christian Life Commission work, including family life, race relations, moral issues, economic life, and Christian citizenship.

The Christian Life Commission is happy to welcome Dr. Valentine as its new Executive Secretary.

A. C. MILLER

A. C. Miller Retires

My decision to retire from the position of Executive Secretary of the Christian Life Commission and to enter a different phase of my Christian ministry and service is based on developments relating to the program of the Commission and of the Southern Baptist Convention.

I. In view of the growth of the work of the Christian Life Commission, which imposes increased responsibilities on the Executive Secretary, I feel that the best interests of the Commission will be better served by my retirement at age sixty-eight and the employment of a capable and trained man in this position. This growth is manifested by the following developments:

1. Developments arising out of the acceptance by the Southern Baptist Convention of the report of its Committee on Total Program. This report, and the re-organization of Convention agencies required by its provisions, establishes for the Commission a more inclusive relationship to the Convention, which will permit the Commission to fulfil its functions in a broader and more intensive program of service.

2. Developments in the function of the Commission growing out of its extended program. These functions are described in the report of the Program Study Committee of the Commission.

II. Proposed changes in the administration needs of the Commission have led me to feel that the timing is right for my successor to assume leadership of the administration of the Commission for these reasons:

1. The program of the Commission is under study by its committee and will be presented to the Convention through the Executive Committee in September, 1960.

2. The plans for new office quarters for the Commission are in process of development, but final decisions on arrangement have been postponed a year.

3. The present secretarial staff have changes in their plans which will leave the successor free to choose his own staff.

III. Anticipating these program and staff changes following the meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention at Louisville last May, I began to look forward to my retirement in order to give the Commission an opportunity to choose a successor with adequate preparation to lead its expanding program. In seeking to arrive at a decision I sought the guidance of the Holy Spirit in earnest and prolonged prayer. He had led me to accept this position, and I knew that he would guide me and the members of this Commission in planning for my retirement. He has definitely led me to my retirement residence in Sedona, Arizona, where I have been invited to serve the First Baptist Church in my retired position.

Before these plans were made for the move to Sedona, I asked the Executive Committee of the Commission to appoint a committee representing the Commission to advise with me and the Commission on my retirement. This was on October 5, 1959. I told the Executive Committee and the members of the Program Study Committee at that time that I was going to the California and Arizona Conventions in November and that several inquiries had come for my services after my retirement. I told them if an opportunity for service in my retirement should come from any of these inquiries, that I would seriously consider its acceptance.

As soon as I was led to the decision to move to Sedona, I wrote each member of the special committee appointed on October 5 to advise with me and the Commission on my retirement. In this letter I told the committee that I would like to make this move to Sedona by January 31, 1960; but that if they felt my services with the Commission should be retained through February, 1960, I was sure it could be arranged.

Continued next page

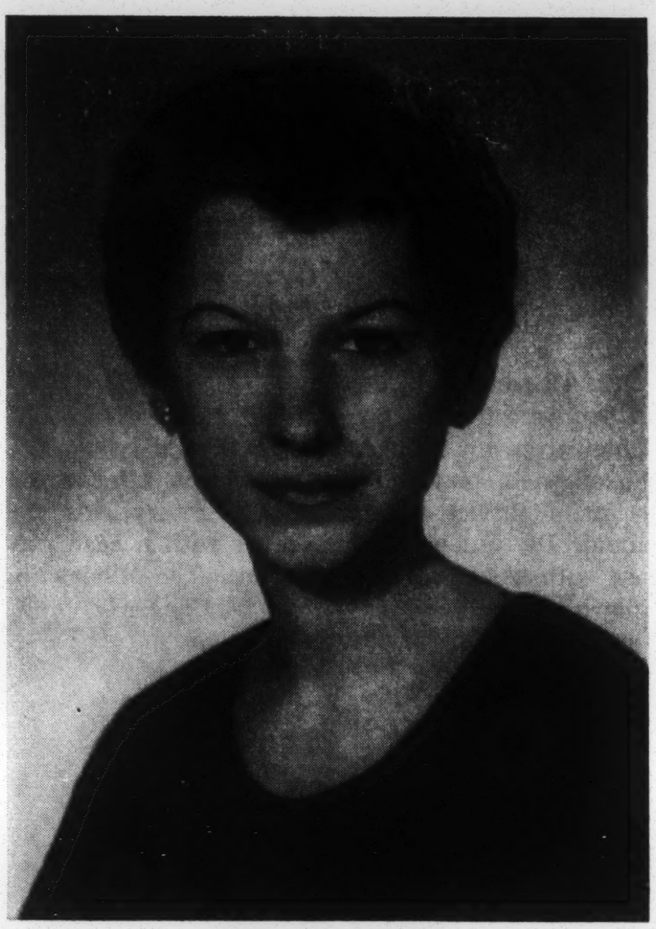
To Marry

Editorial Secretary

The Christian Life Commission is happy to join the parents of Miss Jan Nisbet in the announcement of her marriage to Mr. James T. Boyd, City-wide BSU Director in Little Rock, Arkansas. The wedding will be in Nashville on the morning of April 30, 1960. Miss Nisbet has served on the staff of the Commission since June, 1956. She will continue her services until April 15.

Miss Nisbet is a graduate of Baylor University. She came to the Commission following her graduation from Southwestern Baptist Seminary with the MRE degree in May, 1956. Her academic preparation and her life and service as a follower of Christ have fitted her preeminently for her work with the Commission. She was given the position of Editorial Secretary on the staff, in which position she has served with distinction. She has prepared the copy and layout for tracts, programs, and the Commission's bimonthly bulletin *Light*, and directed the preparation of a series of color slides on the work of the Commission. In addition to her writings for the Commission, she has written socials and lesson materials for the Baptist Sunday School Board, and two poems for the *Baptist Student Magazine*.

Miss Nisbet has also been an able assistant in the research function of the Commission. Many of the requests for information that come to this agency have been answered from her studies and research. She has had charge of the annual literature displays at the Southern Baptist Convention and at Student Week at Ridgecrest and Glorieta. Still another phase of her work has been that of bookkeeper for the Commission.



MISS JAN NISBET

Jan will tell you she is exceedingly happy to assume the role of homemaker in the attractive apartment at 402 N. Rose in Little Rock. In this position she feels that she is not only fulfilling the high hope and privilege of every woman in the plan of God, but that she is entering another phase of Christian service in the opportunity of building a Christian home.

The Commission will miss her and the high quality of her service. Her place will be hard to fill. But we feel that God will lead in choosing her successor, as he led in bringing her to this place of service.—ACM

I wish to express to each member of this committee my grateful appreciation for their consideration and courtesies in advising with me on my retirement. I wish also to express to each member of the Executive Committee and of the entire Commission my grateful appreciation for their constructive cooperation in all the work of the Commission and the large part they have taken in the growth and development of its program of service.

I am sure we all agree that this Commission now faces its greatest day of opportunity in its work with Southern Baptists and with the Christian leadership of the world. I shall continue with you in prayer for God to guide you in the best wisdom and courage of which you are capable in the fulfilment of this great challenge.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

Executive Secretary

DINNER HONORS MILLERS

Commission Elects New Officers

On Tuesday night, March 1, Dr. and Mrs. A. C. Miller were honored at a dinner at the Hermitage Hotel given by the members of the Christian Life Commission, marking his retirement after seven years of service as Executive Secretary. At the dinner Dr. Miller was presented with a cash gift and with trout fishing equipment. The Millers are shown below with Dr. Robert McCan, who made the presentation for the Commission.

A resolution of the Commission cited Dr. Miller for his outstanding leadership, and stated that "he has brought prestige and honor to the Commission and its causes. He has displayed wise leadership, has taken courageous stands, and has had patient endurance in times of tension."

MRS. MILLER, MILLER, McCAN

GRANT, LEE, CULBRETH

Among the guests present at the banquet were Dr. James L. Sullivan, Dr. and Mrs. Porter Routh, Dr. and Mrs. Albert McClellan, Dr. and Mrs. Davis Wooley, Dr. and Mrs. John A. Barry, and Dr. and Mrs. Harold Purdy.

Following the dinner a brief business meeting was held, at which time the Commission elected the following new officers: Dr. G. Avery Lee, Chairman, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Ruston, La.; Dr. Daniel R. Grant, Vice-chairman, Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; and Dr. R. B. Culbreth, Recording Secretary, pastor of the Miami Springs Baptist Church, Miami Springs, Fla.

Light

Published Bi-Monthly by the

CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

A. C. MILLER—Executive Secretary and Editor

JAN NISBET—Editor's Assistant

161-8th Ave., N.
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Light is distributed to active pastors, SBC agency heads, state secretaries, state editors, BSU directors and local BSU presidents, as well as to any individual who writes requesting it.

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Dr. Harold. C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

57

November 23, 1954

Dictated November 22

Mr. Homer G. Dyer
J. H. Berry Realty Company
2910 Twenty-Seventh Street
North Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Dyer:

Many thanks for your letters of November 10 and 18, the program, the clip, and the booklet. All remains in order.

I will be having at that time as a house guest Mr. Sastrowardojo Surjono, a thirty year old Indonesian diplomat in this country under the auspices of the Institute of International Relations in connection with the U. S. State Department's program of cultural exchange. I expect that Mr. Surjono will care to drive with me to Birmingham, and the next morning on to Nashville to a meeting there.

I have called the room clerk at the Thomas Jefferson Hotel just now, and made arrangements for Mr. Surjono to share my room or another room and be subjected to no embarrassment on account of his color. Either I, or the two of us, will arrive at the Thomas Jefferson well before 6:00 p.m. on Friday, November 26th, and will be available there to be picked up at 6:00. I daresay Mr. Surjono will be Mohammedan, and may or may not be equipped with turban. The hotel room clerk understood the matter and promised all courtesies, saying that she would, in addition, notify the matter on memo to Mr. Whittle, the manager.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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Southern Regional Council

Nov - 18 - 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr Mitchell:

I feel that I may have more time with you before the meeting, since you are coming by automobile. If you have no objections, I may invite some of the others who are vitally interested in our program, some of them out of town guests - to have dinner with us. I hope that we may be able to have dinner promptly at 6:00 o'clock, as I may have to go back to my home for some guests who will be attending the meeting -

I am sure everything will work out just right - We are taking this meeting seriously and are bidding for a good crowd. Here is some of our publicity - and a little booklet that I hope you will approve of. Will call for you at Thomas Jefferson a few minutes before 6:00 -

Until then, many good wishes for a journey - H.G. Dyer

November 16, 1954

Mr. Homer G. Dyer
J. H. Berry Realty Company
2910 Twenty-Seventh Street
North Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Dyer:

I have somewhat changed my plans and shan't go to Nashville. Therefore, I will drive over to Birmingham during the afternoon of Friday, November 26th and meet you at the Thomas Jefferson at 6:00 in the evening for dinner. I will sleep at the Thomas Jefferson that night in the room you so kindly reserved, and Saturday morning will drive back to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

cc: KS - with/ticket to be cancelled.
airplane

You will arrive in Bmgh'm 6:15 p.m.

ed

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Nov. 10 - 1954

Dr George L. Mitchell.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED 11/12/54 Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You have reservation for single room at The Thomas Jefferson Hotel for the night of Nov. 26th. I do not know whether you will have confirmation from the Hotel management, but the Manager wrote your name and address on the registration block -

The meeting will be held at the 16th Street Baptist Church, located at 6th Ave. and 16th St. North - The hotel is on 2nd Ave. & 17th St. No. Distance to meeting place - five blocks -

It is my purpose to meet you at Air Port and go over our program on the way into town. I will write asking near the time for meeting.

Yours truly, H. G. Dyer

November 5, 1954

Mr. Homer G. Dyer
J. H. Berry Realty Company
2910 Twenty-Seventh Street
North Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Dyer:

I am to take part in a conference in the daytime on November 26th and 27th, and shall be coming to Birmingham by plane, arriving at 6:15 p.m. on the 26th at the airport from Nashville. I will get myself on into town and pick up a room at the Thomas Jefferson Hotel, if that is all right with you. And then, I shall have to be leaving Birmingham the next morning at 9:00 a.m. to get back to Nashville.

That makes it a little cheaper for your group.

If you will be kind enough to reserve a single room for me at the Thomas Jefferson Hotel, I will be grateful.

But write me later exactly when and where in Birmingham you want me to appear.

Or would it be a good plan for you and me to have dinner downtown together that evening before the meeting?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

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Oct. 29-1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
11/1/54
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:-

I am delighted that you will be with us on the evening of Nov. 26th. Your approach to the subject of Unity sounds mighty good.

We plan a quiet campaign to arouse interest in our meeting and of course hope that we will have an interested group to hear you and Mr. Blackwell. I will give you more detailed information as we come nearer to the time for our program. If there are any questions or any information that I can supply you, please don't hesitate to let me know. Also, we are open to suggestions on the ~~type~~ and methods of publicity-

Yours, very sincerely, Homer G. Dyer

October 27, 1954

Mr. Homer G. Dyer
J. H. Berry Realty Company
2910 Twenty-Seventh Street
North Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Dyer:

Nice to hear from you. And I am free on the 26th and am quite willing to come. What I talk about ordinarily revolves around the relationship of law, economics, and loyalty in the approach to unity. Would that be all right?

The B'Hai group here in Atlanta has let me talk to them once or twice and I have a pleasant relationship with them.

Mr. Eagan I knew at Blue Ridge in the old days, and, of course, I know what an important role he played in getting the whole interracial movement going in the South. Until a few years ago we had visible evidence of his interest because the safe we used had been his and bore his name in gilded letters. We moved to new space and unfortunately the safe didn't get through the new door. But there was some significance in the fact that whenever we had 10¢ it rested in Mr. Eagan's strongbox!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

etc

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2910 27TH STREET
NORTH BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Oct. 25-1954

Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You may not remember me but I was at the meeting of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council in Montgomery last Feb. 4th. I was the Secretary of the Industrial Ymca of ACipco (American Cast Iron Pipe Company) in Birmingham from 1916 until they retired me in Aug. 1953. I am now trying to sell real estate as a pass time.

I knew Mr. John J. Eagan and worked with him from 1916 until his passing in 1924. It was he who first interested a group in Atlanta to work in the field of better race relations and which grew into the Inter-Racial Committee, which grew into the Southern Regional Council.

You may know more about this history than I do.

I was a member of the Alabama Inter-Racial Committee, and am now a member of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council - also

I am also a member of the National Bahai Inter-Racial Teaching Committee, this Committee plans to hold a meeting in Birmingham on the evening of Nov. 26th (which is on a Fri. evening). The subject for discussion - "Unity - The Key-note for Today." We want you to Speak on any phase of Unity, such as educational, cultural, political. Anything that will help us to think in the field of Cooperation, brotherhood and world peace.

Mr. Ellsworth Blackwell, a negro from Chicago, will speak on Spiritual Unity.

If this date - evening of Nov. 26th is open, Please do not give me a negative answer at this time, but allow me to come to Atlanta, this week, at your convenience and discuss this program with you. In my opinion, this will be a great opportunity to get a worthwhile message over to a group of people who may be able to ease the tension in this City. We will pay your expenses for the trip. Please say - "I accept the assignment" or "Come over and talk it over."

Yours Sincerely = HOMER - G - DYER

THE SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLY OF

THE BAHAI'S OF

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

"Unity - The Keynote for today"

We all have ideas about the Wonderful World we would like to live in.....

Hear two outstanding speakers speak on Human Relations.

Dr. George.S. Mitchell
from Atlanta, Georgia
Executive Director of the Southern Regional
Council on Race Relations.

SPEAK ON "The Basic Principles of Unity in Human Relations."

Mr. Ellsworth Blackwell
of Chicago, Illinois
Junior officer Golden State Life Insurance
Company. A member of The National Spiritual
Assembly of The Bahai's. A former Bahai
teacher in Haiti.

SPEAK ON "Spirituality, a Basis for Unity in Human Relations."

PLACE Sixteenth Street Baptist Church
Corner 16th Street and 6th Avenue, North

TIME Friday Evening - November 26th
8:00 O'Clock

These men will explain a plan that can bring a peaceful and happy solution to the problems of Human Relations.

This meeting is being held under the Auspices of
the National Bahai Inter-Racial Teaching Committee
and the Local Spiritual Assembly of Birmingham.

"There is a principle which is a bar against all information, which is proof against all arguments, and which cannot fail to keep a man in everlasting ignorance. That principle is condemnation before investigation."

Herbert Spencer

BAHÁ'Í INTER-RACIAL TEACHING COMMITTEE

A COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE BAHA'IS OF THE UNITED STATES

DR. SARAH M. PEREIRA, CHAIRMAN
WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE
INSTITUTE, WEST VIRGINIA

MISS LYDIA J. MARTIN, SECRETARY
~~1529 KELTON AVENUE~~
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO

MRS. MARIAN LIPPITT
MRS. LOUISE A. TAYLOR
MR. FARHANG JAVID
MR. GEORGE KIBBY
MR. COLEMAN A. LEWIS
MR. ROBERT POWERS
MR. RAYMOND ROUSE

November 30, 1954

RECEIVED
12-3-54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell;

The Baha'i Inter-Racial Teaching Committee wishes to express its thanks and appreciation to you for the splendid address on last Friday night. It is most heartening to us as it must be to all the believers in God throughout the South and in America, to know there is someone like you who is courageous and capable who is pointing the way, charting the course for all to follow. You are able to rise as a leader of men because the Holy Spirit has reached you. There is no doubt that God loves you very much and that your rewards both in this world and the next will be great. Oh that there were a thousand Dr. Mitchells to help with this all important work - our spiritual crusade!

In return for your beautiful message may we offer you the Baha'i Faith? It is simple and sweet but you will find if you investigate it and study it, that it is a million dollars in spiritual currency. Our dear friend Mr. Dyer and other Baha'is in Atlanta will be only too happy to give you Baha'i literature and invite you to Baha'i functions. It is very important for you to know what the Baha'i Faith is, and it will mean much to the Baha'is to know you.

Again many, many thanks for speaking for us.

Yours sincerely,

Lydia J. Martin

Lydia J. Martin,
Secretary
2392 East 40th Street
Cleveland 4, Ohio

December 3, 1954

Mr. H. G. Dyer
J. H. Berry Realty Company
2910 Twenty-Seventh Street
North Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Dyer:

I had a good time and am grateful to you and your friends for the opportunity to have that evening in Birmingham. Everyone was most kind to my guests -- who rather piled up.

Nice to have the link with the Egans ACIPCO.

If you come to Atlanta, let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absen

ACIPCO

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RECEIVED 12-1-54 Southern Regional Office

B'Hai's

Nov-30-1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell:

We cannot express in words our appreciation of your helping out on our program in Birmingham. We are also pleased that you brought Mr. Surjono and Mr. Dickson along - I think it was a good opportunity to let Mr. Surjono see that there are some people in America who are thinking along the right ways to relieve or prevent world tensions - it has to be done first by individuals, and those individuals working through other individuals and groups -

You and Mr. Blocksnell both made wonderful contributions to the right thinking of those who came to hear you.

If any of us can ever be of help to you in your work for better human relations, please call on us.

With prayers and all good wishes for you personally, and for your work, I remain, Yours truly,

H.G. Dyer

February 18, 1955

Mrs. Ellsworth Blackwell
6932 South Prarie Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Blackwell:

'Tis all straight about my turning up for the Baha'i Human Relations Forum, Sunday, March 6th, 8:00 p.m., at the Chicago Baha'i Center, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Room 709. I will try to stick to the subject assigned.

Whoever is paying my way up there for the two educational meetings offered no more than my bare travel expenses, so I had to rustle around and find a bed. But I have friends out of long ago who live at Hinsdale, and they said I could stay out there, and that is where I am to be. It will mean catching a Burlington train after the Sunday evening meeting, but I guess the train still runs.

You are very kind to offer to take me in, but I will belong at the Hinsdale address. They, by the way, are Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Parker. I get to town the morning of March 5th and talk that night for some kind of John Dewey Society at the Hilton. And I am on tap again Monday night for another educational meeting at the same place. And then I go down to Bloomington, Illinois, on the 8th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

6932 S. Prairie Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois
February 13, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation of a week ago when you so graciously consented to speak on the Baha'i Human Relations Forum, scheduled for Sunday, March 6, 1955 at 8 P. M. at the Chicago Baha'i Center, 116 S. Michigan Avenue - Room 709.

As we mentioned to you the topic for discussion will be "Integration of Minorities - Liability or Asset?". Your co-speaker will be Mr. Ned Blackmer, former Baha'i Pioneer Teacher to Luxembourg and Belgium, now resident in this area. We are also asking each of you to talk for about fifteen or twenty minutes after which there will be adiscussion period from the floor. A musical program by Mrs. Marion Lewis, Contralto, will be an additional feature of the evening.

This promises to a most stimulating evening and we do indeed count ourselves fortunate in having you on this panel.

Very truly yours,

BAHA'I HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

By Ruth Blackwell
Mrs. Ellsworth Blackwell,
Chairman

P.S. Mr. Blackwell is looking forward to renewing his association with you and remembers with pleasure the occasion in Birmingham, when he shared the Baha'i platform with you there. And we both wish to extend the hospitality of our home to you while you will be in the city on this particular occasion. Our home telephone is Aberdeen-4-4708. However, just let us know when and where you will arrive in the city.

Ruth Blackwell

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Bahai's

Mrs. Ellsworth Blackwell
6932 Prarie Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

AT YOUR SERVICE SUNDAY EVENING MARCH 6TH. WRITE DETAILS WHERE AND WHEN.

George S. Mitchell

May 10, 1955

Mrs. Gertrude D. Marks
Assistant Secretary
Human Relations Committee
Chicago Baha'i Community
5235 N. Winthrop Avenue
Chicago 40, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Marks:

How very kind of you to write.

I remember the visit, and I had a good time.

The biggest thing for the moment that you can do to help the Southern Regional Council is to scrape around in the treasury and turn up $10.00 or so and send it to the Southern Regional Council as a contribution. That's what we need.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
Chicago Baha'i Community
5235 N. Winthrop Avenue
Chicago 40, Illinois

May 3, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It is with sincere gratitude that we wish to express our appreciation for your appearing as one of the panel of speakers on our program of March 6, 1955. It was a pleasure to have you with us at that time. We feel that, certainly, the success which we had can be attributed to our having as fine a speaker as you.

We hope that you enjoyed being part of the program; we assuredly were very proud to have you join us in putting human relation problems and discussion before the public.

It is our desire to be of assistance to you at any time we can, and hope that we may feel free to call upon you again in the future.

Very truly yours,

CHICAGO BAHA'I HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Gertrude D. Marks

(Mrs.) Gertrude D. Marks
Assistant Secretary

gdm

The Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Atlanta, Georgia, Inc.

Address of the Secretary:

2835 Cascade Rd. S. W.
Atlanta,11,Georgia.

18 Dec 1960

Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave.N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Friends,

The Baha'i World Faith Community of Atlanta, has had friendly relationships with various members of your organization over a period of years. At this time of stress in our city and state as well as over the whole world we would like to have your group consider our statement on these issues in the statement prepared by our National Assembly for we Baha'is and others at this particular period of unrest.

If you would like to use this material in your own bulletin or news items please feel free to do so.

We extend a hearty welcome to all to our Sunday morning study classes held at 10:AM at our center at 379 Edgewood Ave.N.E.

Our prayers go with all of you who labor in Gods work.

Sincerely,

Doris Ebbert, Secy

The Atlanta Baha'i Assembly
Doris Ebbert, Secy.

1 encl:TMCI.

The Most Challenging Issue

The Bahá'í Viewpoint

AT a time when racial tension and strife have become a dominant and increasingly serious problem in the United States and elsewhere in the world, we consider it appropriate to restate and re-emphasize that the oneness of mankind is one of the basic tenets and principles of the Bahá'í World Faith.

In His spiritual Writings, which Bahá'ís accept as being divinely inspired by God, Bahá'u'lláh, Founder of this universal Faith, stated almost a century ago:

"Ye dwell in one world, and have been created through the operation of one Will. Blessed is he who mingleth with all men in a spirit of utmost kindliness and love."

"The earth is but one country and mankind its citizens."

"The well-being of mankind, its peace and security are unattainable unless and until its unity is firmly established."

The implications of these statements are clear. All persons of whatever race, nationality, religion or economic class, are creations of God and are equal in their spiritual essence and human dignity. Any discrimination or restriction because of race, whether of educational or job opportunities, mutual access to accommodations in eating and other commercial establishments and in public facilities, or equal protection of privacy and individual rights under the law, demean the dignity of the individuals involved and are contrary to the teachings of God for this age as revealed by Bahá'u'lláh. Such discrimination not only creates acute conflicts and social problems which inflict tremendous cost on our civilization but holds us back from enjoying the fruits which could result from the dynamic accomplishments which a truly organic and unified society, freed from all restrictive thinking, could produce.

Today's racial tension is not an isolated phenomenon. It is one of many facets of the spiritual sickness infecting our age, poisoning our thinking and creating conflict which threatens our destruction. It is the Bahá'í belief that the root cause of all of these conflicts is the lack of spiritual dynamic sufficiently strong to cause people to apply the unifying principles of the great religions to all of their human relationships. Until such a moral revitalization occurs, we cannot expect a truly broad and lasting solution to any of these conflicts.

Therefore, the Bahá'ís concentrate their energies on remedying this spiritual lack. Their teachings require that they obey the laws of the government under whose authority they live. They apply the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh, including those regarding the oneness of mankind, in their total lives. They believe that as more and more people come to understand the rational significance of the Bahá'í teachings and sense the spiritual authority and power inherent in Bahá'u'lláh, the foundation will be laid for a world society that will eradicate the prejudices which are the source of today's racial attitudes.

NATIONAL SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE
BAHA'IS OF THE UNITED STATES

Wilmette, Illinois
May 15, 1960

THE SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLY OF

THE BAHAI'S OF

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

"Unity - The Keynote for today"

We all have ideas about the Wonderful World we would like to live in.....

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Junior officer Golden State Life Insurance
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"There is a principle which is a bar against all information, which is proof against all arguments, and which cannot fail to keep a man in everlasting ignorance. That principle is condemnation before investigation."
Herbert Spencer

October 15, 1953

Mr Robert Seiler
Mayo House
Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr Seiler:

Ted Freeman was here and spoke most warmly of you.

I thought perhaps you would be interested in the enclosed two pamphlets. They are intended to be used by local discussion groups. The first explores the whole issue and the second steers people in finding the facts.

We particularly want to get them widely used in these precious weeks before the Supreme Court gives its decision. People are open-minded now; and will become partisan after the decision. And we think that in any community in which even a small number of people have meetings and come together for discussion of the facts that chances are pretty good they will usefully influence opinion in that community.

The National Council helps our S R C substantially; and the Province of Sewanee helps us a little each year, also. Page Williams used to be on our Board and knows us well as did Emerson Smith and the others.

May be nothing you could do - but again there may be something you could!

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm:t
enclosures: 4

CHRIST THE KING CHURCH
POST OFFICE BOX 455
SIMMESPORT, LOUISIANA
TELEPHONE 2381
FATHER MARVIN BORDELON
PASTOR

December 14, 1953

RECEIVED
DEC 17
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I hope that you have received a copy of the speech by now and that you will recognize some of the ideas we have been discussing over these last few years. I would appreciate and do value your criticisms and observations.

Thank you very much for sending the matter up to Miss Wickes.

Her recent letter gave me a better understand of what it was all about, to quote:

"But now, you are probably asking what this UN business is exactly about. The various lay mission groups in Europe and the U. S. have federated into a group that is called U.F.E.R., Mouvement International pour l'Union Fraternelle entre les Races et les Peuples. We have presented our work to the UN, not as a Catholic mission movement, but as a program of technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas, and a movement educating young people in the sense of international cooperation. We were given consultative status, as a non-governmental organization, first with UNESCO, and last April with the Economic and Social Council. Dr. van Kersbergen was appointed by U.F.E.R. to be its permanent consultant at ECOSOC, and I am here to assist her in this work.

"The advantages of this consultative status are twofold:

1. We are able to inject our principles into the UN in answering such an enquiry as that about eradication of prejudice and discrimination. We are also entitled to submit written statements to ECOSOC, and to make oral statements at meetings of some of its sub-committees.

2. We can benefit from the expert knowledge of the UN in all sorts of technical fields, and perhaps eventually from their financial resources."

Wasn't that some editorial by Mr. McGill in the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION?

Very best wishes at this holy season.

Sincerely in Christ the King,

Marvin Bordelon

Father Marvin Bordelon

MB:jgs

April 9, '54

Msgr. T. J. McNamara
The Cathedral
Savannah, Ga.

Dear Msgr. McNamara,

The papers on Sunday will have news of a grant made to the Southern Regional Council by the Fund for the Republic. It will enable us at last to put paid personnel in each Southern State.

I wanted you to know that we are grateful for your years of helping us in many ways, and I would appreciate it, also, if you would get word at some appropriate time to Archbishop O'Hara that we are sensible of the weight of his interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECTOR'S OFFICE

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

RECEIVED
APR 15 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 14, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

It was good to receive your letter and that for more reasons than one. It gave a sort of nostalgic feeling. As the years add up, nostalgia has its merits.

I rejoice in the news that the grant from the Fund for the Republic will enable the Council to dig in, so to speak, into the grass roots. I will write the Archbishop so that he, too, might share the satisfaction, which this news brings.

With greetings of this Holy Season to you and the members of your staff, I remain

Sincerely yours,

T. James McNamara

(Rt.Rev.Msgr.) T. James McNamara.

Catholic

April 15, 1954

Rev. John P. Baltz
St. Francis Church
815 North Hickory
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Father Baltz:

Kind of you to write, and we appreciate the opportunity of passing on various materials. I send up separately some things that may be helpful.

Alfred Mynders at the paper will be your friend, and can give helpful local and all-Southern advice. He's a faithful Episcopalian.

We saw just yesterday Archbishop Lucey's great declaration for his Archdiocese.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/m

3 cc Q and A
2cc of each of several recent issues of NS concerning school segregation matters, and also interstate transportation and Library issue. No bill. Also sent membership blank

done - KS

St. Francis Church
815 NORTH HICKORY
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

April 13, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 15 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council.
Atlanta Georgia.

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

I wish to congradulate you Sir, and the other directors of the Southern Regional Council, for having received a substantial grant from the Ford Fund for your work.

I am directly interested in the problem which you are dealing with having been appointed to establish a Catholic Church and school for the "convenience" of the Colored people of this area. I now more clearly appreciate the inconsistancy and injustice of certain phases of segregation. - I of course feel that each of us native white Southerners can do a great deal in our area to give the Colored people an even "break". -

I would be grateful for a few copies of your recent pamphlet, relating to the question of segregation in the public schools. Perhaps you have a few other publications which would be helpful to me in this work.

With best wishes
(Father) John P. Baltz.

April 20, 1954

The Most Reverend Robert E. Lucy
Archbishop of San Antonio
San Antonio, Texas

My dear Archbishop Lucy:

You have given courage and great distinction to the whole South, and all the voices of progress in the region are grateful to you for your leadership.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/e ab

August 25, 1954

The Reverend Msgr. T. J. McNamara
The Cathedral
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

Here back is the November, 1953, issue of the Georgetown Law Journal, in which I read with profit and cordial approval the article on televised investigative hearings.

Most pleasant for Alice and me to see you the other day.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Georgetown Law Journal mailed under separate cover this date.

September 21, 1954

Reverend Robert S. Seiler
Department of Christian Social Relations
The Mayo Memorial Church House
110 West Franklin Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Seiler:

We are delighted to get off 300 copies of Answers for Action to you right away.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
AFA sent under separate cover this date

THE MAYO MEMORIAL CHURCH HOUSE
THE CHURCH HOUSE OF THE DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA
110 WEST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

Department of Christian Social Relations
Phone 7-0339

Dr. John Garland Pollard, Jr., Chairman
The Rev. Robt. S. Seiler, Executive Secretary

Sept. 16, 1954.

Dear Mr. Mitchell

Congratulations on your excellent pamphlet "Answers for Action."

Please send me 300 copies as soon as possible. We hope that it will stimulate worthwhile discussions here in Virginia.

Please bill me.

Faithfully yours,

Robert S. Seiler

RECEIVED
9/20/54
Southern Regional Council

JMJ

Sisters of Providence

Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana

Drexel 2315

February 26, 1955

FEB 28 1955

Mr. George N. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We will be glad to have you come to St. Mary-of-the-Woods on March 4th to address the Sisters and students. If you can let us know the time of your arrival, we shall make provision for meeting you in Terre Haute and also have a better idea as to what time to schedule your talk. If you wish to remain overnight at St. Mary's, we can offer you hospitality at the Woodland Inn here on the grounds.

Sincerely yours,

Sister Loretta Therese

Secretary

8.35 AM
12.12 Ind
12.35
3.12
5.24
6.02

March 3, 1955

Mr. George Clements
St. Mary of the Lake Seminary
Mundelein, Illinois

Dear Mr. Clements:

I can and do send you, separately, three mighty good things.

You can receive free of charge each month the publication of the Southern Education Reporting Service from Mr. C. A. McKnight, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee, which is an excellent publication, subsidized by the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

I am to be in Chicago March 5th, 6th, and 7th. Talk Saturday night for the John Dewey Society at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, and Monday night for the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development at the same hotel. I shall stay with friends, named the Kenneth Parkers, Plainville Road, Western Springs or Hinsdale.

I also get back to Chicago March 16th and 17th, to speak the night of the 16th for the Council Against Discrimination.

If there were opportunity for us to get together, we could talk fruitfully I am sure.

Meanwhile, the pamphlets if you don't mind come to 80¢ plus postage at 8¢.

If we can help you in any way further, we would like to.

Sincerely,

Received for $1.00 cash

GSM/eab
Under Separate Cover:
Answers for Action = 20c
Changing Patterns = 50¢
~~Featuring Issue~~ New South = 10¢

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 27, 1955

ST. MARY OF THE LAKE SEMINARY
MUNDELEIN, ILLINOIS

MAR 2 1955

Questions & Answers: The Schools and the Courts,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am seeking information on the recent Supreme Court decision affecting Segregation in the Public Schools. Any aid you can give me will be highly appreciated. I shall be happy to remit to you any payment involved in supplying me with this information. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

George Clements

George Clements

March 10, 1955

Sister Loretta Therese, S.P.
Saint Mary-Of-The-Woods,
Indiana

Dear Sister Loretta Therese:

I am back at my desk this morning after all the intervening days in Chicago and Bloomington, Illinois. Came back through Terre Haute yesterday, and took the Georgian from there remembering warmly how kindly you had all been to me at Saint Mary-Of-The-Woods.

It was really a most pleasant occasion and I am really most grateful for the opportunity of talking to the group. And our Council is pleased and delighted to have a whole $50.00 to add to its treasury!

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Official Receipt

JMJ

SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE

SAINT MARY-OF-THE-WOODS
INDIANA

February 28, 1955

MAR 1 1955

Mr. Geroge S. Mitchell
Director - Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Sir,

We shall schedule your meeting of the Sisters and students for 11:00 a.m., March 4th, since you mentioned that morning or evening would be satisfactory with you.

We trust that your visit to St. Mary-of-the-Woods will be a pleasant one in every way.

Sincerely yours,

Sister Loretta Therese
Secretary

March 11, 1955

Miss Loretta Butler
St. Peter Claver Center
814 Seventh Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Butler:

Nice of you to write.

I am next to be in Washington on Wednesday, April 13. at 10:30 in the morning I have to make a talk to something called the Associated Church Press.

So far as I know, I am not committed to anybody for the late afternoon of the 13th, and I expect to be staying in Washington the night of the 13th. The evening is free, and various bits of Thursday, April 14th.

I have another commitment to George Guernsey of the CIO to do his bidding for a group in Montgomery County, Maryland, during the time of the April 13-14 visit. So the practical end of matters is that I can do anything for you between the late afternoon of the 13th and the end of the 14th which you and George Guernsey can agree on! His telephone number in Washington, as I have it listed, is EXecutive 3-5581. He is in charge of the Workers Education Program for the CIO.

I would like to be of any service to you that I can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. George T. Guernsey

MAR 7 1955

St. Peter Claver Center
814 - 7th St. S.W.
Washington, D.C.
Mar. 4, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

How good of you to stop in to see us - even for such a short time! We would so like to have you visit again soon. In fact, I'd like to hear the joke which involved <u>three</u> things someone wanted to see in the South. I can't remember but <u>one</u> of those three things.

Seriously, we would like to know if you can arrange to visit us on your next trip here and stay long enough for a chat and coffee. If you could let us

know a month in advance we could and would like to schedule you for a Mon. forum. However, we have nothing formally scheduled on Tues. Wed. Thurs or Fri. nights and if you can make it - it would be fine.

We so <u>need</u> the value of your rich experiences in this great challenge of human relations!

Please let us know if there is a possibility of our welcoming you to the Center in the near future. May God bless you in your work and please pray for us.

Sincerely in Christ,
Loretta Butler
for the Director + staff of Friendship House

March 22, 1955

Dictated March 21

Mr. George Clements
St. Mary of the Lake Seminary
Mundelein, Illinois

Dear Mr. Clements:

I sent your a message to the people at Friendship House, 4233 South Indiana, Chicago. They said that they knew you well and favorably, but did not doubt that your seminarian duties tied you down somewhat.

We acknowledge your dollar with pleasure. What you ought to do is subscribe to our maggie, New South. That will cost you $2.00 a year. The February, 1955 issue can serve as a sample copy, and here is a blank about SRC.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

March 14, 1955

ST. MARY OF THE LAKE SEMINARY
MUNDELEIN, ILLINOIS

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAR 17 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for such a kind and prompt response to my letter. I highly appreciate your invitation for us to get together while you are in Chicago but unfortunately circumstances prevent my acceptance at this time. Perhaps I can get a raincheck now and possibly meet with you this Summer.

I have found the pamphlets extremely interesting, particularly Changing Patterns, and shall be very grateful for any similar material you might send. Thanks again for your help.

Sincerely,

George Clements

1.00 Cash
enclosed
rha

June 23, 1955

The Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D.
Archbishop of San Antonio
230 Dwyer Avenue
San Antonio, Texas

Dear Archbishop Lucey:

We have rejoiced to see the announcements of the purpose of the public schools in San Antonio to contrive a beginning toward conformity with the Supreme Court's decision next Fall.

I wanted you to know that we were all sensible of the weight of the example which your Archdiocese has given in its own schools.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 22, 1955

Mother E. M. O'Byrne
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart
Purchase, New York

Dear Mother O'Byrne:

How exceedingly kind it of you to help us so generously again this year.

We are deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/vc

Enc. SRC Official receipt

MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE OF THE SACRED HEART

PURCHASE, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 14, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JUL 18 1955

My dear Mr. Mitchell,

It is always a pleasure to renew our subscriptions to "New South" and you will find enclosed with this letter check for $10 to cover the renewals for 1955-56. Will you be kind enough to send us a receipt so that our files may be kept in order.

Thx

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

E. M. O'Byrne

E. M. O'Byrne
President

Diocese of Southwestern Virginia
EVANS DIOCESAN HOUSE
1000 FIRST STREET, S. W.
BOX 2068
ROANOKE 9, VA.

OFFICE OF THE BISHOP

February 11, 1956

RECEIVED FEB 17 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

You were nice to write me on January 1 about my Pastoral Letter regarding the school issue in the State of Virginia. As you know well enough, this is a difficult problem that will take time to work out. All of us are involved in it and we Church members must have a special concern about it. I am hoping the Lord will show us what to do and will give us the strength to do it.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Marmion

WHM S

William H. Marmion

Diocesan Superintendents of Catholic Schools
N. C. E. A. National Convention
Annual Dinner Meeting, St. Louis, Missouri

April 5, 1956, 7:00 P. M.

THE PASTOR AND THE PUNDITS By Rev. J. B. Gremillion

Right Reverend Toastmaster, Your Excellency Archbishop Ritter, Your Excellencies, Monsignori, Fathers and Guests,

With the increasing maturity of the Church in our country we must focus increasing emphasis upon the deepening of the intellectual life of the whole Church, both clergy and laity. We now hear repeated variations of this refrain from outstanding voices like Bishop John Wright, Father John Courtney Murray, Father John Tracy Ellis, M. Jacques Maritain, Christopher Dawson and Dean Hugh Taylor of Princeton's Graduate School. The published talks, articles and books of these men and their associates are the soil and soul from which my thoughts this evening rise forth. I envoke all they stand for as introduction to my thesis, fully confident that this distinguished audience needs no introduction to these great men whom I dare call upon to introduce my subject.

I address myself to only one area of their thesis: the bestirring of the intellectual life of the laity at the level of Parish and Community. I am not now concerned with the clergy and religious. I am a Pastor, not an educator in the strict, formal sense. I shall not discuss scholarship or curriculum, degrees or credits from a faculty or campus point of view. I concern myself with the graduate of your high schools and colleges after he moves into our Parish, after he is married and has begun his family, after he has established his work and business or professional status, after he has become a citizen of the bodies politic, after he assumes his full role as an adult member in the Church KATHOLIKOS, Our Lord's Mystical Body.

I shall speak about your alumni, my parishioners, presuming to class some fraction among my parishioners within the intellectual ladder at the bottom rung position.

Six months ago in this very city Bishop Wright said in his Founder's Day Address at St. Louis University (quote):

> At a moment when the word "intellectual" has become a reproach and when the vocation of the intellectual has become obscured or even discredited, is it not time to reflect prayerfully on Christ the Divine Intellectual, the Eternal LOGOS of the Father.....the Word of God."

Bishop Wright continues:

Meditation on Christ so understood.....will throw new light on the Christ-like function of the genuine intellectual, called to imitate Christ by making incarnate in each generation and each culture something.....of the treasures of eternal wisdom and knowledge, the divine ideas summed up totally and perfectly in the Person of the Son, the LOGOS, the Verbum (quod) caro factum est et habitavit in nobis....."

(End quote from Bishop Wright, CATHOLIC MIND, March 1956, pg. 126.)

Bishop Wright then rallies the thin ranks of Christian scholars to (I quote him again): "The battle for the minds of men, for the furtherance of ideas rather than political boundaries or military spheres.....a battle in which the Holy Catholic Church not only belongs but must be victorious if God's will is to prevail." (Ibidem, pg. 128).

I perceive and heartily agree with these pleas for the intellectual apostolate at Harvard and Princeton, Chicago, Oxford and other top level campuses, -- an intensification of the immeasurable work Maritain, Dawson, Murray, Gilson and others have begun so auspiciously. This intellectual apostolate touches my parishioners because the deans of Louisiana State, Texas A. and M. and Tulane University, as well as the brighter lights among these faculties received their Ph. D's from these top-level institutions; whence, too, come numerous text books, reference works, theories and "schools of thought".

My further plea is that we invigorate our apostolate to intellectuals not only from the top trickling downward, but also from the bottom percolating upward, presuming that even some parishioners may be classed within the intellectual ladder at the bottom rung position. I hold that we can have a grass-roots ferment of cultural and intellectual life. That we can and we must.

Suburbana Americana is the new sociological darling. The beguiling character and traits of suburbia and exurbia are now the object of affectionate attention from swarms of statisticians and social researchers. Very properly our Catholic sociologists, all too few in number, Fathers Thomas, Fichter and Fitzpatrick, Professors Kane, Clark and others begin to analyze this suburban setting in which hundreds of new Catholic parishes and schools have been established in the decade since the War.

Seven years ago my Bishop assigned me to the establishment of such an upper middle class parish in a city of 160,000, a city typically Southern in religious and racial complexion, only 7% Catholic. Our suburban people are lawyers, doctors, engineers and geologists, corporation officers and department heads, educators, bankers, contractors, brokers, realtors, sales managers and regional big-brand franchise holders.

As I came to know my people this striking fact stood out: the high percentage among them who had college and university backgrounds. In order to guide me in my pastoral role in breaking the bread of life, in order to determine vaguely what bill of fare my people could best digest and assimilate, the milk of babes or the meat of adult men, we began asking in the parish census questions about educational background. Unfortunately, I am not a sociologist. These surveys were non-professional, amateurish, inaccurate beyond a doubt. But they are sufficiently accurate to reveal an overall picture.

The best sampling which I shall report was taken by two major seminarians, theological students, in Summer 1955. They called upon 160 families, a 30% cross-section of the parish, for interviews of thirty to sixty minutes.

We found that of the 160 husbands 123 had attended college for an average of three and one-half years each. Among the 160 wives 73 had made college studies for an average of two and one-half years each.

Of the 160 couples 84 were mixed marriages. In our survey we interviewed non-Catholic spouses as well as Catholics. We found that among the 123 college men only fourteen, or 12%, had gone to Catholic Colleges, while 109, or 88%, were products of non-Catholic campuses. A higher fraction of the college wives, 18%, attended Catholic institutions.

Data about place of birth, occupation, number of moves since marriage, converts, elementary and secondary education, et cetera was also obtained. Time and place tonight do not permit comment. The focus must remain upon the astonishing concentration of college alumni we find in our suburban American parishes. And making all allowance for deficiency in our methodology and interpretation I do submit that having 76% of the fathers of the parish with 3 and one-half years of college work presents a fact and a challenge of prime import for the Church in America and presents a fact and a challenge of prime import to you, the good stewards of our burgeoning

educational system.

We who are the Church continue Christ in time and space. Christ the Vine lives on in our own age and culture. We must cultivate a vinyard which proliferates verdant foliage into the airy reaches of scholarship and erudition. But likewise a healthy plant must sink its roots into the more earthy soil of the workaday world.

The true student of history pierces beyond the surface debris of mere war and dynasty to discern in human events close interrelation between the dominant ideas of a given period, the ideals and values derived by society's thinkers from their concept of truth, and the cultural temper to which these ideas and ideals give birth. The study of history is primarily the study of the incarnation of ideas, the idea becoming the flesh of the social body. As Alteri Christi, priests of the LOGOS, we might summarize our mission with this Ciceronian phrase: Verbum incarnandum est. The layman partakes of the same mission. He must incarnate Christ.

I submit that the ideas generated by "American academic circles" take on flesh, become incarnate in the managerial, professional, political and work life of my parishioners; in the Monday morning real life situations of the operating room, editorial staff, court chamber, bargaining table, board of directors, labor halls, country club barbecues and legislative floors. By their agency the idea becomes the act, social theory becomes the contract, political ideal the statute.

We must conceive of education as a life long experience. We must acknowledge that the present tenor of parish and Catholic community life offers little to the college man who would continue the quest. The graduate leaves an intellectual campus climate with its lectures and library, seminars and bull sessions. The world he enters of business and politics, diaper-changing and country-clubbing is an intellectual wasteland. His mind is after all still a tender plant and finding no suitable environment, the life of the mind quickly withers and dies. He needs prepared ground to sink his roots; he needs nourishment; he needs communication with others for cross-fertilization.

To nourish the life of the mind fifteen minutes from the pulpit are wholly inadequate timewise and perforce our pulpits address themselves to a broad embrace of ages and conditions, on subjects rather strictly religious. Most study groups and discussion clubs are kindergartens. Pamphlets only whet, or frustrate, appetites. Our monthly Catholic culture series featuring big-name lecturers offer hors d'oeurves

without meat and potatoes. Hopefully, serious books and periodicals like AMERICA and COMMONWEAL begin to reach a wider audience, but recent surveys show that we read less than any other nation in the West. Cities fortunate enough to boast a Catholic college find until now that radiation from the campus barely reaches the adults of the area. Educational TV is a baby question mark.

Faced now with the striking concentration of college alumni cited earlier, faced now with a Catholic people a generation and more removed from our ancestral migrant slums, and due to other causes I am not now able to recite, this drab scene of parish and community life can and must and will be reconstructed. The curtain has raised on the new setting. Beginnings, pioneer efforts, experiments are underway.

We know something of the Adult Education Section of our own NCEA. Monsignor Cox continues the expanding night school at St. John's in downtown Philadelphia. Some four hundred adults meet weekly for non-credit courses in the five centers of the institute begun by Cardinal Stritch last September with Russell Barta as director. Father Henri Foltz of Wilmington has been assigned by his Bishop to offer adults courses in philosophy and liberal subjects. The Thomas More Institute of Montreal continues full blast. The labor schools now broaden their offerings. Extension courses currently receive closer attention from college faculties and administrators. PAX ROMANA comes of age under Dean Taylor of Princeton and Father Rooney of Catholic University.

I undertake no exhaustive survey of these manifestations. They are many and varied. They are woefully needed.

To meet our own pastoral need we are experimenting in our own city with what we term the COLLEGIUM.

The COLLEGIUM is a loose affiliation of men and women of the community associating together to bestir their intellectual, cultural and vocational life as ADULTS. The roots of the COLLEGIUM go back some five years when I began fortnightly confabs with ten selected men, men with innate and developed traits of leadership, men thirty to forty years of age who shared a common concern for the social problems of our city and region: the integration of the Negro, labor-management relations, problems in the body politic, educational theory, the family breakdown, et cetera.

These ten lawyers, doctors and business men had little knowledge of the

encyclicals and the Church's social teachings, and even less grasp of the philosophical and theological sources of social justice and charity. They perceived the inadequacy and rootlessness of the basic ideas motivating the social institutions in which they fulfill their role. They began asking: What are human rights? Whence derive duties? Why do men work? Why did God create natural resources? What is life all about? What is matter and spirit? The intellect and will? How do they operate? What of immortality? Good and evil? Who is God? Who am I? What is society? it's purpose and institutions? What is the meaning of history? of today's crisis? Where do I fit in? What is my role and vocation in the plan of Christ and His Church?

I am now convinced that a goodly percentage of men will cry out for these ultimates given the challenge and the atmosphere. Essentially our people are not as shallow and superficial intellectually as might be concluded from the husks we and the pundits offer them. I refer you to an article appearing under my pen name, Louis G. Martin, in AMERICA magazine, August 27, 1955. Entitled "Intellectual Life at the Parish Level" I recount six conversations with six parishioners over a single weekend, conversations which reflect the depth we must plumb in enabling our laity to meet the many-faceted challenges of contemporary life. A goodly number will drink from that grandly flowing stream of Plato and Aristotle, Justin Martyr and Augustine, Albertus Magnus and Aquinas, Bellarmine, More and Maritain, Suhard, Leo and the Piuses.

Evolving from this first group the COLLEGIUM, I must insist, is still in the experimental stage. With pardonable presumption we incorporate elements of Newman's IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY and Hutchin's Great Books conversation, with the pragmatic realities of our people and city, our nation and world.

The COLLEGIUM structure is simple: an executive committee of four laymen and myself as part-time director, all appointed by our Bishop upon our nomination. Later we hope to acquire a full-time director, probably a layman, and to incorporate under a state educational charter.

The embryonic COLLEGIUM now sponsors four principal offerings: the Soiree, the Group, the Newsletter and the Library. Ten soirees this winter at 8 o'clock on alternate Sunday evenings each brought together 60 to 140 persons. Basic ideas are presented by a four man panel, then explored and kicked around seminar-fashion by the twenty to thirty more vocal audience participants. The executive committee selects the subjects and panellants a month or more in advance. Our first concern is for ideas, then we strive to perceive how these ideas influence issues and social insti-

tutions like the economy, education, race relations, the U. N., the family. We often use books as idea sources.

About every two weeks we mail out a mimeographed newsletter to 650 persons. This heralds the coming Soiree, gives panel background and the ideas likely to be aired; it reports on the last discussion with emphasis again on the ideas exchanged and principles drawn; it calls attention to new books and magazine articles on hand in the parish center where the Soiree meets.

Leafing through the newsletters:

Soiree subject: The Twentieth Century Capitalist Revolution, discussing ideas drawn from Berle's book of the same title. Are corporations developing "consciences?" A sense of morality and public duty? Accepting the moral concept of right and wrong? The corporation's world impact? The corporation and "the City of God."

Twenty-one articles are cited from the COLLEGIUM magazine rack, e. g. "For Man to Know", by Vannevar Bush from the Atlantic Monthly; "Science and Philosophy" by Pius XII from The Pope Speaks; Barbara Ward from the New York Times; "Psychoanalysis and the Christian" by Karl Stern from Commonweal; articles on education from Saturday Review, America and Harper's.

Another soiree: What is Man? Man as a matter-spirit, body-soul composite. Nature of the intellect and will. Mostly ideas drawn from the Image of His Maker by Brennan. And on this panel were four couples, including four medical doctors, who had met together semi-monthly in their homes during the past year to pore over the relation of Thomistic rational psychology to modern medicine.

The Origin and Nature of Law with a panel of five lawyers drew principally from Walter Lippmann's recent Public Philosophy which pleads for a return to natural law. Three of these lawyers are non-Catholics. None of the panel ever attended Catholic high school or college. None had encountered anything but ridicule or evasion of the natural law philosophy at Tulane, Washington and Lee, Harvard and Louisiana State universities.

Other soirees -- a hurried glimpse --

The U. S. and the U. N.

Is Modern Day Education Effective? (chaired by the dean of our city's

Methodist college, with a panel including one of his faculty, the supervisor of our public school teachers, a public and a Jesuit high school teacher, and a parent.)

The Philosophical and Historical Roots of Communism.

The Family: Origin, Nature and Purpose. Parents as Co-Creators with God.

Child to Youth to Adult Development, chaired by a Baptist psychiatrist.

What Makes Music? Introducing the Symphony. Led by our local city symphony conductor, with members demonstrating instrumental families, technique, et cetera.

Geology - A Blueprint of God's Creation, with five prominent petroleum geologists, two non-Catholic, one of whom was still worried about the six days of Genesis.

The soiree lasts two and a half hours with a midway break for coffee and tea and chatter. Let's readily admit the impossibility of digesting such pretentious palaver in a couple of hours. Let's admit that some might not follow all that goes on. They come to know that the world of the mind still exists, they revive that nigh lost art of conversation. And the pervading tone and temper is: God and man and the world we live in, today through the lens of eternity, the impact of Christ the God-Man upon our society, all the while seeking that Verum et Bonum which gives meaning to life.

"The Spirit breathes where It wills." All do not grasp to the same depth, all do not grow to the same height. Think of the COLLEGIUM in concentric circles. A small intense nucleus of five persons, the executive committee; a larger nucleus of thirty to forty who conduct the panels, exchange books and articles, meet at noontime luncheon to talk about Citizen's Councils and the NAACP, or to plan a soiree -- the five geologists met four times in two weeks, the doctors still meet, other groups as well.

Then a third concentric circle of a hundred and more who participate in the soirees, many of whom have something to say there and elsewhere in programs and conversation. The six hundred fifty who now receive the newsletter form a final circle of affiliation.

The COLLEGIUM is of the laity, by the laity, and for the laity. Only three of the forty-one panellants have been priests. The COLLEGIUM is for the whole community; about one hundred fifty non-Catholics receive the newsletter; 25% of the

participants are not of our Faith, and sixteen of the thirty-eight lay panellants were non-Catholic. But we must not make the mistake of thinking only in individual terms. Ours is a social movement; we aim at influencing the whole of society and its institutions through ideas. We believe that all things will be restored to Christ when the Truth of the Eternal IDEA becomes incarnate in society.

The COLLEGIUM is not a panacea, it is an experiment, a freshly conceived embryo. Your counsel and prayers through gestation and delivery, until viability and maturity would be deeply appreciated.

Rev. J. B. Gremillion
Pastor, St. Joseph's Parish

216 Patton Avenue

P. O. Box 4206

Shreveport, Louisiana

Anyone interested in receiving the COLLEGIUM NEWSLETTER please tear and mail to The COLLEGIUM, P. O. Box 4206, Shreveport, Louisiana.

Name _____

Address _____ City _____

Remarks:

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

June 14, 1956

Dr. Mitchell:

Did Mr. Cooper come in yesterday?

Yes - Julie

May 14, 1956

The Reverend Harold L. Cooper, S.J.
Loyola University
New Orleans 18,
Louisiana

Dear Father Cooper:

All straight. I will be here hoping to see you on June 13th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

RECEIVED MAY 14 1956

May 12, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Am most grateful for your kind letter of May 7.

June 13 will be the best date for me among those you mentioned.

Hoping to see you on that day.

I am,

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Cooper, S.J.

Harold L. Cooper, S.J.

HLC:mm

May 7, 1956

Reverend Harold L. Cooper, S. J.
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father Cooper:

Luck is against us in the June 9-11 period. I shall be driving North on some purely family occasion.

The goodish gaps in my calendar are between May 12th and 17th, and May 20th and 23rd, and June 1st and 3rd, and from June 13th to 17th.

If you are a man who jumps about a good deal, I raise the possibility of our being together under leisurely circumstances at a meeting I have agreed to be present for in the neighborhood of Charlottesville, Virginia, May 25th and 26th for the St. Peter Claver Center at Washington. The person in charge is Mr. H. A. Gerrity. All I know is that I am to be there and that it is to be on a farm in Burnley, Virginia.

I am so urgently in favor of your early success that if need be I will come to, or half-way to, New Orleans.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

RECEIVED MAY 7 1956

May 5, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. C.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have been commissioned by my ecclesiastical superiors to write a booklet on integration. The idea is to produce a catechism of pertinent questions and answers.

Reverend Louis Twomey strongly recommends that I seek your advice. May I have an appointment with you, at your convenience, sometime between June 9 and 11? If these dates are unsuitable would you please let me know when I may see you?

I shall be in Augusta from May 31 - June 8 and hope to leave for Atlanta, June 9.

I am, sir,

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Cooper, S.J.

Harold L. Cooper, S.J.

HLC:mm

RECEIVED JUN 9 1956

4310 Enright Ave
St Louis 8, Mo.
June 11, 1956

Dear Friend:

I just received a letter from Sister Turner of Portland Oregon and she writes that they are ready to start building their Interracial Church. In fact, by the time you receive my letter they will have started. The folks in Portland have ordered the lumber and started excavating, and now they need the $1200.00 we promised them last fall.

But here is the catch: we only have $400.00 so far on this project. Unless

(over)

we can raise the other $800.00 soon the Portland Project may have to be postponed.

Please pray about this matter and send whatever you can in the enclosed envelope, and be sure to mark it for Portland.

We will need the support of everyone if we meet this emergency. So whether you can send $100.00 or only $1.00 please get it off in the mail as soon as possible.

I am sending this letter in the same envelope with your Interracial News so as to save postage. Thanks for your prayers and interest. Gratefully,

Gilbert James.

INTERRACIAL NEWS

VOL. VII, No. 2. 4310 ENRIGHT AVE., ST. LOUIS 8, MO. JULY 1956

INTEGRATION—WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

W. R. Grigg, Director of Work With Negroes, Louisiana Baptist Convention

Words are both interesting and significant. They are the vehicles for transferring an idea from one mind to another. Persons think by means of imagery. Words are the verbal expression of mental imagery. By nature words are often vague. Too often they are used first and are defined later. For clear meaning words depend upon so many things, such as: personal experiences, learning, culture, love, prejudices, hatreds, resentments, faith in God, willingness to follow the Holy Spirit's leadership, social environment, tradition, etc.

At this moment integration as a word falls in the category of the vague and certainly the misunderstood. It is used so loosely. It is "used as meaning an ideal, a fact, a process. That is, of course, with reference to white and Negro Americans. It has many other uses in many other connections. We need to examine the uses that are applied in our field."* This is the field of the Christian religion. It is about time for us to at least begin a search for the definition. The dictionary is definite help at this point. The word comes from integer which is derived from the Latin **Tangers**—to touch, and the privative **in** which means the untouched. An integer is a whole number as opposed to a fraction. Integration is the state or condition of wholeness. It is the process of unification. If we take this idea and apply it to relations between Negro and white Americans, it has definite meaning. "To integrate them would mean to change them from fractions, broken parts that have been separated into a single whole. In our American life, we claim to be one American people with one single citizenship and one common national life. But we have broken up that life into racial fragments. We have had two classes of citizenship, first class for the 9/10ths white, second class for the 1/10 Negro. We have always said that we were one nation. Integration means making that come true. It means that in everything we do we would accept our fellow Americans on a single basis, not on two bases, one for whites and a different one for Negroes."**

With reference to white Americans and Negro Americans integration means the following and more.

1. It means coming together, acting together, and staying together for the highest benefit to each individual concerned and to all individuals as a social whole.

2. It means the acceptance of the fact that basically human beings are all alike. So-called races are not really races at all, just groupings of people within the one human race.

3. It means the realization that basically all Americans have a common culture. We all share one government, one economy, one language, and about the same set of customs.

4. It means the implementing of that portion of our Declaration of Independence that states: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

5. It means a true unity, the real accomplishment of brotherliness amidst American people.

6. It means first class citizenship for all Americans.

7. It means church membership based upon New Testament teachings rather than New Testament teachings and ethnic grouping.

8. It means in a peculiar moral sense the regaining of our integrity. Preachments and practice can become of one piece.

9. For Negroes it means moving out of the alleys of total American life on to the boulevards; freedom to take their part as men among men being measured by the same standards as all other citizens; taking on their full share of the privileges, burdens and responsibilities of our common life.

10. For white people it means learning to accept their fellow Americans who happen to be Negro on the same basis as other individuals who happen to be white. It means gaining a whole new group of responsible fellow citizens.

Finally, integration **does not mean** amalgamation of various ethnic groups as some would have us believe. Above all, it does mean that all people can be set free from inner conflict. "For centuries the white American's racial practices have been at war with his ideals of Christianity and democracy. That war will be over. He will no longer be 'a house divided against itself'. He will be at home and at peace with his own soul

(Cont. on p. 4, column 3)

In January, 1956, Rev. Ernest Keasling and Rev. Tom Oschwald conducted an all day F M Y Workshop at Columbia, Louisiana with the young people of the Louisiana Conference.

Since the F M Y group from Shreveport Central Church is a part of the Louisiana Conference F M Y, a delegation of our Negro young people attended the workshop. They were graciously received and were made to feel that they were a part of the group.

This type of interracial meeting is exceedingly rare in that part of Louisiana and is another indication of progress in Southern race relations.

Interracial News

Published in the interest of the Dept. of Interracial Evangelism of the Free Methodist Church of North America

REV. GILBERT JAMES, Supt.
4310 Enright Ave.
St. Louis 8, Mo.

REV. A. S. HILL, Treas.
Free Methodist Church of N. A.
Winona Lake, Ind.

The Latest News

SHREVEPORT

Shreveport Christian Day School has had a very successful year; ten children were graduated from the eighth grade. Two of these had attended this school since kindergarten, having enrolled in the first class which was taught by Miss Claudia Davenport. These two, incidentally, won the highest honors of the graduating class.

About 90% of the school's 130 children were Christians by the end of the year, and a large number were on the honor roll.

All four former graduates from Shreveport who attended high school at Spring Arbor this past year made the honor roll. Possibly two boys from this year's graduating class will attend Spring Arbor next fall.

Miss Madeline Brewer is attending summer school at Greenville College, and plans to return to Shreveport the middle of August. The other teachers, Miss Sallie Heard and Rev. John Thompson also plan to attend school somewhere this summer.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Daily Vacation Bible School is in full swing, with the assistance of Gene Alston, convert of the mission who is home on vacation from Greenville College. He has just completed his sophomore year, in training for the ministry.

VIRGINIA

Rev. and Mrs. Kenneth Park have sold their home at Burkeville, preparing to move to the new 135-acre camp location. Brother Park writes, "It would be hard to find another property that would be better . . . The School Board gave us permission to salvage the lumber from the buildings at Ingleside (our former 46-acre site.) I have had about 30,000 feet taken down and stacked up ready to move. Much of it is good lumber, even better than the new lumber that can be purchased now.

"This summer we should build our camp buildings and do the landscaping. Next winter we want to work on a Bible memory course that will be required of those coming to camp and to work out other necessary details."

On April 16, 1956, a group of our workers met to discuss the problems of the various fields and to lay new plans. In view of the serious tensions in the South and the increasing persecution of those who are in this type of work, we felt the need to get together for fellowship and to encourage ourselves in the Lord.

The group which met here at headquarters in St. Louis included Rev. Archie Wright and Rev. E. J. Richey from Shreveport, Louisiana, Rev. Kenneth Park from Burkeville, Virginia, Rev. Walter Johnson from Pontiac, Michigan, Rev. Don Edwards from South Bend, Indiana and Rev. Gilbert James. (See picture).

The following day the executive committee of the Commission on Evangelism arrived and a joint meeting of the two groups was held. Bishop Taylor presided, with Rev. L. W. Northrup, Rev. B. F. Hibbett and Mr. Lowell Kline as the other members of the committee.

It was agreed that the time at the fall board meetings was too short to fully discuss and make plans for the program of this Department; therefore it was decided to set up a policy committee to draft plans to be submitted to the Commission on Evangelism at the fall board meetings.

It is hoped that some sort of policy can be devised to more efficiently handle administrative policies, to regulate the hiring of new personnel and to finance the work of this Department.

THE VIRGINIA YOUTH CAMP

Since the last issue of **Interracial News,** important events have been taking place in regard to the Virginia camp meeting project.

As you remember, we purchased the Ingleside property at Burkeville, Virginia and we were working desperately to get ready for the camp. Just a few weeks ago, however, the county school board decided that they wanted our property for a Negro high school site. We told them we did not want to sell, but the school board's attorneys informed us that if we did not sell they would bring us into court and take the property by a condemnation suit. We finally agreed to sell, but the problem now is to get another place.

Rev. Kenneth Park has located a farm which seems suitable for our purpose; in fact, it seems to be a better site than Ingleside. It will cost about $2,000 more than we paid for Ingleside, but it has more acreage.

We are now trying to close the deal for this farm in time to have our youth camp this summer.

We need your prayers in behalf of this project, as there are many needs and much work to be done before the camp can open.

Gilbert James, Supt.

? ? QUESTION BOX ? ?

Dear Bro. Hill:

I am enclosing $2.00 for the Va. Colored Work, but if you believe in colored and white being in school together, I don't think I will send any more and if you don't write and let me know you won't hear from me any more. The colored people have a right to be educated and I believe in it but not in with white people. Most of them don't like it either.

Sincerely,
Mrs. N. H. V., Penna.

Dear Friend:

Thank you for the offering that you sent for the Free Methodist Colored work. May the Lord bless you!

I note from your letter that you wish to know what we believe about segregation in the public schools. I thought that our publications were very clear on this point, but I will be happy to tell you how we feel about it.

1. We believe that the Bible teaches that God has made all people of one blood. (Acts 17:26). That the Bible nowhere mentions race or teaches segregation. Segregation was the invention of former slave-owners in the South who wanted to keep Negroes as a servant class. There were no segregation laws prior to 1876, when the Republican party sold out the freed slaves.

2. We believe the Bible condemns anyone who refuses to associate with a person because of his race or nationality. See Galatians 2:11-14.

3. Segregation has been declared illegal by the highest court of the land. If we refuse to accept the law we are in violation of Romans 13:1-8.

4. John Wesley and B. T. Roberts condemned segregation based on prejudice even before there were any segregation laws.

5. The General Conference of the Free Methodist Church has declared: "the Supreme Court decision as being in harmony with constitutional guarantees of equal freedom to all citizens and with the Christian principle of perfect love."

6. There is not one Negro leader that I know anywhere who does not hate and abhor segregation laws. The Negroes who tell white people that they want segregation are the very ones who laugh behind the white people's backs for being big enough fools to believe them. The Negroes who say they want segregation are for the most part those who fear having their houses burned or of even being killed. I have worked with thousands of Negroes for more than ten years and I know this to be so.

7. I lived in the deep South for seven years and I saw the horrible results of legal segregation. I saw not only the minds and personalities of colored children limited by the devilish system of Master Race doctrines, but I also saw white children's minds polluted with the poison of prejudice that even the carnal nature does not implant in a child.

I live in a neighborhood in which we are the only white family for three blocks in any direction and we have some of the finest neighbors we ever had. My children attend a public school that is 95% colored and they never see color.

Some people say we should be separate because "God made us different." This is absolutely unscriptural. God made only ONE set of human parents. The various colors came as natural adaptations to climates and earth conditions. God had no more to do with the making of a Negro dark than he does with a man getting a sunburn.

After years of Bible study and heart searching I can do nothing less than condemn segregation as an invention of man by the inspiration of the devil in defiance of the laws of God. It is one of the sharpest tools ever devised by the devil to hinder evangelism, divide the church and to send souls to hell.

These are heartfelt convictions, but I have patience and love for those who do not agree with me, for I have not always felt this way. I would rather be on the side of St. Paul, Wesley, Roberts, Lincoln and President Eisenhower than to find myself agreeing with the segregation doctrines of Hitler, Mussolini, Gerald L. K. Smith, Bilbo or Herman Talmadge.

Please accept this letter in the spirit in which it is written, that is, of love and brotherly kindness. Let us pray that God may reveal His will to each of us more clearly than ever.

What If

—our church members had the zeal of the communists who keep out of their salaries only what they need for bare living expenses and use all the rest to promote their wicked propaganda?

—all our members put their coffee, pop, gum, cosmetic and beauty parlor money into feeding the starving for Jesus' sake?

—every man who can afford an expensive car decided to buy one of the lower priced cars and put the money saved into evangelism?

—every woman in our church decided not to buy new clothes unless she actually needed them and gave the money saved to missions?

—we all decided to live simply as Jesus, Paul, Wesley and others taught and practiced, and put the money to working where it would prove that we believe what we profess?

—every one of us showed our unsaved friends and relatives that we are more concerned with compassionate Christian service than we are with gratifying our pride and keeping up worldly appearances?

THEN

Our testimonies would have power.

Our local churches would go forward as never before.

Our mission fields would grow by leaps and bounds.

Many new churches could be builded.

Our Christian colleges would thrive and be a greater blessing.

All of our churches would have a living, vital, effective evangelistic program.

—from Alice Monette.

INTERRACIAL GLEANINGS

BAPTIST

American Baptists are urged to pray "in penitence and humility" that "terrifying tensions" which have developed in race relations may be softened. The plea was made in the form of a resolution by the executive committee of the Council on Christian Social Progress of the American Baptist Convention, meeting in Washington, D. C., March 4, 5, and 6. Frankly confessing that northerners also are guilty of racial prejudices, the resolutions called upon Baptists to "give themselves to self-examination and prayer" concerning the "racial cleavages and animosities into which Americans have fallen." "In the spirit of Christian self-criticism we feel deeply disturbed and convicted of sin at what has happened in Montgomery and Tuscalosa, and all too frequently in our own communities in other regions. . . ."

—Interracial News Service.

CATHOLIC

Catholic Monsignor H. C. Bejou, recently interviewed by a reporter covering the racial situation in the New Orleans area, said: "There has been a small amount of integration in the Catholic schools. It isn't much. No one has complained about it. Of course, our seminaries have been integrated for years. The Negro who wants to study for the priesthood prays and studies beside the white seminarian."

On the subject of intermarriage, which seems to worry many people, Msgr. Bejou says: "Marriage is a private affair. Whether we have integration or not, the sacrament of marriage will remain the same. Marriage entails a high degree of **compatibility,** and I do not worry that intermarriage will ensue on a large scale."

In a Catholic white church, no usher can tell a Negro where to sit. He sits where he pleases. The color line has never applied either to the confessional or to the altar rail.

EPISCOPAL

Segregation is unjust and unnecessary and should not be regarded with peripheral concern, but as an area "where our faith is tested," Bishop Arthur C. Litchtenberger declared May 1 at the annual convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Missouri.

"The Supreme Court's decision is more than a matter of law and order," he said, "for it has to do with the will of God and the welfare and destiny of human beings.

"However, when the attempt is made to conform our practices to the Christian standard, we begin to see the complexities that are involved. There are facts of history and culture which cannot be ignored and we do not hasten the process of desegregation when we try to by-pass them."

The Bishop deplored as "very disturbing" public opinion in the Deep South, because it is not in favor of moderation "but on the side of nullification."

"This is the meaning of the manifesto signed by 96 Congressmen; this is the course evidently now pursued by seven states," he said. "The political leaders of these states do not say 'give us time and we shall work this problem out,' but, rather, 'the Supreme Court is wrong and we shall not comply.'"

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

LUTHERAN

Churches in the United Lutheran Church, Illinois Synod, which are located in communities where racial patterns are changing will henceforth be supported by extra funds and personnel.

A resolution approved at the synod's recent annual convention "adds concrete help to the synod's moral support for integrated congregations in communities where racial barriers are disappearing. It will aid congregations wishing to conform to church policy and will discourage support for segregation."

The statement said, in part, "The Church must free itself from those cultural patterns of prejudice and discrimination which exist in our society, and must manifest in its own life the principles and attitudes of Jesus."

METHODIST

The General Conference of the Methodist Church, which met in May, 1956, approved with fewer than a dozen negative votes a report on "Church and Race" which urged an end to segregation.

The resolution, directed to all local churches and annual conferences of the 9 million member body, said in part: "Recognizing that we have not attained this goal (abolition of segregation), yet rejoicing in progress made, we recommend that discrimination or segregation by any method or practice be abolished with reasonable speed."

WHITE CHURCH HAPPY WITH NEGRO PASTOR

The Rev. Simon P. Montgomery, the nation's first Negro minister of an all-white Methodist congregation, has completed his seventh month in the pulpit of Old Mystic Methodist church and the experiment in race relations has borne happy results.

Since the October day when he preached his first sermon here, the church membership has tripled and the 33-year-old minister faces a full congregation every Sunday morning.

—The Christian Index.

DETROIT AREA ENJOYS RACIAL HARMONY

An association of property owners in a downtown Detroit section, once bitterly opposed to infiltration by minority groups, celebrated eight years of racial harmony on May 14, 1956.

In 1948, the United States Supreme Court outlawed clauses such as that in the covenant of the Boston-Edison Protective Association which restricted the exclusive neighborhood to "members of the Caucasian race."

Prominent property owners accepted the ruling reluctantly at first, but now they have an answer to the problem created by minority races in Detroit.

"We only insist," said John P. Heavenrich, association president, "that whoever moves in sticks strictly to the zoning for single residences, maintains the property decently and joins us in protecting the property values of the neighborhood. We have a peaceful community of mixed races into which anyone can move with pride."

A practical result of the new policy has been a considerable rise in property values in the last two years.

NOTICE

To those of you who ordered our article on "The Changing South," we are sorry we have not gotten it out yet.

The changes have been so rapid we have been unable to keep up with them; in fact, about the time we have the article planned new incidents take place that make a revision necessary.

We will, however, try to get the article to you soon. Anyone who has not written us yet, please do so if you wish your copy of "The Changing South."

Gilbert James

INTEGRATION—continued from p. 1

on this issue."† He will be more at liberty to grow in the likeness of Christ. We will be a step, if not leagues, nearer the goal of "the knowledge of Jehovah filling the earth as the waters cover the sea."†† Really now, integration is not so wild a dream as those who profit by postponing it would have us believe.

*Margaret C. McCulloch, "Integration", (Nashville, Tenn., Fisk University. The Hemphill Press, 1952) P. 13.
**Ibid.
†Ibid.
††Habakkuk 2:14 (ASV).

July 7, 1956

Reverend Francis J. Schenk
St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

Dear Father Schenk:

Most kind of you, and I will do everything possible to work it out.

What I had, and that weeks ago, from Bishop Waters' Chancery was that I would speak at Our Lady of the Hills Camp at Hendersonville at 3:00 p.m., on July 17th.

I assume Bishop Waters will be through with me at the close of that afternoon. The speech he wants runs about forty minutes. I should think I could plan to be leaving Hendersonville by about 5:00 p.m., July 17th.

'Tis a windey road over to Sylva, but I expect I could get to Sylva by some reasonable time Tuesday evening July 17th. Say 7:30 or 8:00 p.m. That would mean you would have to find me a bed for Tuesday night, and on Wednesday morning I will drive on back into Atlanta. Certainly no fee, but our Council would be grateful if you could cover, at my modest 5¢ a mile, the small extra mileage involved and could find me a place to sleep that night.

I trust you understand that I am a non-Catholic; though much honored by Bishop Waters' kind use of me for this appearance or that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

RECEIVED JUL 5 1956

July 4, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I notice in the papers that you are speaking at the Diocesan Catholic Camp at Hendersonville at the end of the third or the begining of the fourth week of July.

The purpose of this letter is to inquire as to whether it would be possible for you to give a talk at the same time in Sylva, N. C.

St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

The topic would be "Integration"

Would you please let me know if this is possible. At the same time, please inform me as to what the fee would be for this lecture.

Thank you very much for your kind cooperation. I remain,

Sincerely,
Rev Francis J Schenk

St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

July 11, 1956

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED JUL 12 1956

Dear Sir:

Thanks very much for your reply of July 7th, and your offer to come to Sylva. We could put you up for the night and give the extra travel money.

However the Chancery has not replied as yet to my query as to how long they expected you to stay on Tuesday. So I'm in the dark.

St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

Without publicity in the local paper I'm afraid we wouldn't have much of a crowd. And today the paper (weekly) goes to press.

If I can arrange it after I hear from the Chancery, I will drop a line immediately. Thanks very much for your willingness.

I heard you speak once during seminary days at Cincinnati.

Sincerely,
Fr. Schenk

July 13, 1956

AIR MAIL

Reverend Francis J. Schenk
St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

Dear Father Schenk:

Even if at the last minute you need to get word to me at Hendersonville at Our Lady of the Hills Camp on Tuesday, July 17th, that will be all right, and I will still come on over to Sylva. And no need to have a crowd; I am as happy with five as with fifty.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 18, 1956

Father Thomas F. Kerin
Director
Our Lady of the Hills Camp
Hendersonville, North Carolina

Dear Father Kerin:

You were most kind to give me so pleasant a room. I tiptoed out in the darkling dawn and hope I disturbed no one.

Every success to you and to the Assembly Ground.

Do, opportunity presenting, go and call on Dr. W. B. Weatherford at Overlook at Blue Ridge. And you would learn a good deal from Mr. Sanders, who for long years managed Blue Ridge and is clearly the most knowledgeable man in the world about assembly grounds. Retired from running Blue Ridge now, but lives there and quite available to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P.S. Sanders would know all of the business of snaking in conferences. And I am sure he would tell you trade secrets that would never be put to my ears!

Check whether Eldridge sent pamphlet or not.

July 18, 1956

Reverend Harold L. Cooper, S. J.
Jesuit House of Studies
Spring Hill, Alabama

Dear Father Cooper: 7/19/56.

I mail you a couple of copies of What the Courts Said, and of The Schools and the Courts, and of Answers for Action which succeeded The Schools and the Courts.

We deplore that early printing of the map at the back of Answers for Action, and substituted a better done job in the next edition. But now all editions are exhausted.

I have not heard of the UNESCO pamphlet. Write to Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York City, and they will have it I am sure. They are also the standard source for other UNESCO booklets.

I drove back this morning from an orientation conference which Bishop Waters had arranged in Western, North Carolina.

I am greatly interested in what you are doing, and hope you will share the final results with me.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

GSM

We do not have these publications. However, all UNESCO Publications may be obtained from:

Columbia University Press
2960 Broadway
New York

FBI

MOBILE, 6-8612

JESUIT HOUSE OF STUDIES

SPRING HILL, ALABAMA

July 17, 1956

RECEIVED JUL 18 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Up until now I have not had the opportunity to express my gratitude for all the help I was fortunate enough to get from you. I certainly enjoyed my visit with you and profited by it greatly.

Now I want you to be sure to send me a bill for the following literature which I am asking for.

First, I should like one or two copies of WHAT THE COURT SAID. Then I believe your Council has published some booklets on the school situation, one of which is called THE SCHOOL AND THE COURTS. I should like one copy each of this series.

FBI what's? Eva

Finally, do you know where I could obtain a series of pamphlets put out by UNESCO on the public schools and the Court's decision? I am told that this group of booklets gives a blow-by-blow account of the way the May 17, 1954 decision has been either implemented or resisted by the various Southern states.

While in New York, I was able to obtain the UNESCO booklets you had listed for me. I have found them invaluable.

God bless you for all you are doing for the cause of justice and real peace.

I am,

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Cooper, S.J.

Harold L. Cooper, S.J.

July 27, 1956

Reverend Francis J. Schenk
St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

Dear Father Schenk:

I can promise to be at Sylva for the evening of Tuesday, September 4th, beginning at say 6:00. Most kind of you.

My calendar shows me September 5th heading out Northeastward to take my daughter to the boat in New York. So it is an easy matter to load up a day earlier and aim for Sylva by 6:00 p.m. on the 4th.

My wife and I and the grown daughter would, in all probability, stay with friends at Andrews, and I would drive over to Sylva for the evening occasion and back to Andrews to sleep.

In any case, I look forward greatly to being with you and with your friends in Sylva.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

July 23, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED JUL 25 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Could you come to Sylva on Tuesday September 4th or Tuesday September 18th? I would like you to speak to the Rotary Club, and to another unorganized group interested in integration. (2 talks). Rotary meets at 6:30 PM. The other talk could be in late afternoon, but preferably in the evening about 8:30.

matter forwarded in the file

I am not a member of Rotary, but by my suggestion the program chairman welcomes you. I will pay your travel.

Fr. Francis Schenk

July 27, 1956

The Reverend Philip Hurley, S. J.
Fordham University
New York 58, New York

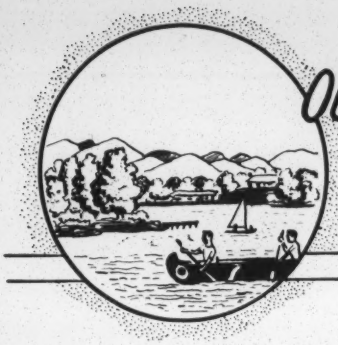
Dear Father Hurley:

Here is a foreshortened history of SRC, which I promised you last evening.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls: "History of SRC"
SRC Promotion Leaflet
New South, June, '56



OUR LADY OF THE HILLS Hendersonville, N. C.

Catholic CAMP FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE DIOCESE OF RALEIGH

RECEIVED JUL 31 1956

July 28, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your very kind letter. I hope that you will always feel free to stop at Our Lady of the Hills when you are in this area, for it is always a joy to have you with us.

At the first opportunity, I will travel to Blue Ridge and look up Dr. Weatherford and Mr. Sanders. There is much to learn about assembly grounds and these men you suggest will be a great help.

Come see us; God bless you.

Sincerely in Christ,

T. F. Kerin

Rev. Thomas F. Kerin

July 31, 1956

Reverend Thomas F. Kerin
Our Lady of the Hills Camp
Hendersonville, North Carolina

Dear Father Kerin:

I do greatly appreciate your kind note, and Bishop Waters' most amazingly generous check!

Put me down as a friend and you will find me thereabouts, perhaps more often than you wish.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 31, 1956

The Christian Conscience
P. O. Box 694
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Sirs:

You folks are doing some smart thinking. I thought you would like to know that in this quarter you are appreciated.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August, 1956 VOL. IX, No. 2

THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

Catholic College Students - Regional Interracial Commission - P. O. Box 694 - New Orleans, La.

THE NEW LAW

In the days of the Old Testament, men lived by the old law--"an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." But Christ perfected the old law and commanded us to love one another even as He has loved us. This is the new law, the law of universal charity, the law that compels all Christians to love all people and strive for a culture and society which recognize no criterion but Christian virtue in evaluating the members.

A PRICELESS HERITAGE

Less than one-third of the world's inhabitants are Caucasian. Yet to our good fortune, Christianity has developed largely in Western civilization, which is predominantly Caucasian. This heritage belongs to the whole of mankind; it was not predestined for a certain race. We have no choice but to assist in the spreading of God's kingdom to all lands.

Many people who cannot actively participate in missionary work satisfy their obligation by assisting the missions financially. Unfortunately, however, in many cases the good their dollars do is more than nullified by bad example. Foreign visitors, both colored and white, are quick to recognize the flagrant abuses of justice which still prevail in many parts of our country.

RACIAL DISCUSSION

In discussing the racial question, members of various organizations make the grave mistake of excluding the Negro from participation. In so doing, they sacrifice objectivity, and emotionalism prevails. The Negro has suffered most from segregation, so his opinions at least bear consideration.

SELFISHNESS

No one likes to be called selfish. Few people will admit they are. This is especially true in the case of the segregationist. He attempts to monopolize universal rights by denying the Negro the respect and justice human dignity demands. Naturally he claims that the Negro has equal rights, but his actions imply that he considers himself more equal.

A subtle, malignant pride and vincible ignorance underly the whole philosophy of segregation. We sincerely pray that God's love and wisdom will penetrate deeply into the hearts and minds of all men so that pride and racial hatred will be removed and ignorance replaced with the knowledge of truth.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR INFLUENCE

Most New Orleanians are probably unaware of the significance of local racial developments. The crescent city will undoubtedly be the testing grounds for integration in the South.

Catholics here comprise a majority. More than half of the school-age children attend Catholic schools. It is logical to assume that an integrated parochial school system would shortly be followed by similar integration in public schools.

Other communities have integrated successfully, but many have been small. In others, the percentage of Negroes has not been large. New Orleans is thirty-five percent Negro, and a successful program of integration in a city of this size would influence the entire southland. The opportunity of bringing Christianity into the market place keenly presents itself to local Christians.

SERINCO SURVEILLANCE

"How can we claim to love the divine Redeemer, if we hate those whom He has redeemed with His precious blood, so that He might make them members of His Mystical Body?" --POPE PIUS XII

"Among the saints there is no distinction of race or color. In a very emphatic way Blessed Martin de Porres lights the way to the Christian concept of social solidarity." --CARDINAL STRITCH

"It is impossible for any good Catholic not to be on the side and in the forefront in the struggle for interracial justice, for all men are brothers." --CARDINAL SPELLMAN

"... any thought of a wide, general conversion of the Negroes to the Catholic Church is an illusion until and unless the attitude of American Catholics--clergy and laity--is completely purified of approval of the segregation policy ..."-- issued by THE SACRED CONGREGATION FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH IN ROME

"We, all of us, have been baptized into a single body by the power of a single spirit, Jews and Greeks, slaves and free men alike: we have all been given drink at a single source, the one Spirit . . . You are Christ's body, organs of it depending upon each other." --ST. PAUL: I Corinthians

"Our advantages flow from that new birth and adoption into the household of God, not from the eminence of our race. Our dignity arises from the praise of truth, not of our blood." --POPE LEO XIII

"All barriers to the unity of the human race are man-made and contrary not merely to charity but to the Divine purpose of our creation." --CARDINAL BERNARD GRIFFIN

"To believe that one race or nation is superior to another in Church or before God, is heresy and should be condemned."
--BISHOP VINCENT WATERS

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, by official pronouncement, urged voters to discuss vigorously all phazes of American foreign and domestic policy. "We are one people", it was stated. "To set class against class, religion against religion, or race against race should be repudiated by all faiths."

XAVIER UNIVERSITY is a good example of peaceful integration. Xavier's charter provides for the admission of all qualified students, regardless of race, creed or color. More than 100 white students attended the summer session at Xavier this year.

NEGRO SETS PRECEDENT IN JEFFERSON PARISH-- Henry L. Stewart, Jr., a community leader in Jefferson parish, has announced his candidacy for the Jefferson Parish School Board. He is the first Negro in Jefferson parish to run for public office.

INCONSISTENCY is a concomitant of prejudice. Segregationists have a ready supply of vituperations whenever "out-siders" voice their objections to the out-moded system of segregation, which festers amid the many worthwhile customs our Southland has preserved. However, these same segregationists are not reluctant to make a publicity show by writing federal agencies to investigate local citizens who number among the growing forces of integration; these citizens are known for their integrity, yet they are belittled and ridiculed by people who defy the constitution.

COR UNUM ET ANIMA UNA!

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK 58, N.Y.

RECEIVED AUG 4 1956

August 1, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your prompt mailing of the very interesting material on the origins and progress of the Southern Regional Council. I was delighted to read about it, especially in the light of your most instructive talk of last Thursday.

All good wishes and do not let the bonny braes, etc., ever permit you to forget the land of Cotton.

Sincerely,

P.S. Hurley S.J.

Philip S. Hurley, S.J.

August 8, 1956

Reverend Francis Schenk
St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

Dear Father Schenk:

This I wrote but. You should read with care, and alter as you may please. My PAC year scares most people, and it frequently gets left out, but I am honest and I put my whole career in, without apologies.

I look forward to the visit.

Cut enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls. - 2

George Mitchell is from Richmond, Virginia. His father taught history at the University of Richmond for many years, and was each summer at Blue Ridge, near Black Mountain, where he taught summer classes. George Mitchell went to college in Delaware and in Richmond and Baltimore, and then studied for three years at Oxford University, in England, where he was a Rhodes Scholar. He taught Economics at Columbia University for six years, then worked in the Roosevelt Administration for ten years, mostly with the old Farm Security Administration. In this job he was a Regional Director, with offices at Raleigh, and travelled frequently to county offices in this area. After some months with the U. S. Foreign Economic Administration he took a one-year job in Atlanta with the CIO Political Action Committee, and moved from that to a program aimed at preventing race troubles after World War II, for the Southern Regional Council. He became Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council in 1947.

The Southern Regional Council works within the South to improve opportunities for all the people of the region. It has lately put most of its energy into helping the South to understand and accept a workable attitude toward the desegregation of the public schools.

Mitchell, who is an Episcopalian layman, was honored by the Catholic Committee of the South in 1953 for his contributions toward Southern life.

Mr. Mitchell appears on Tuesday evening at the instance of the Reverend Francis Schenk of St. Mary's Church at Sylva.

St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

August 6, 1956

S. Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Friends:

Before Mr. Mitchell comes to speak in Sylva on Sept. 4th, I would like to place a short article in the "Sylva Herald" on Mr. Mitchell + his background, etc. Could you send me either an article of about 200 to 300 words, or equivalent information.

Rev. Francis Schenk

September 17, 1956

Reverend Francis Schenk
St. Luciens Church
Spruce Pine, North Carolina

Dear Father Schenk:

Father McMahon will probably have let you know that all went well (I thought) with the meeting at Sylva on the night of September 4th. They had quite a good crowd. I found no outspoken objection. And the smaller gathering afterward was a most satisfying occasion to talk straight to the local people.

I figured out the mileage. They made me go a detour up there, so it was 178 miles to Sylva and 150 back. At 5¢ a mile, the 328 miles makes $16.40. That seems to me rather a steep sum to bill to you if it has to be paid personally. I hope there is some alternative purse from which the check can be written.

I liked Father McMahon, and we both remembered an occasion when I had spoken to a group of seminarians near Cincinnati, of whom he was one — same speech. I am most grateful to you for arranging that occasion at Sylva, and I am mighty sorry that it did not give us a chance to be together.

I will be up in your territory sometime within the next two or three months I feel pretty sure. And you may be certain that there will be a visit to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc:- Ltr to Fr. Schenk

ST. LUCIAN'S CHURCH
Box 96
Spruce Pine, N. C.

Sept. 12, 1956

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED SEP 14 1956

Friends:

When Mr. Mitchell returns please ask him to drop me a line on how much I owe him for his expenses on the talk in Sylva, N.C., on Sept. 4th, where I was formerly located.

Also, if I didnt indicate before, change my address for The New South to:

Rev. Francis Schenk
St. Luciens Church
Spruce Pine, N.C.

Done 9/14/56 FC

Sincerely,

Fr. Schenk

St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

August 27, 1956

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED AUG 29 1956

Dear Sir:

I will not be here when you come on Tuesday, September 4th, as Bishop Waters has appointed me to Spruce Pine, N.C. Fr. Mert McMahon will be at St. Mary's and will be glad to guide you around.

I shall take care of your travel to Sylva, if you will either mail me a bill or stop by Spruce Pine on your way to New York. It is just 6 miles off the Blue Ridge Parkway.

The Rotary meeting is at 6 PM. After that we would appreciate it if you would also address an open group in the basement of the Episcopalian

St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

Church at 8 P.M.

Should you find it late to return to Andrews as you plan, we would be glad to accommodate you in St. Mary's rectory for bed and breakfast.

Sincerely,
Rev. Francis J. Schenk

September 17, 1956

Reverend Mert McMahon
St. Mary's Church
Sylva, North Carolina

Dear Father McMahon:

I am most terribly sorry that we didn't hook together after the meeting. But I had a good time and I am extremely grateful to you and to Father Schenk for arranging it.

Safely back from New York and Vermont and Ohio!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P.S. I slept that night 50 or 60 miles east of Morganton. I am so sorry you had all that trouble. Maybe I can get back to Sylva before they move you again and we can have a proper visit. Meanwhile, if you come here on your way to South Georgia, do please stop and pay us a visit. I have written Father Schenk about the fifteen or sixteen dollars of expenses, and I am sure he will send it along.

~~St. John's Mission~~

~~Waynesville, North Carolina~~

RECEIVED SEP 13 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Ga. Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

September 11, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

If only I could express my disappointment and feeling of frustration at my failing to see you again after your talk in the Episcopal church at Sylva last Tuesday evening. I am very sorry and apologize for what happened – let me explain it to you.

I stepped back to locate a wash room with the idea that you would want to wash up before you left and maybe use the bath room. It is that simple. When I came back you were gone. So I went out the front way to locate you – not finding you I returned to the basement and learned that you had gone out the back-door. So naturally I was too late.

P.S. The men of the Rotary thought the program was very good and the best they had had for a mighty long time.

~~St. John's Mission~~

~~Waynesville, North Carolina~~

I then talked for a while with Dr. Dewees before returning home. On the way home I drove through town and looked at the filling stations with the hope of seeing you before you would get away. Then, while I found your note in the door I was quite disappointed – and to think I had missed you by only a few minutes.

Yet I did not give up – I drove out along the high way all of the way out of town still convinced that I would find you – but, to no avail.

My next step was to try to reach you by telephone – so I waited 'Till 11:00 o'clock and telephoned Morganton because you expressed the thought that you would drive that far. We tried the two motels and the hotel and asked them to have you call if you came in that night. So at that I had to give up.

I am sorry that I did not get to mention expenses to you – but, I believe Fr. Schenk said you were to present a bill to him. Thank you so much! God bless you!

Yours Sincerely
Sa. Mort Mc Mahon

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Rev. Mert McMahon
St. Francis Church
~~ST. JOHN'S MISSION~~
~~WAYNESVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA~~
Franklin, North Carolina

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 17, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

EB
He enclosed check for 16.40
GTM

Reverend Francis Schenk
St. Luciens Church
Spruce Pine, North Carolina

Dear Father Schenk:

Father McMahon will probably have let you know that all went well (I thought) with the meeting at Sylva on the night of September 4th. They had quite a good crowd. I found no outspoken objection. And the smaller gathering afterward was a most satisfying occasion to talk straight to the local people.

I figured out the mileage. They made me go a detour up there, so it was 178 miles to Sylva and 150 back. At 5¢ a mile, the 328 miles makes $16.40. That seems to me rather a steep sum to bill to you if it has to be paid personally. I hope there is some alternative purse from which the check can be written.

I liked Father McMahon, and we both remembered an occasion when I had spoken to a group of seminarians near Cincinnati, of whom he was one -- same speech. I am most grateful to you for arranging that occasion at Sylva, and I am mighty sorry that it did not give us a chance to be together.

I will be up in your territory sometime within the next two or three months I feel pretty sure. And you may be certain that there will be a visit to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Thanks very much. Perhaps we can have you speak in Spruce Pine when I become better acquainted.

Francis Schenk

September 25, 1956

Reverend Joseph H. Fichter, S. J.
Box 24
Sociology Department
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Father Fichter:

Your nice people in New Orleans in the Commission on Human Rights wrote and said you were not getting New South at your new address. I hasten to get off a bundle to you, and it will continue to come to you at Notre Dame until you notify us otherwise.

Note Rha

We shall be missing you all over these Southerns.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under Separate Cover:
Next Steps in the South
New South, Feb. - Sept. '56
Christian Conscience
Changing Patterns

Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

card + stencil made for Rev. Fichter.
9/25/56
7c

RECEIVED SEP 22 1958

Dear Mr. Michell,

Would you be so kind as to help Father Fichter out with some of your literature on Race Relations such as : "Answers for Action", "Next Steps in the South" for his course on Race Relations at University of Notre Dame. He has not been receiving his copies of NEW SOUTH since his return from Europe. Would you please have them mailed to him as soon as possible.

Very sincerely,
Patrick Ryan
Commission on Human Rights
Catholic Committee of the
South, program chairman.
Box 694
New Orleans, La.

Address for : Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S.J.
Box 24
Socoligy Dept.
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame,
Indiana.

P.S. Father will be a guest professor at Notre Dame for the coming year.
P.

October 15, 1956

Reverend Vincent J. O'Connell
St. Louis Church
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Father Vince:

Mr. Cooper at the St. Paul Urban League has asked me to come to St. Paul to address the Thirty-Third Annual Meeting of the Urban League at 6:30 p.m. Tuesday, November 20th, at the Ryan Hotel. And of course I am coming.

I hope there will be an occasion to have another visit with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

November 26, 1956

Reverend Vincent J. O'Connell
St. Louis Church
506 Cedar Street
St. Paul 2, Minnesota

Dear Father Vince:

You and your associates were as kind to me as could be, and I am deeply grateful.

Admiringly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

St. Louis Church
MARIST FATHERS
506 CEDAR STREET
ST. PAUL 2, MINN.

November 14, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern
Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 19 1956

Dear George:

Your new schedule is perfectly O. K. !

Let me know the number of your flight. I will see that you are picked up at the airport.

In haste!

Sincerely,

Fr. Vincent

Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M.

November 13, 1956

Reverend Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M.
St. Louis Church
506 Cedar Street
St. Paul 2, Minnesota

Dear Father O'Connell:

Mr. Mitchell is currently away -- enroute to Williamsburg, Virginia, and thence to Washington, D. C. by car -- and will return to the office on Monday, the 19th.

His plan is to leave Atlanta on Eastern Air Lines' Flight 906 at 6:50 p.m. on Monday, November 19th, which flight stops briefly in Chicago, Illinois, and arrives in St. Paul at the airport at 10:08 p.m. I will note on his calendar that you will meet him at the airport on Monday night.

Sincerely,

Secretary

eab/

St. Louis Church
MARIST FATHERS
506 CEDAR STREET
ST. PAUL 2, MINN.

November 8, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern
Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 13 1956

Dear George:

We are expecting you!

If possible, let me know when you will arrive - and how - by train or plane - and we will pick you up.

Save some time for a bull-session!

Hope we can preserve Louisiana weather until you get here.

Sincerely,

Father Vince

Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M.

November 6, '56

Dear Father Vince,

I didn't quite realize it, but I'm afraid you are in for two nights of hospitality to me. When a man is to speak he owe a duty to be sure to arrive at the spot in time, and with flyplanes the only way to be sure is to be ahead of time.

So what happens is I fly into the St. Paul airport at 10.00 P.M. Monday, November 19. Shall thence get forthwith to thy Rectory, and hofentlich to bed. Tuesday night is speechmaking night, and thence again (if you will) to the Rectory. And a plane out Wednesday morning about 7.00 or 7.30; no great strain to your household, as you are probably out of bed yourself at 5 A.X!

Thank you for all these kindnesses. If they have become a burden, say so!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

October 29, '56

Dear Father Vince,

If you will take me in I will be delighted. Don't yet know when I arrive, but presumably in the afternoon of the 20th, to make a speech that night, and peel into bed around 11 p.x.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED OCT 24 1956

St. Louis Church
MARIST FATHERS
506 CEDAR STREET
ST. PAUL 2, MINN.

October 22, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

It was good news, receiving your note announcing your visit to St. Paul on November 20th.

Be sure to call me when you get in.

If you would like to stay with us, we will promise you the 3 Bs - bed, board and bourbon!

With every best wish,

Sincerely,

Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.

Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.

July 22, 1957

Reverend John F. Cronin, S.S.
National Catholic Welfare Conference
1312 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Father Cronin:

It was good to meet you Sunday and talk-over the important matters which confront our nation. You more than lived up to my expectations; expectations based upon Paul Williams' description of your grasp of the subject and its relationship to other aspects of the national life.

Separately, I have sent you the material we discussed in your office. There is more there than we would expect you to pass on to your friend but we thought it advisable to give you a wide range from which to choose.

I will write you in more detail of some of the other things we discussed, after I have had a chance to explore the questions with our top staff people.

Thanks for the ride to the airport; best personal regards.

Respectfully,

Frederick B. Routh
Associate Director

FBR/mf

National Catholic Welfare Conference

MOST REV. FRANCIS P. KEOUGH, ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE, CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD
RIGHT REV. MSGR. HOWARD J. CARROLL, GENERAL SECRETARY

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CABLE ADDRESS: ENNSEE

July 24, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thank you very much for you kind letter of July 22 and the other material which arrived today. I shall read them all carefully and pass on the information. I hope to be in touch with you as soon as I get some reaction from the gentleman we discussed.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

John F. Cronin

Reverend John F. Cronin, S.S.
Assistant Director

JFC:fln

September 6, 1957

Mr. Robert L. Reynolds
136-41 - 68th Drive
Flushing 67, New York

Dear Mr. Reynolds:

I am very glad to have your letter, written at George Hunton's suggestion. Your name and the project you are conducting were already familiar to me through conversations with David Freeman of the Fund for the Republic.

The Southern Regional Council has quite naturally had a deep interest in the impact of the Catholic Church on race relations in the South. One of the leading figures in the formation of the Council was then Bishop Gerald P. O'Hara, and our president from 1946-1951 was Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Virginia, a leading Catholic layman. We have also worked closely with the Catholic Committee of the South, and some of our ablest board and executive committee members have been Catholic clergymen who have had a special interest in race relations. I mention all this only to indicate some of the ties the Council has had from the beginning with those elements within the Catholic Church in the South that have pioneered in racial matters. We have found, as I am sure you have, that the militance and effectiveness of Catholic leadership in this field vary considerably from area to area. But I think it can be said that Negro Catholics are almost everywhere free of formal segregation and overt discrimination so far as worship is concerned. There are, of course, still areas where the parochial schools are not integrated, but I believe this is usually considered a

matter of prudence rather than preference.

You have no doubt seen a copy of Integration North and South. The Council's survey of desegregation in the South since May 1954 is reported in the second part of the volume. While our survey could not be comprehensive, it covered fairly well desegregated Catholic institutions and facilities in the two-year period dealt with. A somewhat older survey was conducted in the summer of 1953 by John J. O'Conner of Georgetown University, in connection with the so-called Ashmore Project. This manuscript was never published in full; if you do not have it already I am sure Mr. O'Conner would gladly supply it. We have also found the periodic releases from the NCWC helpful.

I will probably be in New York some time soon and would enjoy a session with you over lunch or dinner. When I have a specific date in prospect I will write you again. Meanwhile, if there are specific questions which you feel we might be able to answer helpfully, don't hesitate to let me know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED AUG 29 1957

136-41 68th Drive
Flushing 67, N.Y.

August 26, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director,
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Dr. William A. Osborne of St. Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, Md., and I have received a grant from a foundation to conduct and publish a study of "The Catholic Church and the Negro in the United States." Allow me to introduce myself as the Managing Editor of JUBILEE Magazine, the national Catholic picture monthly.

I have been in close contact with George Hunton of the Catholic Interracial Council, and while neither George nor the Council has any official connection with either the grant or the study, he has been generous with his valuable advice, and it is at his suggestion that I am writing to you.

Briefly, Mr. Fleming, we are interested in ascertaining to what extent, both in the North and in the South, the Catholic Negro enjoys what might be called "first-class citizenship" in the Catholic Church. Further than that, we want to know to what extent the Church has been a force for (or against) the enjoyment by the Negro of full civil rights. You may feel - George Hunton tells me that you are not a Catholic - that you do not wish to comment on the first point, but I know you would have valuable observations on the second. Frankly, we are not interested in dragging out old skeletons or in publishing a sensational "expose." At the same time, we do not feel our study would be complete if we were to confine our inquiries to bishops, priests and laymen of the Church itself; those who have been working in the field outside Catholicism have valuable things to tell us, and we will not find them out unless we ask.

Mr. Hunton tells me that you are in New York periodically. I wonder whether on your next visit - or at any convenient time - we might sit down together and have a talk. I am at your disposal, and while I would prefer the evening hours (or perhaps at lunch or dinner), I could make arrangements during the morning or afternoon if those are the only hours you have free.

I wonder whether I may hear from you soon?

Very sincerely,

Robert L. Reynolds

Robert L. Reynolds

January 24, 1958

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J.
Department of Social Science
Spring Hill College
3669 Old Shell Road
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

Your letter of January 18th came to my desk just prior to the meeting scheduled for the evening of the 21st. We regret that it was impossible for you to come here. We were happy that Father Boyce had been asked to participate in the meeting. Unfortunately Father Boyce did not make the meeting, nor did any of us hear from him either before or after the meeting.

We all missed your wise counsel and good spirit. Jean Russell will send you the minutes of the meeting in the next few days. I hope it will be possible in the future for the Holy Mother Church to be represented at this meeting, for a three-legged stool gets very wobbly when one of its main supports is missing.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

3669 Old Shell Road
Mobile, Alabama

January 18, 1958

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred,

Upon returning here and checking on that speaking engagement that I had for next week, I find that it is to be on Wednesday instead of Tuesday, and so I will not be able to make it up to Atlanta for the meeting of the CCD committee.

I have however managed to get in touch with Monsignor Maloney of the Atlanta Catholic Schools office. He said that he was interested, but would be in Jacksonville that night for a talk.

Instead, he said he would get Father Boyce, the chancellor of the Atlanta diocese, to participate in the meeting. He said Father Boyce was a fine young priest, about whom the Bishop thinks a great deal--and whom he also depends on for these representative jobs.

I trust that Father Boyce will be with you for the meeting. I sent all the details to Msgr. Maloney, and he promised to follow through.

Please let me know how it eventuates, and express my regrets to the other members of the committee, Will Cambell, Jean Russell, Mr. Pitts, and Rabbi Rothschild.

Cordially yours,

Father Albert S. Foley SJ

Father Albert S. Foley SJ. Ph.D.
Department of Social Sciences

Our Lady Seat of Wisdom
Catholic Student Center

FATHER ALEXANDER O. SIGUR, DCL, MA., CHAPLAIN
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June 29, 1958
Saints Peter and Paul Day

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thanks for the reprint of the talk by Marian Wright. I am looking forward to using it.

Best wishes and visit when you can.

Yours in Christ,

Fr. Sigur

Father Alexander O. Sigur

"Thy Kingdom Come"

Our Lady Seat of Wisdom
Catholic Student Center

FATHER ALEXANDER O. SIGUR, DCL, MA., CHAPLAIN
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St. Vincent de Paul Day
July 19, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thanks for the release. I hope to see you in August.

Yours in Christ,

Father Alexander O. Sigur

"Thy Kingdom Come"

CHANCERY OFFICE
230 DWYER AVENUE
SAN ANTONIO 5, TEXAS

August 26, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of August 22 addressed to Archbishop Lucey is being acknowledged in His Excellency's absence from the city. The Archbishop is not expected back in the office until the early part of September and upon his return your communication and enclosure will be given to him.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rt. Rev. J.L. Manning, J.C.D., P.A.
Chancellor

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February 25, 1959

Mr. Philip Green
JUBILEE
377 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Green:

It was very kind of you to send us the copies of Jubilee containing the article on the South. This is an accurate and well balanced assessment of the role of Catholics in meeting the region's racial problems. I should think it will prove helpful in stimulating more positive action within the Church.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

JUBILEE 377 Fourth Avenue, New York 16
MU 4-3397

February 5, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. George Hunton advised us that you were interested in the attached article which we are pleased to send you. We are sending a dozen more copies along for your use.

If you could use further copies, please let us know and we will be happy to furnish them at cost.

Very truly yours,

Philip Green

Philip Green

Materials mailed: one copy each
Changing Patterns
New South (one 1959 issue)
Negro Voter
Dabbs Transcript
Louisville Story
Baltimore Story
Next Steps
What the S. C. Said
Three Views
Statements of Religious Leaders (Mimeo)
Congressional Record Reprint on SRC
Negro Potential
The Southern Negro: Change and Paradox
Segregation Costs from Wall St. Journal
The Economic Aspects of School Closings
Publication Listings (100)

Mailed 5/8/59

N.S. prom. blank 6-18-59

May 8, 1959

Sister Mary Patrick, C. D. P.
Our Lady of the Lake College
San Antonio 7, Texas

Dear Sister Mary Patrick:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, some material for your Human Relations Workshop.

If we can be of additional aid, please let us know.

With best wishes for your workshop.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Providence High School
1215 No. St. Mary's
San Antonio 2, Texas

Gentlemen:

From June 4 to July 13 at Our Lady of the Lake College in San Antonio, Texas, there will be a Human Relations Workshop sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Educators from the Southwest will come from various races, creeds, and professions to become members of the group.

Funds are available to purchase material pertinent to the workshop. Please send to the above college in my name any pamphlets or publications you think will assist us.

Any and all free materials you distribute will be exhibited on displays where about 600 teachers of the Southwest attend the regular summer session.

We are especially in need of material of recent date which deals specifically with human relations, minority groups, and institutions for the advancement of better understanding among various groups.

Please give this your personal consideration and help to make this venture a success.

Mail all packages and correspondence to

Sister Mary Patrick, C. D. P.
Our Lady of the Lake College
San Antonio 7, Texas

You will be remembered in my prayers for any help you give.

Sincerely,

Sister Mary Patrick

Sister Mary Patrick, C. D. P.

Our Lady of the Lake College

In Cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews

FIFTH ANNUAL

SUMMER SESSION WORKSHOP IN HUMAN RELATIONS

REGISTRATION:
JUNE 4, 1959

CLASSES BEGIN:
JUNE 5, 1959

San Antonio, Texas

OUR LADY OF THE LAKE COLLEGE..

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

THE WORKSHOP IN HUMAN

The School of Education of Our Lady of the Lake College in cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews will conduct a *Workshop in Human Relations* during the regular summer session.

★ ★ ★

PURPOSE

It is the purpose of the Workshop in Human Relations to offer to individuals in our democratic society, who must meet problems of human relationships, an opportunity to acquire and to share understandings and techniques directed toward better inter-group and intra-group relationships. Teachers, welfare workers, personnel managers, religious leaders, nurses, management and labor officials, and community leaders are provided a social climate in the Workshop in Human Relations in which they can examine the democratic ideal in operation.

★ ★ ★

MEMBERSHIP

The course is open to both men and women, graduates and undergraduates. Enrollment will be limited to 25 students. There will be no distinction based on either religion or race. Members may not register for additional college courses conducted during the term of the Workshop for which they enroll.

★ ★ ★

ACADEMIC CREDIT

Six semester hours of academic credit will be granted to students who meet the requirements of the college.

STAFF

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Mobile, Alabama.

Associate Director:

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Providence High School,
San Antonio, Texas.

★ ★ ★

STAFF ASSISTANTS AND CONSULTANTS

Specialists in different areas of human relations will confer with members of the group as specific needs are recognized.

★ ★ ★

THE WORKSHOP PROGRAM

The class will meet five days per week.

Morning: 8:15-9:30 a.m. Lecture and discussion period.

9:30-10:00 a.m. Break for coffee and recreation.

10:00-11:15 a.m. Lecture and discussion period.

Afternoon: Afternoons will be used for consultations of staff and students, for films, field trips, reading, and for work on special group or individual projects.

Administrators and supervisors who are interested in increasing their understandings of "group dynamics" will gain new insights into group inter-action and leadership in the Workshop situation.

. . . . San Antonio, Texas .

RELATIONS

WORKSHOP PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES

The workshop will be characterized by:

The use of a permissive, informal atmosphere
Resource personnel and varied materials of instruction
Contributions of the experience of the participants of the workshop.

Techniques will include:

Group problem solving
Exhibits and films
Field trips and excursions
Panels and consultants.

★ ★ ★

LIVING ACCOMMODATIONS

Living accommodations are available for women. Students desiring living accommodations should write for a reservation to:

Sister M. Emella, C.D.P.
Dean of Students
Our Lady of the Lake College
San Antonio 7, Texas

★ ★ ★

FEES

Registration fee: (part-time students): $5.00.

Tuition per semester hour: $17.50.

★ ★ ★

SCHOLARSHIPS

Scholarships are available through the generosity of interested citizens. Application should be made before May 15. Make application by letter to:

Dr. Harold Wren
Our Lady of the Lake College
San Antonio 7, Texas

OUR LADY OF THE LAKE COLLEGE
SAN ANTONIO 7, TEXAS

Non Profit Organization
U. S. POSTAGE
1c PAID
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
Permit No. 434

To Apply: Mail this blank

To Registrar
Our Lady of the Lake College
San Antonio 7, Texas:

Kindly enroll me in the Summer Session Workshop in Human Relations, beginning June 4,_____.

_____
Your Name

_____
Address: Street and Number

_____
City, Zone, and State

June 16, 1959

Father James D. Murphy, C.SS.R.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church
325 Caulder Avenue
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Dear Father Murphy:

Thank you for your recent letter and for your kind words about the Council.

As I am sure you know, much of the Council's strength and effectiveness are directly attributable to the leadership provided over the years by outstanding Catholic laymen and clergymen. I sincerely hope and trust that the Council will always merit their -- and your -- confidence.

We welcome your critical comment about the use of the word "McCarthyism" in the May issue of New South. I agree that the word was ill-chosen, though for somewhat different reasons. Whatever one's opinion of the late Senator McCarthy, this is questionable use of a name borne by many fine Americans. You may be interested in the enclosed copy of an editorial from the Arkansas Gazette, which makes a similar point.

One of the satisfactions of this work is that it helps to combat the Communist effort at the point

of greatest propaganda attack -- by demonstrating the vitality of the American and Christian doctrine of the sanctity of the individual. One of the greatest evils of the smears deplored in the New South article is that they give aid to the Communists by confusing and dividing loyal Americans.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.
Ark. Gazette editorial - Apr. 8, 1959
"Thunder on the Right"

J.M.J.A.

REDEMPTORIST FATHERS
325 CAULDER AVENUE
SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

HCF-F41

June 8, 1959

New South
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.
The Editors.

Dear Sirs;

You doubtless know that I-we- are 100% behind the Southern Regional Council, NAACP, Urban League and anything else that will help this painful situation and bring aboutt peace among brothers, under the Fatherhood of God.

But I earnestly object to the use of the word,"McCarthyism" in the excellent periodical "New South",-page 10,May 1959. The word was coined by the communists and first appeared in their "Daily Worker" as part of their counter attack against the fearless fighter against communistic infiltration and subversion, Senator Joseph McCarthy. He was a great patriotic American, who was smeared, defeated, and died of a broken heart, as other anti-communists.

Every clear-thinking American knows that the Southern Regional Council, the NAACP, the Urban League etc are founded on the Christian principles of Charity, Justice, Peace, just as the great American Republic. Let us pray, work, be on our guard to defend our Country and its excellent institutions...

James D. Murphy C.S.S.R.

(Father) James D. Murphy C.SS.R.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church,
325 Caulder Ave, Spartanburg S.C.

Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis

5017 NORTHLAND ST. LOUIS 13, MISSOURI PHONE: FO. 7-3700

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July 31, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432 - 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We're so glad you can come to St. Louis to take part in the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. There is much interest in the convention and the many fine program participants who have accepted our invitation to attend.

Now we are in need of biographical data on our guest experts. Would you supply us with the information we need on the attached questionnaire, please? We'll appreciate your returning it as soon as you can.

And do you have a glossy photograph you can spare for awhile? If not, the biographical sketch will suffice.

Sent 8/2/60

Thanks very much.

Cordially,

Nat'l. Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice

Dorothy Mattingly

Dorothy Mattingly
Convention Chairman

HOST TO THE CONVENTION OF
THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
August 25th–26th–27th–28th, 1960

September 8, 1960

Mother Mary T. Clark
Faculty Advisor
Social Action Secretariat
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart
Purchase, New York

Dear Mother Clark:

Thank you for sending us copies of the booklets distributed at the annual Congress of the National Federation of Catholic College Students. This is fine work, and we should like nothing better than to have our materials serve as a resource to you and your students. We shall continue to send you our publications.

I was pleased to meet two students from Manhattanville at the recent conference of the Catholic Interracial Council in St. Louis.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE OF THE SACRED HEART
PURCHASE, NEW YORK

SCJM

August 26, 1960

Dear Dr. Fleming,

Thank you for all the help you have given our students with their initial project of research on the facts of discrimination today. We are sending you under separate cover the set of 8 booklets we are distributing at the annual Congress of the National Federation of Catholic College Students, meeting in Louisville next week.

Our students hope to get some financial help to have their research printed in a more convenient form and sent to all the student body presidents in America - a message, as it were, from students to students.

Asking you to keep my name on your list to receive your valuable information, I am

Very gratefully,

Mary T. Clark BJ

Mother Mary T. Clark,
Faculty Advisor, Social Action
Secretariat.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
DELAWARE 7-1025

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RECTOR 2-5417

file: Rel. orgs catholics

Chicago, Illinois
September 21, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am sorry for being so late in sending you the check which covers your expenses to our meeting. I wish that it were possible for us to give you a nice honorarium in addition to your expenses, but we are slightly under-financed at the present.

We do appreciate the contribution you made to our meeting and look forward to continuing work with you.

Sincerely yours,

Mathew Ahmann

Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director

MA:ELC
Enclosure

CR # 113 92
RHA
9/26/60

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. (New York) OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) BOARD: Edmund J. Bradley (Indianapolis), Rev. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse), Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago), Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F. (Washington, D.C.), Dennis Clark (Philadelphia), Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore), Lloyd Davis (Chicago), William T. Greenwood (Little Rock), George K. Hunton (New York), Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee), William McCoy (Portland), Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia), Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston), Frances I. Nally (Toledo), Guichard Parris (New York), Very Rev. Harold R. Perry, S.V.D. (Bay St. Louis), Francis C. Shane (Pittsburgh), Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr. (Chicago), Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio), Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego), Paul D. Williams (Richmond)
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann (Chicago)

Rel. orgs
Catholic

March 17, 1961

Father Jose A. Borges, S. J.
Mount Saint Michael's
Seminary of Philosophy and Science
Spokane 28, Washington

Dear Father Borges:

My apologies for this delay in replying to your recent welcome letter, occasioned by an inordinately heavy travel schedule in recent weeks.

We are sending under separate cover several of our publications which may be of interest to you. Generally, they express our understanding and analysis of the present state of Southern race relations.

On the whole, we find developments of recent months encouraging. At least two states -- North Carolina and Tennessee -- may have made the decisive break, and be turned toward policies of more than grudging compliance. It is not too much to hope that Florida, Texas, and Virginia will soon be with them, perhaps Arkansas as well. Georgia, since the first of the year, has made a really spectacular shift, and in the city of Atlanta there is an unmistakable climate of reasonableness. There will still be bumps and jolts -- some stiff ones, perhaps -- in all these places (particularly rural Georgia) but the general prospect is better than at any time since 1954.

On the other hand, we see no cause for optimism regarding Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Fair but vigorous and firm federal enforcement of civil rights seems to offer the only realistic hope for improvement.

The gains that have been made are the result of federal court orders, a spreading willingness to comply, Negro pressures and continued Negro responsible conduct. Another factor of great importance has been what amounts to a defeat of the racists in the area of ideas and communication. This has meant both that Northern public opinion has stayed relatively firm and demanding, and that minds have changed in the South.

I hope these few observations will give you a somewhat clearer picture of the situation here in the South.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
~~Enclosures~~&

Separate mailing:

Desegregation: First 6 Yrs., McMillan pamphlet, Mary Ellen Goodman report, Sit =In Report, 1960-61 School Background Report, L-22, SRC Policy Statement, 1959, Helen Hill Miller reprint "Private Business & Public Education in the South", Cornelius Tarplee piece, "the Church in Areas of Racial Tension".

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

H F - this came in while you were on your long trip, & I thought I would answer. Did not however get to it. Having held it so long, the least I can do is suggest (see attached) some thoughts. Do you want me to reply?

MOUNT SAINT MICHAEL'S
SEMINARY OF PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE
SPOKANE 28, WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
1961

February 22, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mister Fleming:

A few days I wrote to Father Louis J. Twomey, S.J. asking him for information on the Southern attitudes toward the race problem.

In a recent communication, Father Twomey has urged me to write to you for, as he says, you are "the best informed of any I know on race relations."

Inspired by such a recommendation and willing to get a better picture of the situation--which I plan to make available to the other seminarians here at the Mount--I have decided to write to you.

Please forgive me for imposing on your busy schedule; and feel certain that any help which you can give us will be greatly appreciated.

Thanks.

Sincerely in our Lord,

Jose A. Borges, S.J.
Jose A. Borges, S.J.

Int 6 years
Lee Ln
Ln E G
Sit in report
School background
L-22

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1961

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send: Desegregation: first 6 years, McMillan, M.E.Goodman, Sit-in Report, 1960=61 School background report; L-22, Tarplee, Hill, (over)

SRC policy statement 1959

LWDL
MJ

February 5, 1962

Dr. William A. Osborne
Assistant to the President
St. John's University
Grand Central and Utopia Parkways
Jamaica 32, New York

Dear Dr. Osborne:

Leslie Dunbar has asked me to write you passing on the thinking of the staff members here who have examined and discussed your proposal for a workshop on desegregation for Catholic administrators.

We all feel here that this would be a useful project and wish you good fortune in it. Our suggestions are minor. We question the wisdom of having a separate panel on "Agencies in the Field of Race Relations." Mention of these could be included in other panels, or there could be a list of these in a kit of materials to be distributed to participants. This panel could be replaced by one on public accommodations, perhaps, or one on communications, or what have you.

We feel that the workshop could be carried out with less subsidization than indicated in your budget. This does not mean we consider the budget to be too large. In a pinch, some of those listed as participants or consultants would undoubtedly come on their own funds.

Les indicated that you asked him on the telephone for names of other possible consultants. Some that we have used with good effect are:

(1) Dr. Kenneth Morland
Professor of Sociology and Anthropology
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

(2) Dr. C. H. Parrish
Chairman, Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky
(and the only Negro on their faculty there)

(3) Dr. Lee Coleman
Chairman, Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology
University of Kentucky

(4) Dr. Herman Long
Director, Department of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

(5) Dr. Lewis Killian
Professor of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida,

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Memo from **JAMES A. MOSS**

1/23/62

Les, my comments and/or suggestions.

Under I - Rationale

Is this discussion to be related to problems of school desegregation?

Under II

Can we include also some suggested follow-up procedures after formal school desegregation has taken place?

Under IV - Consultants:

This might be another place where Bob Coles could be effectively used.

I agree with Paul Rilling's suggestion that a separate panel should not be held on agencies but might rather focus on successful programs in desegregation, ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ pulling the past materials possibly from some of the agencies involved in the field. I note that the whole field of public accommodations in the South is missing. Could this be treated under IV, or maybe a separate panel?

Mèmo

FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

PR -

would you please reply to Osborne
with copies to Tacoma & Field about financing
It seems clear that Tacoma is not
interested. Mrs Hahn is still sitting
on it. I was asked for comment by
Tacoma & suggested that idea probably
not feasible without hierarchy support.
This word must have reached Osborne
because I learn that he has asked
Field not to act further until
he has sounded out a bishop or two

LWD

St. John's University
GRAND CENTRAL AND UTOPIA PARKWAYS
JAMAICA 32, NEW YORK

ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

Dec. 19, 1961.

Dear Leslie,

Enclosed is a copy of the proposed project which I am circulating among those who might help or be interested: Benj. Muse, Hesburgh of Notre Dame, St. John's administration. The consultant's fee is $100 per diem, and expenses paid. How does it sound to you ?

In order to maximize the chances of a grant, I am trying to keep the amount requested low. Paying the expenses of the invitees[1] is, I think, crucial. Because if they have to pay their own way, the project would have to also emanate from them to some extent. They would have to be in on the planning stages. While this is good in the sense that it would provide them the opportunity to say what they need, it is bad in the sense that it would abort the whole project. So many of them believe there's no problem that they can't handle without help from outside. And this is the nut we're trying to crack.

[1] Church administrators

Even if subsidization is not forthcoming I feel it's worth the effort to bring the two groups together anyway. But the effort will be considerably magnified, and the odds against success heightened.

Best wishes for a happy holiday

Paul Osborne

P.S. Is June too late to prepare for desig. in Sept.? Perhaps April'd be better?

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia

Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

PRV do either of you have suggestions to offer Bill?

JM

I question a separate panel on agencies. These could be mentioned via workbook, a short talk, included in other panels — could be replaced by one on "communications" or something —

LD

ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

Jamaica 32, N. Y.

Department of Sociology Dr. William A. Osborne

Workshop on the Desegregation
Process for Catholic Church Administrators

I. Rationale

For the past few years Mr. Robert Reynolds, Associate Editor of American Heritage and Dr. William A. Osborne, Associate Professor of Social Science, St. John's University have been engaged in a study of the race problem in the Catholic Church. Primarily a field study of ten dioceses, it includes interviews with Bishops, administrators and Negro community leaders. Although the project is near completion, it seems possible that action on one of its findings can, if undertaken in the immediate future, contribute to the desegregation process for the school year 1962-63.

The finding referred to is the need for a "bridge" between people who face the desegregation problem (Church Administrators) and those who by profession, experience and/or training understand its psychological, sociological and economic dimensions. Already there is a thin link between these two groups: Bishop Brunini of Jackson, Mississippi is on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council; Bishop Hodges, Msgr. Bezou (of New Orleans) and Benjamin Muse have collaborated on the problem and in New Orleans there is a Catholic Human Relations Council. But, by and large, the intellectual resources available to the Church are unfamiliar or unknown to it. Progress, therefore, is at a rate which seems to be a drag not merely on Church growth but also on the community.

The proposed workshop would bring the two groups together in a personal and informal atmosphere.

Whatever the results of the workshop proper, the establishment of personal relationships between the two groups would, we expect, serve as the "bridge". Communication henceforth would be far more likely. The gap between Church Administration and the intellectual resources of the Southern Region would be considerably narrowed.

II. A 5 or 6 day workshop, in early June on the campus of St. John's University, under the direction of Dr. Osborne.

III. By invitation only to about 30 School Superintendents, Catholic Charities Directors, Hospital Administrators, Principals, Religious Superiors, and Pastors in the following dioceses: Lafayette, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Galveston-Houston, Natchez, Mobile-Birmingham, Raleigh, Savannah.

IV. Consultants: About 10, probably including:

(1) Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.
(2) Benjamin Muse, Catholic Consultant on Race Relations.
(3) Dennis Clark, Philadelphia Housing Commission.
(4) John Fisher, Former Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore (now President, Teachers College, Columbia University).
(5) Omer Carmichael, Louisville.
(6) Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director, Civil Rights Commission.
(7) Dr. Eugene Perry, M.D., Grand Knight, Knights of St. Peter Claver.
(8) Fr. Alexander Sigur, Louisiana State Advisory Committee to U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

V. Panels:

(1) Race, Housing and Real Estate Values in Changing Parishes.
(2) Preparing for School Desegregation.
(3) Race and Hospital Administration.
(4) Agencies in the Field of Race Relations: NAACP, Urban League, CORE, Southern Regional Council, Human Relations Councils, N.C.C.J., etc.

VI. Costs:

Estimated at $13,000. In addition to administrative costs, this figure provides for payment of expenses for invitees and consultants plus a fee of $100 for each of the latter.

Read
4/25

PR ✓
LD
MJ - file

CAMPION HOUSE
329 WEST ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTH STREET
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

April 23, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunton,

Ever so many thanks for your good wrt. relative to my "retirement" as Chaplain of the CIC.

It is a "strategic" retirement, not a retreat; and only in order that my successor, and valiant aide ~~over~~ so many years, Fr. Philip S. Hurley, S.J., can carry out his far-reaching plans of collaboration with local church authorities.

I remain a Board member etc.

Don't let the New Orleans situation worry the SRC, Inc.!

It's just a hope for future. in spite of the temporary vacuum which some decisive action has created. If only — but read my little editorial comment, which I mail you under separate cover.

I have always been an optimist for the South, & am now more than ever. The Perezes & the Pattersons & all the ~~so~~ pests will pass. But the Word of the Lord & His good Providence will endure forever. Keep up the good fight.

Ever faithfully yours in the Holy Christ. Life.

John LaFarge. SJ

Rec'd 4/25

> Relations between the nations, like relations between peoples, must not be based on force, but regulated by legal norms founded on reason and on universal and unchangeable principles. . . . Peace cannot come except from God and has but one name—Pax Christi.

He therefore urged that the work for peace be started in one's own heart, by making it attuned to the will of God and faithful to divine laws. From this internal condition of peace with God, effective "disinterested service toward human society" will follow.

The Pope, it should be noted, does not condemn force. Neither does he exaggerate the role to be played by law. "The Church," he asserts "looks favorably on every serious initiative which can spare mankind new struggles, disasters and incalculable destruction." It just so happens that international law, being moral, is more basically human than physical force.

Berlin "All Quiet"

On April 11 Mr. Kennedy spoke good news: all reservists called to active duty last fall will be released by next August unless the international situation gravely worsens.

This announcement came just as Gen. Lucius D. Clay, hero of the 1948-49 Berlin blockade, unexpectedly returned home. The general had been sent to West Berlin last September as personal representative of the President and as a symbol of U.S. resistance to Khrushchev's artificially contrived crisis.

At the April 11 news conference Mr. Kennedy gave a speedy "No, no" when asked if Clay's return showed a belief "that the Berlin crisis is now negotiable." So, too, he explained that releasing the reserves is no sign that the international situation has improved; it simply shows that we have built up regular forces to the point where we may drop emergency measures.

This Presidential curb on hasty optimism was needed. For, at the moment, all is quiet on the Western front, and too many anxious ears are filled with the cooing of illusory doves of peace.

While it is quite true that the USSR has suddenly halted its petty harassment of the air corridors, etc., we simply have no clear idea of what motivated the late Lenten lull over West Berlin. It may be that the Russians are interested in genuine negotiation. It may be that they are just catching breath between rounds. It may be that they want to affect a sanctimonious air, in order to highlight imperialist "frightfulness" as we resume bomb tests.

Caution must be the watchword as the front slumbers. Mr. Kennedy's final word on Gen. Clay was that "his service continues, and the problem of Berlin continues."

. . . More Talks

Even as Gen. Clay prepared to step down as the President's personal envoy in Berlin, Secretary of State Dean Rusk began to talk about Berlin with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin.

These Washington talks, starting on April 16, were the fourth round of U.S.-Soviet talks since September. They were informal, exploratory and reputedly at the "subnegotiating level." As usual, they began amid bickering among the Western allies. The discord centered around Bonn's premature disclosure of some of the U.S. talking points. The Adenauer government seemed afraid of concessions that might be made to East Germany over the Berlin issue.

We hope Bonn can rest assured of our firmness. Gen. Clay, briefly returning to Berlin on April 15, said that at no time have we been more committed than now to our principles and the protection of West Berlin.

A Red Riddle

Apropos of riddles, mysteries and enigmas: Red China is a bigger puzzle than Red Russia ever was.

Take the National People's Congress, for instance. This is the Peiping parallel of Moscow's Supreme Soviet—a sounding board for decisions already made by Chinese Communist party leaders. Westerners rely on reports of its meetings in order to learn something of current views and policy shifts in Mao Tse-tung's Asiatic paradise.

The Congress was supposed to meet in 1961 but did not. Then it was announced that it would convene in Peiping on March 5; but the opening was postponed, unexpectedly and without explanation. When the 1,027 delegates finally got together on March 27, all foreigners were apparently barred from the sessions—even Russian and Albanian observers. And to date we have no firm account of what took place.

According to word from Hong Kong, the Congress held its final session on April 16. Early news reports merely indicated that a "ten-task" program had been presented to the delegates by Premier Chou En-lai. It called for "diligence, thrift and hard work" and continued to emphasize agricultural needs instead of industrialization.

All we really know about Red China is that 700 million people live there in hunger, gross poverty and deep despair. Their leadership is terroristic and utterly scornful of most human values. All the vaunted leaps into the future have become dives into a quagmire of chaos. And nowhere in that land is there a seed of hope around which effective resistance might crystallize.

Regrets Over New Orleans

There is certainly no reasonable person in any part of this country who does not regret the need for the drastic action that has occurred in the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

It was painful news to learn that on April 16 Most Rev. Joseph F. Rummel notified three lay persons of his Archdiocese—two men and a woman—that they incurred the grave penalty of excommunication by their stubborn and continued attacks upon the Archbishop's courageous mandate opening to all Catholic children all elementary and secondary schools within his jurisdiction.

No one would more deeply regret the need for such action than the 85-year-old Archbishop himself, and no one in or out of New Orleans was more anxious to avoid it.

There is nothing new about the present racial situation in this heavily Catholic community. The missionaries who work for the pastoral care of the

Negroes and for their education at all levels have been faced for at least a generation with glaring inequalities and discriminations. Yet what would these lone voices do against the oppressive silence of the Catholic community at large! Those few priests and lay persons who, in season and out, recalled the Church's clear teaching on the matter of racial equality—the words of Popes, bishops and Scripture itself—did so in fear and trembling and often at the risk of imminent reprimand. The magic formula, "time will heal," failed as it nearly always has failed as an excuse for avoiding a too evident duty.

The case of the three recalcitrants will take its natural course. Much more important, and at last encouraging a real hope for the future, is the emergence of more and more priests and people who are laying Catholic teaching quietly, logically but plainly before the intrinsically good and generous people of New Orleans.

Ecuador and Brazil

On April 3 Ecuador broke off relations with Cuba, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The action resulted from mounting impatience among Ecuadoreans over their government's do-nothing policy.

Most Ecuadoreans were furious last January when their delegation at Punta del Este refused to vote for the expulsion of Castro's regime from the Organization of American States. They were even angrier in March when they learned that Communist leaders from all over the world had held a congress in Guayaquil, Ecuador's port city, that month. Acts of Red-led violence were occurring almost daily. Finally, the army and labor unions made it clear that enough is enough, and President Carlos Arosemena asked the three ambassadors to go quietly.

From Brazil President João Goulart came to visit us early in April. He was able to dispel many of the fears over his rumored chumminess with Red China and the Soviet Union. In Washington he assured President Kennedy that his country's independent policy does not mean neutralism and that he intends to go along wholeheartedly with the Alliance for Progress. President Kennedy promised to repay the favor by visiting Brasilia in August.

Immediately after the Punta del Este meeting many Americans wondered if we had been overhasty in expecting to rally the Latin American governments on our side and against Castro. Now, however, there seems to be among the nations that held out for Castro a growing awareness that they really have to choose. Ecuador and Brazil, at least, are opting for democracy.

Tarnished Sacred Cow

Postwar technological revolution has produced "big science," and scientists themselves are beginning to feel the disadvantages of bigness.

With 60 per cent of the $1.8-billion total national expenditure for basic research coming from government (as compared with 22 per cent from industry and 12 per cent from universities), it is clear that government no longer merely aids science, but actually controls most U.S. research.

Two recent publications of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (Box 4068, Santa Barbara, Calif.)—*Science*, an interview by Donold McDonald with Hans Bethe, with a commentary by James H. Douglas [illegible] *Government of Science*, [illegible] Stover—examine the politi[illegible] implications of modern science. [illegible] Stover finds them serious enough to urge a new Cabinet post for science and technology.

Missionary Bishop

Africa is still mission territory. But it will not be long before the African Church reaches its maturity. So spoke veteran missionary Bishop Joseph Blomjous, W.F., of Mwanza, Tanganyika, in a recent interview. Indeed, if the Church follows the formula prescribed in the Bishop's own diocese, it will exert a powerful influence on a continent struggling toward adulthood.

A firm believer that the Church has a role to play in the social and economic betterment of the African people, Bishop Blomjous has labored for 30 years to improve educational, medical and social facilities in Tanganyika. He does not believe the Church should operate in its own tidy little vacuum.

> Our social agencies are available to each and every Tanganyikan as an indication of the Church's contribution to the well-being of the people. . . . We in Tanganyika do not aim to establish a Catholic political party or a Catholic trade union. We want our Catholics to participate and contribute with their fellow citizens for the growth of development in their country.

Only thus will the Church in Africa be accepted as genuinely African.

The Church is already moving rapidly in the direction of fuller identity with Africa. On April 5, Pope John designated four new African archbishops in Senegal, Mali, Guinea and Togo, thus making almost complete the transfer of the metropolitan sees in former French West Africa to the native clergy. The new appointments increase the number of the African hierarchy to 45—a phenomenal growth in the decade since Archbishop Joseph Kiwanuka of Uganda became the first African to be raised to the dignity of the episcopacy.

Soviet "Social Security"

A major theme of Soviet propaganda is the advanced social-insurance program of the Socialist state. Who has not seen glowing portraits of thankful workers getting free medical treatments, or elderly couples enjoying their declining years on sunny Crimean beaches?

Few Westerners take a hard look behind this façade. In the Soviet system, social legislation is less for the sake of the individual than for the sake of the state. It is a political tool, an instrument of the class struggle.

How this works out in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is developed by Dr. Alois Rozehnal, pre-1948 Czech legislator and jurist, who has digested an enormous mass of laws and administrative orders. In his study, *Unfulfilled Promises* (Accademia Cristiana Cecoslovacca, Via della Conciliazione 1, Rome. $3.50), he unmasks the true image of the Communist welfare state.

In Czechoslovakia, as elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain, built-in discrim-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

June 21, 1962

Mr. William Osborne
St. John's University
Grand Central and Utopia Parkways
Jamaica 32, New York

Dear Bill:

Thank you for sending me the carbon copy of June 5 to Maxwell Hahn. First of all, I am very sorry that you have been through a period of family crisis. I know how these things can be and I hope that yours is now quieted.

Even if your plans for the Workshop had to be postponed, I suspect that your prodding over the last few months has been worth it and has had something to do with some of the hopeful events that have occurred within the Church. So don't be wholly disappointed.

Keep in touch.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

W A Osborne

St. John's University
GRAND CENTRAL AND UTOPIA PARKWAYS
JAMAICA 32, NEW YORK

ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

SUPPORT EDUCATION
STRENGTHEN THE
NATION.

JAN
JUN 6 1962

04

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Exec. Sec
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta 3
Georgia

MT - return for B/P

PR

~~Staff~~ return SLD for reply

RECEIVED
JUN 11 1962

June 5, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn, Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

You may recall my request last January for funds to support a "Workshop on the Desegregation Process for Catholic Church Administrators," and my January 22 letter suggesting that you defer decision on the initial request.

With apologies first of all for the long silence, let me now explain what has happened. Personal affairs forced me to abandon the project in mid-April. At that time, my father passed away suddenly. That family crisis was followed by another which consumed my every spare moment since then.

Meanwhile, the project had gained considerable approval and support. The only question or criticism centered on the timing. The desegregation plans for the Catholic schools of New Orleans and the episcopal concern and involvement in the Ecumenical Council would, I was told, undermine whatever support the Bishops might be inclined to give.

For an indefinite time then, the project must be postponed. Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind consideration.

Most sincerely,

William A. Osborne

July 11, 1962

Mr. George K. Hunton
416 E. 17th Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Hunton:

It was a great pleasure to meet you last week. I shall be seeing you in New York soon.

The last four (4) pages of the enclosure have the Syllabus of the Charleston Diocese. It occurred to me that you might be interested also in reading Ben Muse's report of his visit to the offices of the three bishops of last March and so we reproduced the entire memorandum.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Memo from LESLIE W. DUNBAR

mailing list

Syllabus - To Hunton

416 E 17th St

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Chronologies

Tr 26148

Wilson Smith

Catholic Interracial Council

of New York, Inc.

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RE. 2-5417

December 19, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Attached is that long delayed check to defray your expenses to New York.

Again, we are must grateful to you and still have not stopped talking about your excellent remarks.

Sincerely,

Dennis Clark

Dennis Clark
Executive Secretary

DC:RD

April 4, 1963

Most Reverend Paul J. Hallinan
Archbishop of Atlanta
Catholic Center
P. O. Box 12047
Northside Station
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Archbishop Hallinan:

I would like to extend to you our deeply felt appreciation for the action taken in desegregating diocesan hospitals. We are getting to be used to Catholic leadership in these matters; I hope there will be much more of it.

Since Monsignor Sigur introduced us during the conference in Chicago, and you so graciously suggested that I call some time for a luncheon appointment, I have many times meant to do so. I fear now that you will soon be returning to Rome. If, however, you do have some time left, my calendar for this month until the 17th, is clear and I would enjoy greatly discussing with you the work of our organization and some of the issues now before the South. Perhaps you could have your secretary call if you have a date open.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 4/17/64

file Rel. Orgs. - Catholic - Gen. Corresp.

TRINITY CHURCH IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
24TH FLOOR
74 TRINITY PLACE, NEW YORK 6, N.Y.

THE REVEREND BERNARD C. NEWMAN, VICAR

April 14, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I want to thank you for your kindness in buying my lunch at the meeting in Washington some time ago. That day was very helpful to me. I would like very much to have Mr. Charles Morgan's Washington address.

Some days after our meeting the U.S. Steel people in Pittsburgh seemed surprised that it was known they were bringing home their manager from Birmingham. At any rate, it would be helpful and very interesting if you can tell me of anything you pick up that shows how the Corporation's thinking is going, and whether any change in attitude is indicated.

I am thankful to God for the patient devotion of people like you.

Faithfully yours,

Bernard C. Newman

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file Churches: Catholic - Gen. corresp

TRINITY CHURCH IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
24TH FLOOR
74 TRINITY PLACE, NEW YORK 6, N.Y.

THE REVEREND BERNARD C. NEWMAN, VICAR

file

May 26, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you so much for the copy of the letter you had from Mr. Paul Johnston.

I am going tomorrow to Spain and Portugal for three weeks. When you get the memorandum that Mr. Johnston is writing I will certainly be glad to have a copy. From the letter, it sounds as though it would be a helpful statement.

With sincere good wishes,

Faithfully yours,

Bernard C. Newman

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File under Religious orgs, Catholics, gen. corresp

June 12, 1964

The Reverend Bernard C. Newman
Trinity Church in the City of New York
74 Trinity Place, 24th Floor
New York 6, New York

My dear Canon Newman:

I am glad to forward to you the enclosed letter from Paul Johnston in Birmingham. I believe you will find it of interest, and hope that it may be useful.

I trust that your trip abroad has been restful and satisfying.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
bc: Mr. Paul Johnston

File
Rel. orgs.
Catholic - gen.

TRINITY CHURCH IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
24TH FLOOR
74 TRINITY PLACE, NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

THE REVEREND BERNARD C. NEWMAN, VICAR

June 22, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I am more grateful to you than I can say in words for the photostat of Mr. Johnston's painstaking and thoughtful letter. The problem at this end is to get a hearing for some of his specific insights and concrete suggestions. We will do all we can to get some of these listened to. So far, I have not been able to get a copy of the agreement made in Pittsburgh a week ago between the steel companies and the union on better employment practice. I have only just come back from three weeks in Europe. At any rate, Mr. Turner and I will be in touch with you.

Fortunately, I was able to get a copy of the article by Arthur Hacker which Mr. Johnston discusses in his letter. It was this article that originally was fuel for the fire in my own thinking. Arthur Hacker is the son of Louis M. Hacker, Professor of Economics at Columbia, and a very dear friend of mine; but the younger Hacker has done just what Mr. Johnston in his letter did not want to do - "position himself out on a limb." I will be so glad to have you send the article on to Mr. Johnston with very special gratitude from me and those who are working with me. He has done us a great service. Tell him, please, that I will not quote him, nor abuse his confidence. Tell him, too, if you will, that I admire his good taste in being a "Saturday Review" fan. Your letter will be there to welcome him when he comes back from his son's wedding.

With sincere thanks to you, and warm regard, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Bernard C. Newman

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

P.S. I have a copy now from U.S. Steel of the agreement between the corporations and the union, but it adds little except a pledge of "continuing action."
BCN.

File - Relig. Orgs. - Catholic - gen.

May 27, 1965

Father Robert F. Drinan
Dean
Boston College Law School
Brighton 35, Massachusetts

Dear Father Drinan:

I am returning, under separate cover, the Catholic Lawyer. I found the article helpful. I am enclosing herewith for your possible interest my paper which I referred to at Atlantic City when I remarked that I had at an earlier time expressed such disagreements as I have with Bill Taylor.

It was a pleasure meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

File
State Councils
Mississippi

May 27, 1965

Mr. Kenneth Dean
Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Capitol at State Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Ken:

Thank you for writing to me on May 18, and for sending me a copy of your letter to B. Botnick. I am glad that you feel that the ADL matter is closed.

I hope that you will be over here next week, not because I want to hash through this thing again, but because I always enjoy seeing you. I am sorry that you believe I did wrong in not showing you the ADL memorandum. I don't make any claims to be right more than half the time, but I have done in this affair what seemed to me to be right. That included the strongest objection I know how to make of every statement in the memorandum in my several discussions with ADL.

You will be glad, or at least interested, to know that Pat's essay on the "Student" Movement went to the printers this past Tuesday. We have been promised very fast delivery, and perhaps shall have a pamphlet ready for distribution

by mid-June. When you are over here next week, however, we would like for you to read the manuscript.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
306 FIRST FEDERAL BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

THE REV. DUNCAN M. GRAY, JR., OXFORD, PRESIDENT
DR. D. I. HORN, WEST POINT, VICE-PRESIDENT
THE REV. E. A. MAYS, LAUREL, VICE-PRESIDENT
THE REV. DONALD A. THOMPSON, JACKSON, SECRETARY AND TREASURER
KENNETH L. DEAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

TELEPHONE: 948-0878
948-0879

Rec'd 5/19/65

May 18, 1965

PPV
LD

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Region Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter which I sent to Mr. Botnick shortly after his visit here. Incidently, this letter was written and mailed before I ever talked with you. A copy is also being sent to Rabbi Nussbaum.

Insofar as I am concerned the ADL matter is closed. However, you should know that since I did not get to see the report I am left feeling that you put your allegiance to the ADL in a place of greater importance than your commitment to a state council. You must know that my loyality and commitment is to the SRC and that anytime a situation arises which could possibly affect SRC you will have my fullest cooperation and all details and materials will be made available.

Governor Wallace spoke here last night. After the introductory remarks of an emotive nature he settled to a half decent speech. Most of his time was spent criticizing northern industrailist and politicians. He talked a good bit about the Lou Harris poll. About 6,000 people turned out for this "White Monday" sponsored by the White Citizen's Council of Jackson. A large crowd came from Bogalusa. In that the present governor did not show or send a telegram, in that Wallace was not nearly as bad as I had feared and in that exactly one week ago VanCliburn attracted 8,000 to a piano recitial in the same auditorium, this morning I am in good spirits concerning the future of Mississippi.

After the meeting last night Bill Minor and I talked for about an hour with two Mississippi legislators. These were two pretty decent men, and I'm sorry to say that the political situation here as relates to national politics still does not look good.

Thanks for your concern and efforts in connection with the ADL matter. I look forward to talking with you when I am again in Atlanta. Or maybe better yet, you should come to Mississippi sometime soon.

yours,

Ken Dean

Ken L. Dean

May 3, 1965

Mr. A. I. Botnick
Regional Director
Anti-Defamation League
of B'Nai B'rith
Southerncentral Region
535 Gravier Street
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Botnick:

It was good to get to talk with you last week. Also, I was glad to make the acquaintance of Dr. Hickerson. I am encouraged by the plans you are making for the upcoming conference. I will be most happy to cooperate or assist you with matters related to the conference or planing. I'm sorry that we did not have more time to talk. Your meeting today in New Orleans turned out to be an impossibility for me. Again, I'm sorry and wish the most of success to you.

I've talked with the kids who produced the film on poverty. Since you were here there has been a good bit of discussion concerning the division among the civil rights groups. This matter of calling people communist seems to have gotten out of hand. For this reason, I suggest that if you are still interested in securing the film that you contact Miss Jane Stembridge or Miss Mary King in care of the FDP office here in Jackson or by phone at 362-5516 also in Jackson.

The meeting of the Young Democrats Club which was held at Tougaloo yesterday was a pretty good meeting. Some of the more political minded folk may not have been satisfied, but I was encouraged that some of the more liberal folk were able to sit and talk, and even agree, with the conservative and labor elements. I think that there is real hope for Mississippi as long as this type of thing can be continued. Of course, the Young Democrats have a heck of a long way to go...but don't we all.

Anytime I or the office here can be of assistance, please, call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth L. Dean

Free
Catholics - Gen.

LWD
MJ

OUR LADY OF MERCY WELFARE CENTER
THE NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE
77 AMERICA STREET
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA 29403

August 17, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you for your concern about our problem. I am happy to announce that we have secured the services of Walter Knox, a native of August, residing in New York. He has a master of social work degree from Rutgers and has had experience in working with "delinquent" youths.

This is the first federal financed program geared to curbing juvenile delinquency in the Southeast, Do wish us success. Thank Dr. Dunbar for me and tell him I appreciated his graphic analogies in his speech at the N.C.C.I.J. Convention in Atlanta.

Best regards,

Sister Mary Anthony

Sister Mary Anthony, O.L.M.
Director

SMA:ACD

File
Rel. Orgs
Catholics, Gen.

October 3, 1966

The Reverend Noel C. Burtenshaw
Chancellor
Catholic Center
Archdiocese of Atlanta
2699 Peachtree Road, N. E.
P. O. Box 12047
Northside Station
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

My dear Chancellor Burtenshaw:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 29. You are quite right in reminding us of the outstanding leadership of Archbishop Hallinan, and of the substantial support of the Catholic Church and Catholic organizations in this community.

The list of agencies on the communication to Mayor Allen was limited to those groups with professional staff and a specific concern with human relations in the community. For all of this, however, certainly the Archdiocese of Atlanta should have been included.

I have today received a letter from Mayor Allen to the effect that he may in time accept our offer for advice and assistance. Should this occur, I shall certainly suggest that the invitation include the Archdiocese of Atlanta.

We have many magnificent resources in this community, and it would be wonderful if they could be brought to bear.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
bc: John Morris, ESCRU
(of this letter and Burtenshaw letter)

CATHOLIC CENTER
ARCHDIOCESE OF ATLANTA
2699 Peachtree Road, N. E.
POST OFFICE BOX 12047, NORTHSIDE STATION
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30305

OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

September 29, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am writing to you in behalf of Most Reverend Paul J. Hallinan, Archbishop of Atlanta. It is well known to the responsible ledership in Atlanta that Archbishop Hallinan has been most active for the cause of human rights in our community since his arrival on the scene in 1962. The Archbishop was therefore very disappointed when he was not invited to become formally involved in the letter written to Mayor Allen offering to help solve the city's recent problem. The newspapers reported that fifteen Atlanta based organization signed this letter, but from what we can gather the help of no Catholic organization in the community was solicited.

Archbishop Hallinan would appreciate being contacted on any such form of action that is being taken in behalf of human rights and justice.

With every good wish,

Sincerely in Christ,

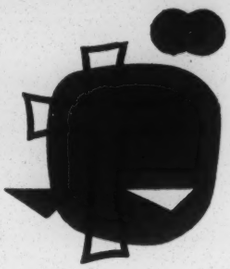
Noel C. Burtenshaw

Reverend Noel C. Burtenshaw
Chancellor

NCB:amc

File Rels Orgs

Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792



LES
MS file

Director
John P. Sisson

February 13, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I notice in your Annual Report that a special committee of SRC members and council presidents has been set up to consider the continuing relationships between the two groups. We would be extremely interested in an analysis of these conversations, since in some ways we have an analogous situation between ourselves and our councils. As a matter of fact, if it were possible I would like to sit in on some of these deliberations, especially since I am so familiar with the operations of a number of your state councils.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson

cc: Mr. Mathew Ahmann

Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

LES
MJ file

file
Rels. Orgs

February 13, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Your annual report states that the Trevor Arnett Library, Atlanta University, is working on preserving records of pioneers in race relations work. Might I suggest that the Catholic Committee of the South be kept in mind, and that information about this might be obtained from Benjamin Muse and Paul Williams, who you would probably talk to anyway.

In addition, I would think that you would want to catch Fr. Louis J. Twomey, SJ; Fr. Albert Foley, SJ, of Spring Hill College; and Fr. Fichter, SJ, currently at Harvard; and in addition perhaps interview Bishop Vincent Waters of Raleigh, North Carolina, who although involved in no movement was one of the first Catholic bishops to forcefully desegregate his institutions.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson

cc: Mr. Mathew Ahmann

See - Orgs Rels. w Catholics

February 28, 1968

The Reverend James F. Scherer
Secretary
Department of Catholic Social Services
Archdiocese of Atlanta
329 Ivy Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Father Scherer:

Thank you for the invitation to participate with you in your proposed meeting. I will be more than delighted to help in any way possible. Regrettably, on March 7th I have a longstanding commitment to speak at the University of Texas. Should you decide later that I can help in any way, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

DEPARTMENT OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL SERVICES
ARCHDIOCESE OF ATLANTA
329 IVY STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

AREA CODE 404 524-7911

REV. JAMES F. SCHERER
SECRETARY

February 22,1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On January 26th Mr. Jim Parham, Mr. Joe Flanagan, Mr. Jim Gaudin, Mr. Howard Parker and the writer met to discuss the possibility of sponsoring A Day of Christian Awareness to be held in the late spring of 1968 in Atlanta. Your name was suggested by this committee as a possible member of the Steering Committee.

Enclosed is a copy of the Guidelines for organizing such a project.

We hope you will be willing to become a member of the Steering Committee.

A meeting of the committee has been scheduled for March 7 at 10 a.m. in the meeting room of our building. Please make every effort to attend.

Sincerely yours,

James F. Scherer

Reverend James F. Scherer
Secretary

enclosures 2
copy to Most Rev. Joseph L. Bernardin, V.G.

GUIDELINES FOR ORGANIZING

A DAY OF CHRISTIAN AWARENESS ON HUNGER, DISEASE AND MISERY

1. Sponsorship:

The meeting will be organized by local priests with the approval of the Ordinary of the place in conjunction with other clergy and interested laity. The Secretariat for World Justice and Peace will collaborate with the local committee in putting on the meeting, with help in technical fields from the Agency for International Development/Washington and the Catholic Relief Services, U.S.C.C.

2. Title and Purpose:

The suggest title for the "day" is:

THE COMMUNITY AND THE POOR
The Responsibility for the People of
God for Hunger, Disease and Misery
for Justice, Development and Peace

The "day" would seek to promote an awakening on the part of the Community to the needs of the poor, and also an awareness of the responsibility of the "haves" to the "have-nots" ... a commitment to human solidarity. In varying degrees this awakening and awareness would lead to spelling out means whereby the time, talent and treasure of Christians could be brought to bear on the growing problem of world hunger, disease and misery.

How answer, in practical terms, the question: Are we our brother's brother? How implement the response?

Hopefully, the "day" would help the people of God move from any narrow "ghettoism" to greater Christianity of vision, including this major problem facing the Church and one human family.

3. Participants:

It is desired that Clergy of our Faiths, personnel of public and private agencies, interested laity and, of course, the poor themselves would participate in the day.

4. Staff:

The Staff would consist of a steering committee, out of which subcommittes would be formed.

These subcommittees will spend about two months in preparation. They should meet once a week or once every two weeks, to go over the specific preparation program.

This would mean that the Steering Committee would be quite knowledgeable as a group by the time the actual "day" itself got under way. They could then serve as discussion leaders.

Probably an "expert" in world poverty and development, one who has served overseas with the Foreign Aid program, Peace Corps, or similar, could be found in the area to supply local flavor and authenticity.

5. Finances:

The Steering Committee would accept the responsibility to determine the cost and how these funds should be raised.

6. Where and When?

These matters should be determined by the Steering Committee.

7. Communications should be addressed to:

Rev. James F. Scherer
329 Ivy Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rels Orgs "Catholics"

file

DEPARTMENT OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL SERVICES
ARCHDIOCESE OF ATLANTA
329 IVY STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

AREA CODE 404 524-7911

REV. JAMES F. SCHERER
SECRETARY

March 1, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your favorable response to our invitation to become a member of the Steering Committee for sponsoring A Day of Christian Awareness.

We are sorry you will not be able to attend the meeting of March 7. However, we will inform you of what is done at this meeting. We will look forward to your being with us at future meetings so we may benefit from your thoughts in formulating the work to be done.

With all best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

James F. Scherer

Reverend James F. Scherer
Secretary

May 13, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please add the following name to our mailing list:

Mr. Mathew H. Ahmann
Chancery Office
Archdiocese of San Antonio
P. O. Box 13190
San Antonio, Texas 78213

PA/km

May 13, 1969

Mr. Mathew H. Ahmann
Chancery Office
Archdiocese of San Antonio
P. O. Box 13190
San Antonio, Texas 78213

Dear Matt:

It is very good to know of your new position.

Enclosed is a copy of our publications list and we are adding you to our mailing list.

Ed Stanfield, formerly of our staff, is now Executive Director of a new organization, The Southwest Intergroup Relations Council. The address is 2801 Silverway Drive, Austin, Texas 78757. I think you would find it helpful to talk with him.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - Publications list

Archdiocese of San Antonio

Chancery Office
P. O. Box 13190
San Antonio, Texas 78213

9123 Lorene Lane
Diamond 4-2331
Area Code 512

May 1, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have assumed a new position as Executive Director to the Commission of the Church and Society. Please make the change on your mailing list.

I would be grateful for a list of publications and if you can suggest people in this area and the State with whom I should be in touch.

Sincerely,

Matt

/n

Mathew H.Ahmann

Added to SOUTH TODAY, CHANGED ON NEW SOUTH AND ADDED
TO GENERAL MAILING LIST

October 24, 1969

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director
Commission on Church and Society
Archdiocese of San Antonio
9123 Lorene Lane
P. O. Box 13190
San Antonio, Texas 78213

Dear Matt:

Thank you for the material you recently sent.

I thought it had already been done, but we shall certainly put you on our mailing list.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Commission on
Church and
Society

Archdiocese
of San Antonio
9123 Lorene Lane
P.O. Box 13190
San Antonio,
Texas 78213
512-344-2331

Chairman: Rev. Marvin G. Doerfler
Executive Director: Mathew H. Ahmann

October 8, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Jack Sisson very kindly forwarded to me a copy of your testimony on HR 13270, and I forwarded a copy to the United States Catholic Conference. Attached are several pages exerpted from the testimony of Mr. William Consedine of the U.S. C.C. touching on some of the same points you made.

Hope you are well; am sure you are busy. Please put me on all your mailing lists.

Sincerely,

Mathew Ahmann

Acquisition indebtedness should be clarified. -- H.R. 13270 defines this term in such a way as to make it difficult to determine whether a church is actually engaged in a transaction which involves acquisition indebtedness. The indebtedness should be directly connected with unrelated income producing property owned by a church. (See page 18).

Real estate acquisitions present a special problem for churches. -- The Senate should retain provisions in H.R. 13270 that rentals from property on debt-financed land acquired by a church for expansion within or without the church neighborhood will not be subject to taxation if the land is converted to an exempt use within 15 years. (See page 19).

Private foundations should not be taxed on investment income. -- We view this provision of H.R. 13270 as an unfortunate precedent. It not only would reduce the income available for charitable purposes; the imposition of an income tax on funds derived from a charitable trust has a potential which could change the whole philosophy of the Government with respect to charitable organizations. Viewing H.R. 13270 as a whole there is some cause for alarm that a shift in policy may be taking place with regard to this Nation's traditional policy of encouraging private philanthropy. (See pages 20 and 21).

Limit on Tax Preferences. -- It does not seem to USCC that a charitable contribution deduction is truly an item of "income" to

PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS

The House Bill establishes a new category of 501(c)(3) organizations (religious, charitable and educational) to be known as "private foundations." Among other things a tax of 7 1/2% on annual investment income would be imposed. The net gain to the Treasury from this tax is estimated at 65 to 75 million dollars. It is not clear whether this tax is designed to raise revenue primarily or is intended as a regulatory measure. Nevertheless, it is a tax on income and, as such, it is the first time that the Federal Government has imposed a direct tax on the income of a tax exempt organization. We view this as an unfortunate precedent.

The imposition of an income tax on funds derived from a charitable trust has a potential which could change the whole philosophy of the Government with respect to charitable organizations. Viewing H.R. 13270 as a whole, there is some cause for alarm that a shift in policy may be taking place with regard to this Nation's traditional policy of encouraging private philanthropy. When the Congress shifts its emphasis from corrective legislation to the imposition of a tax on charitable income, then it is time to take a second look at the legislation to determine whether we are undergoing a major shift in the Government attitude toward philanthropy. As we stated at the outset, the underlying philosophy of Federal tax laws to encourage voluntary effort in the solution of social problems is not only in the

national interest but one of the essential strengths of democracy.

We trust that the whole question of the proposed tax on foundations will be resolved in light of this philosophy, and that the Senate will reject the tax imposed by H.R. 13270.

In his testimony of September 4, the Secretary of the Treasury proposed that the 7 1/2% tax in H.R. 13270 should be reduced to 2% and considered in the nature of a service, or regulatory assessment. We do not agree. A 2% tax on investment income of a private foundation is just as surely a tax on funds and income permanently set aside for a tax exempt charitable purpose as would be a 7 1/2% levy or a 10%, or a 50% levy. Regardless of the rate, the result is the same. The Federal Government would be placing a direct tax on charitable income.

CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS

The provisions in the income tax law for the deductibility of charitable contributions have proven of great assistance to the fund appeals of all exempt organizations, including the churches. Tax deductibility has become an important part of the psychology of giving. As a result, USCC is greatly concerned with the Treasury proposals and the provisions of H.R. 13270 that would alter existing deductibility provisions.

It is recognized that a tax reform program which seeks to eliminate opportunities for personal gain from the use of present

personal income tax deductions for charitable gifts may result, as a by product, in a reduction of income for tax-exempt charitable organizations. USCC does not object to this so long as care is taken to insure that it is the opportunity for personal gain that is being eliminated and not the opportunity for charitable giving. In this context, and for the purpose of emphasis, it is well to repeat what we have said earlier -- USCC is opposed to all tax reform proposals that have as their objective the substantial reduction of the income of exempt religious, educational and charitable organizations.

We do not consider such a reduction to be the objective of H.R. 13270 in the repeal, over a period of years, of the provisions for unlimited charitable deductions. We agree that repeal of this provision should be accompanied by an increase in the maximum deduction for charitable contributions from the present 30% to 50% of adjusted gross income (or contribution base). This should encourage increased charitable giving by a significant portion of the population and perhaps offset the loss to charity from repeal of the unlimited deduction provision.

In 1966 approximately 41,000 taxpayers made contributions in excess of 30% of adjusted gross income. The Treasury estimates that the higher ceiling would affect 48,000 taxpayers in 1969, Thus, H.R. 13270 contains a positive incentive to increased charitable giving; but it also contains certain provisions which suggest that

certain forms of giving are to be discouraged in the future. We shall discuss some of the provisions in more detail.

LIMIT ON TAX PREFERENCES

The concept that all individuals who enjoy substantial total income should pay a tax on at least one-half of that income, even though derived entirely or in part from otherwise tax exempt sources is one that has met with great popular approval. USCC has no desire to oppose such a policy, whether it takes the form of a "minimum income tax" or a "limit on tax preferences." We do, however, seriously question the items of "tax preference income" included in H.R. 13270. It does not seem to USCC that a charitable contribution deduction, allowed by the tax code, is truly an item of "income" to the donor. He has given away a portion of his wealth to charity; society has gained, and his wealth has been diminished. Thus, USCC joins Secretary Kennedy in urging that charitable contribution deductions for gifts of appreciated property be deleted from the items of "tax preference income" that would be subject to the limit on Tax Preferences in H.R. 13270. Any tax shelters which presently may result from gifts of appreciated property would be adequately curbed by other provisions of H.R. 13270 which, (1) abolish unlimited charitable deductions; (2) place a limitation of 30% of adjusted gross income on the deductibility of gifts of appreciated property; (3) other limitations on deductions for gifts

November 17, 1969

Mr. John P. Sisson
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
8017 Palm Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Jack:

Thanks for the information.

I do hope we can reschedule the SIC meeting soon.

When you know your plans for the future, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm St. • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • (504) 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

November 7, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of the U.S. Catholic Conference statement on tax reform, which I thought might be of interest to you. I know that Matt Ahmann sent you some portions of this.

I was able to use the copies of your statement in a number of places. Thanks for sending them.

Have you tried to reschedule the SIC meeting?

Our board voted to discontinue our Southern Field Service because of lack of funds, so for the last month and a half I have been working on national programs, and will have to make a decision December first about moving to Chicago.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson

file.

SOCIAL ACTION DEPARTMENT

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005 • 202/659-6715

UNITED STATES
CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

TASK FORCE
ON URBAN PROBLEMS

REV. CHARLES D. BURNS, S.V.D.
EXECUTIVE FIELD DIRECTOR

November 25, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed you will find two copies of recent newsletter on Hunger. Thank you for your assistance in supplying resource materials.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence J. Suffredin

Lawrence J. Suffredin

enclosures

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm St. • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • (504) 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

file

February 16, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Perhaps Senator Long's reply to me about foundation tax reform will contain information which you do not already have. The proposals seem terrifyingly restricting to me.

Have you read THE RICH AND THE SUPERRICH? In his book Lundberg deals at length with foundations, and while he is critical even of foundations such as Ford, he really reserves his criticism for the thousands of foundations which do no socially beneficial work at all - which foundations seem not to be touched by the proposed new legislation.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson

cc: Mr. James T. Harris, Jr.
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Mr. Mathew Ahmann
Rev. John E. McCarthy
Rt. Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins

Office address after February:
ARCHDIOCESAN CHANCERY
7887 WALMSLEY AVE.
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70125
TEL. (504) 861-9521

January 26, 1970

Mr. John P. Sisson
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
8017 Palm Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Jack:

It's good to hear from you.

Certainly, if we ever have that inter-agency meeting you will be notified.

Please send us your new address when you are settled.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm St. • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • (504) 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

January 19, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I will be going to work for the Archdiocese of New Orleans, as director of their commission on human relations, effective March first; and wanted you to know this.

If you reschedule the SIC meeting I would like to be invited if it is possible, since I feel that it is important to keep up these contacts and since I expect to do a number of things on a regional basis rather than just in this archdiocese.

Any number of Catholic dioceses have now hired someone full or part time, the latest being Louisville; and I will probably try to keep some communication going between us.

Meantime I am winding up my responsibilities with NCCIJ.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson

April 15, 1970

Mr. John P. Sisson
Acchdiocese of New Orleans
7887 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Jack:

Thank you for letting us hear from you on your new position.

It is tragic about Rilling. If you know of a good job for him let me know.

It is hard to breathe life into SIC, but if we make any progress I will let you know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS
7887 WALMSLEY AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70125

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
TEL. (504) 861-9521

April 10, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have been in my new job about six weeks now, and wanted to let you know, especially if you are issuing invitations to an SIC meeting.

I spent a good deal of time with Frank O'Neill and am looking forward to seeing the article he is preparing.

I was sorry to see that Paul Rilling had to resign. In the light of so many similar events, the Carswell rejection was a tremendously happy note.

Sincerely yours,

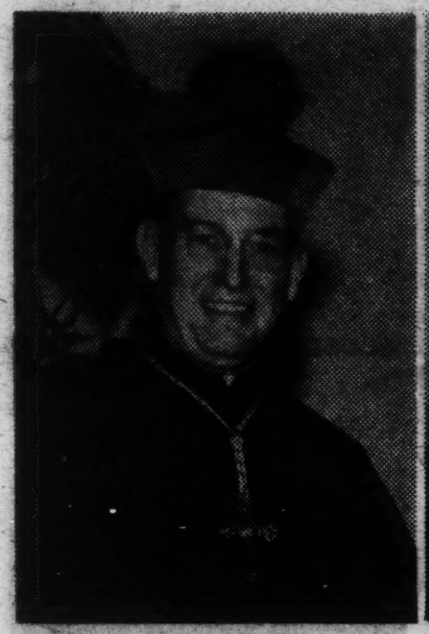
Jack

John P. Sisson

North Carolina Catholic Assembly Grounds Program

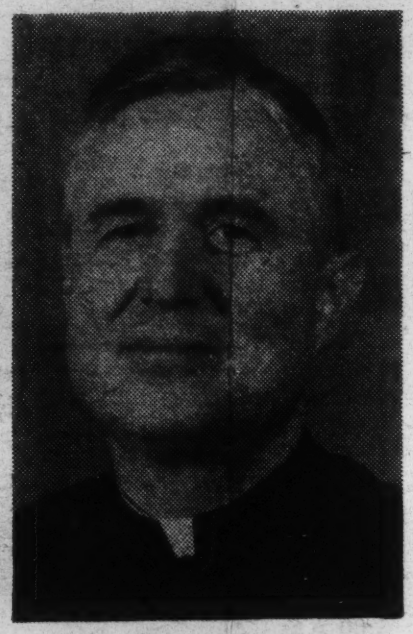
Our Lady of the Hills Camp, Hendersonville, North Carolina

Liturgy Missionology Music Education Art Family Life Rural Life Catechetics



His Excellency, Bishop Waters
Bishop of Raleigh

His Excellency, Bishop Navagh
Auxiliary to Bishop Waters



Father Eugene Walsh, S. S.
St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore

Reservations in Camp Limited; apply early, using forms below.

For the week, Laity $50.00
Seminarians $30.00

(Reservations in Hotels or Tourist Courts Available)

Secretary, Assembly Grounds Program
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Please make reservations for:

Name .....

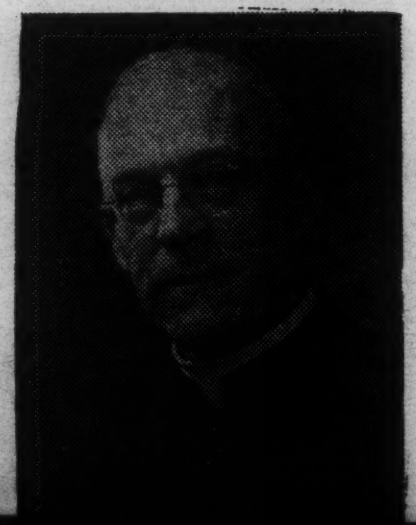
Address .....

Secretary, Assembly Grounds Program
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Please make reservations for:

Name .....

Address .....



Sunday, July 15

6:00 p.m.

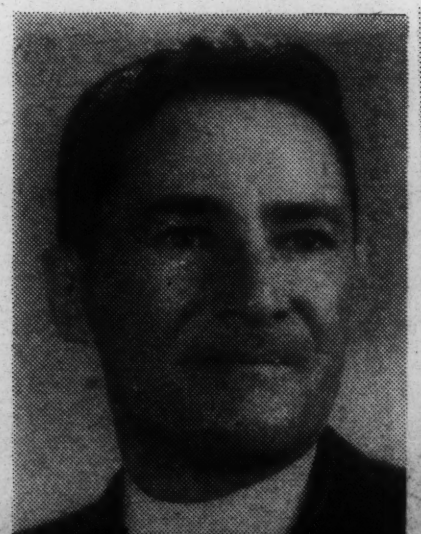
Supper

7:30 p.m.

OUR LITURGICAL PROGRAM FOR THE WEEK

Liturgy of the Church
Father Eugene Walsh, S. S.
St. Mary's Seminary
Baltimore, Maryland

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKERS AND MEMBERS

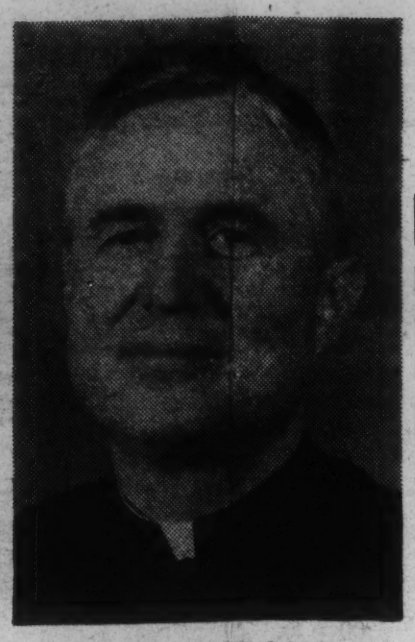


Our Lady of the Hills Camp, Hendersonville, North Carolina

Liturgy Missionology Music Education Art Family Life Rural Life Catechetics

His Excellency, Bishop Waters
Bishop of Raleigh

His Excellency, Bishop Navagh
Auxiliary to Bishop Waters



Father Eugene Walsh, S. S.
St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore

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15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Please make reservations for:

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Address .....

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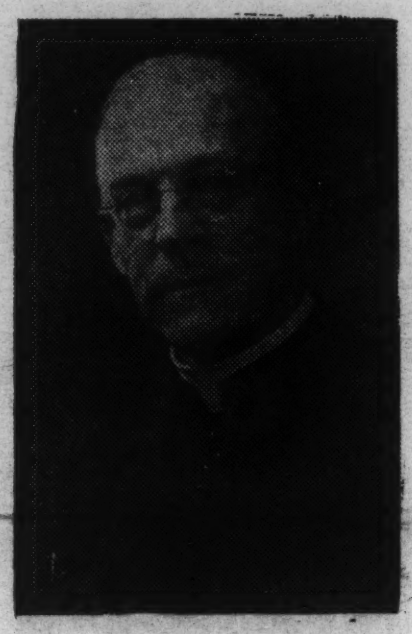
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Please make reservations for:

Name .....

Address .....

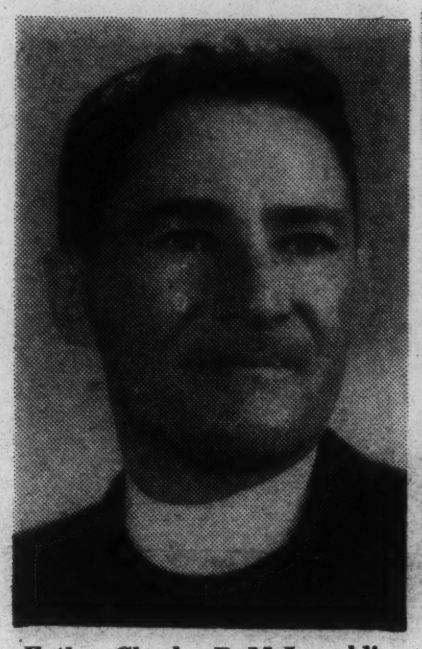


Mons. Arthur R. Freeman, P. A.
Vicar General of the Diocese

Sunday, July 15

6:00 p.m.
Supper

7:30 p.m.
OUR LITURGICAL PROGRAM FOR THE WEEK
Liturgy of the Church
Father Eugene Walsh, S. S.
St. Mary's Seminary
Baltimore, Maryland
INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKERS AND MEMBERS
COMPLINE
BENEDICTION OF THE MOST BLESSED SACRAMENT



Father Charles B. McLaughlin
Superintendent of Camp

Father Thomas F. Kerin
Director of Camp

Monday, July 16

7:00 a.m.
Community Mass, Homily

Meals
8 a.m., Noon, 6 p.m.

9:30 a.m.
THE LAITY AND THE CHURCH
Barbara Ottinger
Secretary CCD Lay Committee

11:15 a.m.
APOSTOLATE IN THE HOME
Mrs. Mary Perkins Ryan

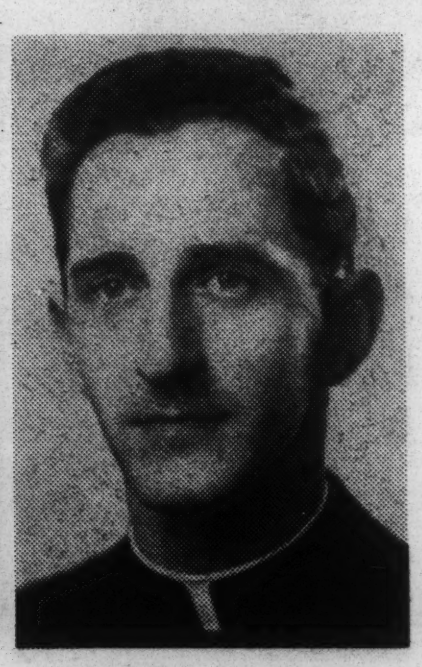
3:00 p.m.
INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS
Gertrude Flanagan

5.00 p.m.
APOSTOLATE AND PARISH LIFE
Father Klaus

7:30 p.m.
CAMP FOR OUR YOUTH
Fathers Kerin, McLaughlin

Barbara Ottinger
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Mary Perkins Ryan (and children)
Granger, Indiana



Father Joseph Klaus
Durham, N. C.

Father Robert Wilken
Charlotte, N. C.

Tuesday, July 17

7:00 a.m.
Community Mass, Homily

Meals
8 a.m., Noon, 6 p.m.

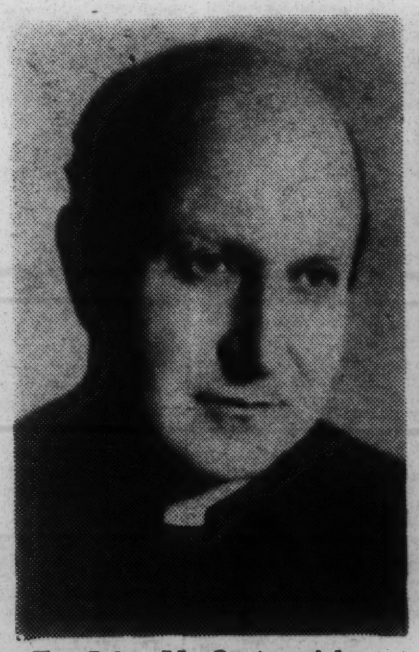
9:30 a.m.
SOUTHERN SOCIAL APOSTOLATE
Father Wilken

11:15
JEWS AND THE CHURCH
Father Oesterreicher

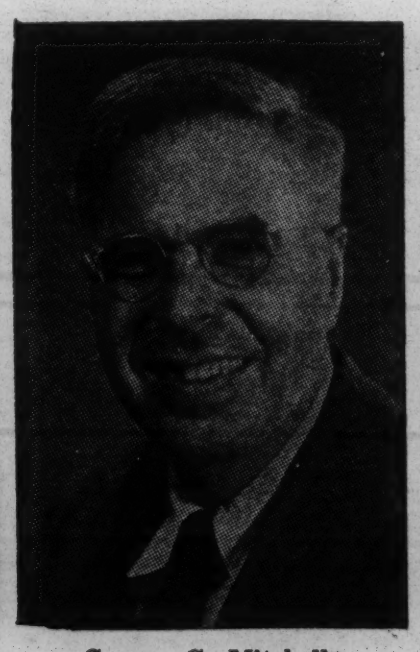
3:00 p.m.
BACKGROUND OF THE SOUTH
George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council

5:00 p.m.
N. C. TRAINING APOSTOLATE
Father Koch
(slides on Rome)

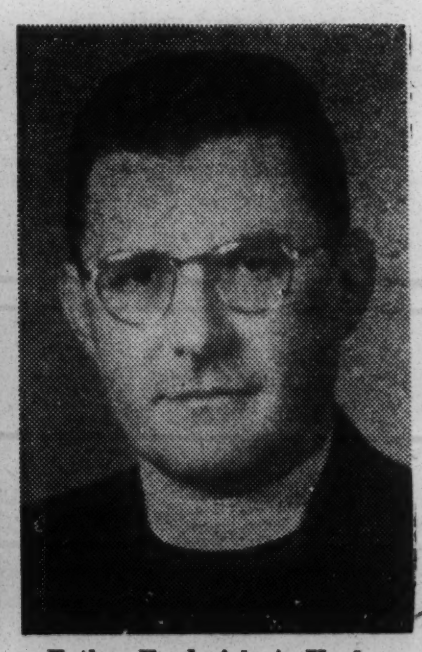
7:30 p.m.
Movies on North Carolina
Community Sing, Fr. Walsh



Fr. John M. Oesterreicher
Seton Hall U., Newark, N. J.



George S. Mitchell
Atlanta, Georgia

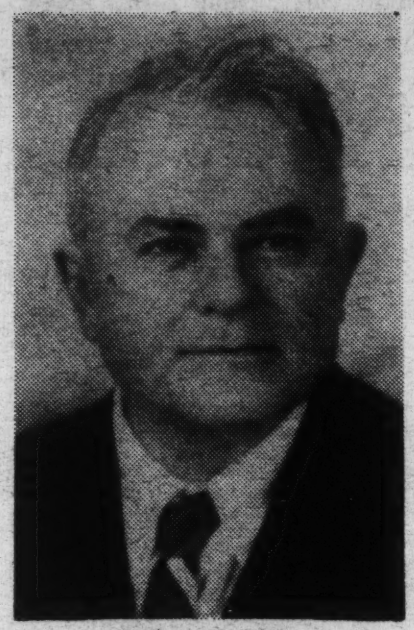


Father Frederick A. Koch
Newton Grove, N. C.

North Carolina Catholic Assembly Grounds Program

Our Lady of the Hills Camp, Hendersonville, North Carolina

Liturgy Missionology Music Education Art Family Life Rural Life Catechetics



John Julian Ryan
Notre Dame, Indiana

Sister Mary Janet, S. C.
Washington, D. C.

Wednesday, July 18

7:00 a.m.
Community Mass, Homily

Meals
8 a.m., Noon, 6 p.m.

9:30 a.m.
EDUCATION APOSTOLATE
John Julian Ryan, Consultant
U. of Notre Dame Press

11:00 a.m.
Break

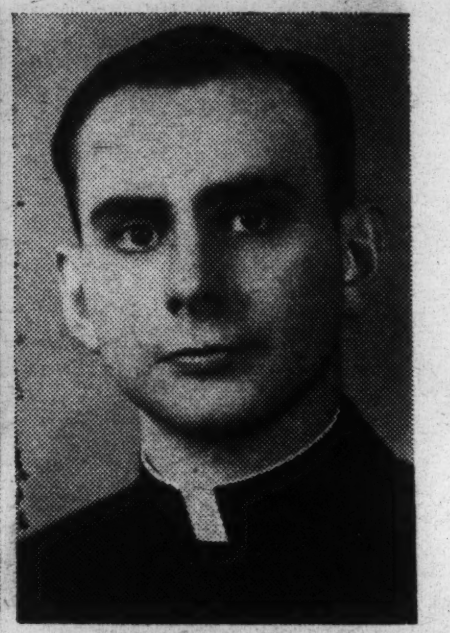
11:15 a.m.
A HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER FOR MODERN YOUTH
Sister Mary Janet
Catholic University of America

3:00 p.m.
WOMAN'S ROLE IN THE CHURCH
Marjorie Krijnen, Grail Center

5:00 p.m.
CENSUS EXPERIENCE
Father Wellein

Evening: attend outdoor pageant

Marjorie Krijnen
New York, N. Y.



Father William Wellein
Asheville, N. C.

Thursday, July 19

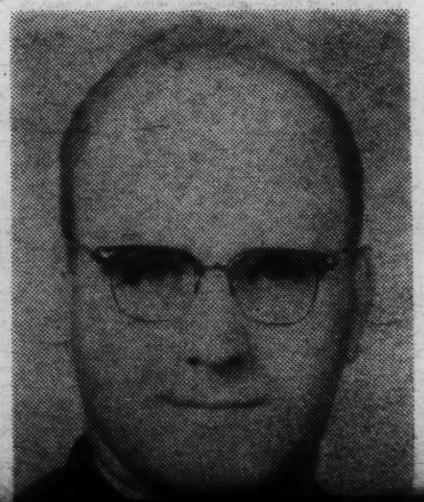
7:00 a.m.
Community Mass, Homily

9:30 a.m.
APOSTOLATE TO THE HANDICAPPED
Ella Cleary

11:15 a.m.
OUR APOSTOLATE IN N. C.
Bishop Navagh

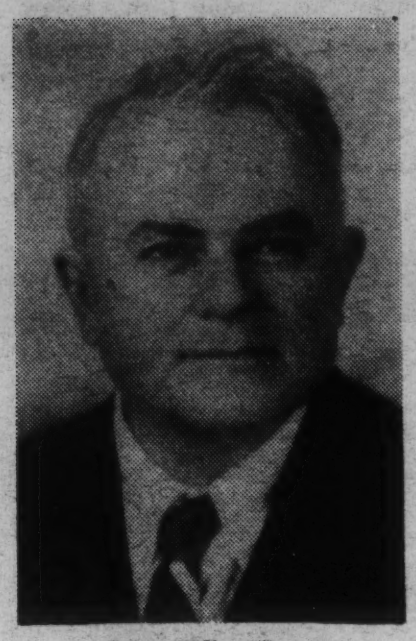
3:00 p.m.
CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH.
Father Shean

5:00 p.m.
WORK IN WESTERN N. C.
Father Dean



Our Lady of the Hills Camp, Hendersonville, North Carolina

Liturgy Missionology Music Education Art Family Life Rural Life Catechetics



John Julian Ryan
Notre Dame, Indiana

Sister Mary Janet, S. C.
Washington, D. C.

Wednesday, July 18

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Meals
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EDUCATION APOSTOLATE
John Julian Ryan, Consultant
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Sister Mary Janet
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WOMAN'S ROLE IN THE CHURCH
Marjorie Krijnen, Grail Center
5:00 p.m.
CENSUS EXPERIENCE
Father Wellein
Evening: attend outdoor pageant

Marjorie Krijnen
New York, N. Y.

Father William Wellein
Asheville, N. C.

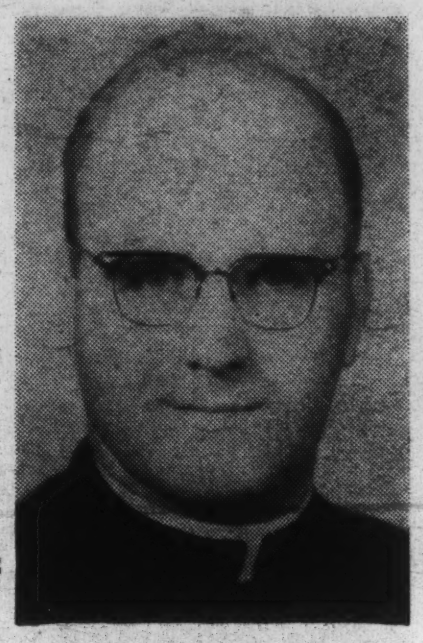
Ella Cleary, R. N., P. T.
Orangeburg, N. Y.

Father Maurice Shean, C. O.
Rock Hill, S. C.

Father Joseph W. Dean
Murphy, N. C.

Thursday, July 19

7:00 a.m.
Community Mass, Homily
9:30 a.m.
APOSTOLATE TO THE HANDICAPPED
Ella Cleary
11:15 a.m.
OUR APOSTOLATE IN N. C.
Bishop Navagh
3:00 p.m.
CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH
Father Shean
5:00 p.m.
WORK IN WESTERN N. C.
Father Dean
7:00 p.m.
LOOKING AT THE DIOCESE
Father Charest
SOUTHERN APOSTOLATE, PHILLIP 66 METHOD
Father Kerin



Father Edward E. Charest
Raleigh, N. C.

Sister Marie Therese, M. H. S. H.
Charlotte, N. C.

Sister Madonna, M. H. S. H.
Charlotte, N. C.

Dr. Walter Kulash
State College, Raleigh, N. C.

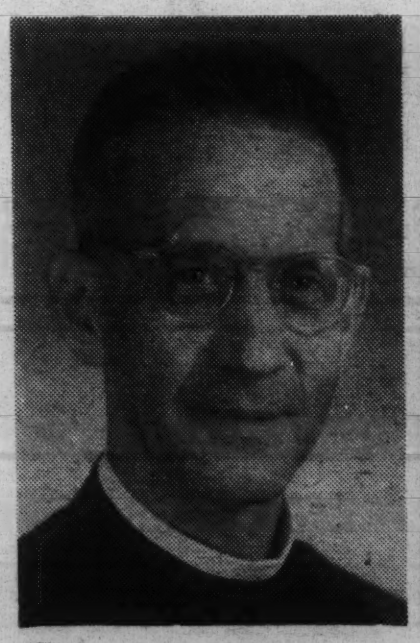
Sister M. Stephen, RSM.
Charlotte, N. C.

Friday, July 20

7:00 a.m.
Community Mass, Homily
Meals
8 a.m., Noon, 6 p.m.
9:30 a.m.
3 Yrs. IN A STATIONWAGON
Sisters Marie Therese
Madonna
11:00 a.m.
Break
11:15 a.m.
RURAL LIFE APOSTOLATE AND COMING CONVENTION
Dr. Kulash
3:00 p.m.
JR. CATHOLIC DAUGHTERS
Fr. Wellen, Fr. McLaughlin
5.00 p.m.
SISTERS' APOSTOLATE
Sister Stephen
7:30 p.m.
MISSIONARY CATECHESIS
Father Hofinger

Saturday, July 21

7:00 a.m.
Community Mass, Homily
Meals
8 a.m., Noon, 6 p.m.
9:30 a.m.
MISSIONARY LITURGY
Father Hofinger
11:00 a.m.
Break
11:15 a.m.
LITURGY'S MISSIONARY VALUE
Father Hofinger
3:00 p.m.
MISSIONARY PERSONALITY
Father Hofinger
4:00 p.m.
DISCUSSION OF ABOVE
7:30 p.m.
TALKS BY SEMINARIANS



Father John Hofinger, S. J.
Manila, P. I.

Father Thomas R. Walsh
High Point, N. C.

Sunday, July 22

7:00 a.m.
Community Mass, Homily
9:30 a.m.
OUR COMMON GOALS IN NORTH CAROLINA
Bishop Waters
11:00 a.m.
DISCUSSION OF CENSUS WORK

Additional speakers to be assigned a time convenient to them:

FROM THE DAYS OF FATHER PRICE
Monsignor Freeman
COLLEGE PARISH
Father Chester P. Michael
St. Bede's Church
Williamsburg, Virginia
ONE CHURCH, ONE WORLD
Father Bernard Lambert, O. P.
Ottawa, Ontario
ASSISTANT IN SEVERAL PARISHES
Father Thomas Walsh

September 4, 1953

Rev. Maurice Shean, C.O.
P.O. Box 895
Rock Hill, S. C.

Dear Father Shean:

Your letter regarding the reprints of Dr. Johnson's "Impending Crisis of the South" came in at noon today. Harold tried immediately to get in touch with the printer but found that because this is a holiday week-end (Labor Day) it will not be possible to get an exact price before Tuesday of next week. They also tell us that it will take about a week from the day the order is placed to get the copies finished.

Will you please let us know whether you will still want us to get a price for you deppite the delay in time and by what date you must have the copies. We will do all we can to rush shipment.

Harold asked me to tell you also that we will have coming out next week a pamphlet on "Questions and Answers on the Schools and the Courts". This will contain information about schools and possible results of the Supreme Court decision, whatever it is. The pamphlet will be distributed for 15¢ per copy we hope.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895 ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

September 3, 1953

RECEIVED
SEP 4
Southern Regional Council

Editor, New South,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

For distribution with our September Newsletter, please send us immediately the cost of fifteen hundred (1500) reprints of Dr. Johnson's article in your May issue. I do not have the exact title, but it is something about the crisis in the South!

How long would it take to fill the order?

Thank you.

most sincerely,

Carroll Cane Johnson
for
[The Very Rev. Maurice Shean, C.O.,]

MVS/ccj

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

September 24, 1953

RECEIVED
SEP 25
Southern

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

I am late answering your letter of the 14th. But I would have the following suggestions. They may not be worth much, that you send a copy of the booklet to Miss Margaret Garrity, NCWC, 1312 Mass. Ave. N. W., Washington 5, D. C., asking her to push it through the local discussion groups that she may have organized in various places throughout the country. Secondly, that you ask her to try to include in the usual NCWC News releases which are sent to Catholic papers all over the country, information or a little story about the booklet so that people might be interested in it. I think too that if you were to contact Mr. John McCann at 1211 Dublin Street, New Orleans, La., and ask him in turn to contact the various men throughout the region that have been working with him on Race Relations commissions of one type or another that it would be useful.

It might also be worthwhile to contact the various Catholic papers throughout the South. At the moment, I do not have a list available, but if you want them, I will get them to you. And lastly, we have been late as usual, but this time because we are so short-handed, getting out our News bulletin but in the first issue which I hope to get out within the next two or three weeks, we will of course do a summary or short story on the pamphlet and try to urge many people to use it. Whether or not our schools as such are involved in the issue, doesn't detract from the amount of interest that actually exists among Catholic priests and laity about the issue.

For no other reason whatever the decision is, they know it will affect their schools eventually. And we do have to face

the fact that a larger portion of our people attend public schools in the South than they do parochial schools, that is when we consider all grades of education.

Perhaps it might be a good idea too, to write to the Interracial Council on Veasy Street in New York City, attention of Father John LaFarge and he has several Interracial Councils in existence in the South now, who would I think, be interested in the pamphlet.

Those ideas are, I don't know how good, but they are some suggestions. I do hope to see you Friday.

Yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e

October 30, 1953

Personal

Very Reverend Maurice V Shean, C O
Rock Hill
South Carolina

Dear Father Shean:

At Dorothy Jones' request Ralph Barbare talked to Mr Lee M Sherer, County Superintendent of Education, and was given the following list of school buildings disposed of by the County:

Bullock Creek - to Bullock Creek Presbyterian Church
Smyrna - to Town of Smyrna
Philadelphia - to Community Methodist Church
Sutton Springs - to First Presbyterian Church of York
New Port - to Boy Scouts of America
Ebenezer - to Ebenezer Presbyterian Church
India Hook - to Home Demonstration Club
Oak Ridge - to Home Demonstration Club

Barbare was told that these are all very small buildings in rural communities being closed in the South Carolina School Reorganization Program.

In the Sutton Springs case, the First Presbyterian Church of York, which has for some years operated a small mission in the Sutton Springs community, had originally sponsored the movement to get a school organized in the community and had helped with plans for and getting the existing school building put up. It is understood that the present plan is to let the Presbyterian Church of York operate a mission in the school building with no connection with the schools one way or another.

Ebenezer is one of your Rock Hill suburbs and the church and the school were for some years on the same grounds. A new school building has now been put up a couple of miles off and the old building was turned over to the Presbyterian Church for use by its Sunday School.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
FIRST DISTRICT
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MISS HARRIETT MASON
CHARLESTON, S. C.
ALLENDALE
BEAUFORT
BERKELEY
CHARLESTON
CLARENDON
COLLETON
DORCHESTER
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IMMEDIATE PAST PRESIDENT
MISS GLADYS ROBINSON
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TELEPHONES
4-0341
4-0342

G. CREIGHTON FRAMPTON, PRESIDENT
CHARLESTON, S. C.
MRS. HESTER MEDLEN, VICE-PRESIDENT
CONWAY, S. C.
J. P. COATES, SECRETARY-TREASURER
COLUMBIA, S. C.

The South Carolina Education Association

October 27, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 29
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Dorothy Jones has told me that you called with reference to a report that school buildings in York County were being disposed of to churches--the presumption of the rumor being that some preparation was being made for the forth-coming ruling of the United States Supreme Court.

I asked Mr. Lee M. Sherer, County Superintendend of Education, to give me a list of the school buildings disposed of and the disposition that was made of these buildings. The list is as follows:

Bullock Creek--To Bullock Creek Presbyterian Church
Smyrna--To Town of Smyrna
Philadelphia--To Community Methodist Church
Sutton Springs--To First Presbyterian Church of York
New Port--To Boy Scouts of America
Ebenezer--To Ebenezer Presbyterian Church
India Hook--To Home Demonstration Club
Oak Ridge--To Home Demonstration Club

All of these are very small school buildings in rural communities being closed in the South Carolina School Reorganization Program.

I am told that in the Sutton Springs case, the First Presbyterian Church of York originally sponsored the movement to get a school organized in the community and helped with plans for securing the building. That church has for some years operated a small mission out in the Sutton Springs Community. The plan seems to be now to let the Presbyterian Church with its newly acquired building operate an outright mission there with no connection with the school. I believe this is typical of the situation. One of Mr. Sherer's secretaries with whom I talked expressed surprise that there may have been such a rumor circulating.

Ebenezer is a suburb of Rock Hill, and the church and the school were for years on the same grounds. The new school building has now been constructed about two miles away, and the old building was turned over to the Presbyterian Church, I understand, for Sunday School purposes.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Barbare

Ralph Barbare, Director
Winthrop Training School

lab

cc: Mr. Sherer
Dorothy Jones
J. McBride Dabbs

WINTHROP COLLEGE
THE SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR WOMEN
ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

Oct. 16, '53

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Dear George,

I have listened around about the matter you mentioned and I ~~find~~ no basis for believing that what you heard is true. Ralph Barbare, Principal of the Winthrop Training School, keeps up with things and he is sure it is pure rumor. Mr. McGirt, Principal of the Emmett Scott High School, says he is sure it is a false report.

We do know that a number of smaller schools in York County have been sold in the recent consolidation program - some of them to churches but most of them to Home Demonstration clubs - and probably for very small sums of money. There is every reason to believe & no particular reason for not believing that the schools sold to churches are entirely for church use rather than the purpose you mentioned.

The general philosophy seems to be that the schools really belong to the local community & if a church or Home Dem. club wants one that is being discontinued they can get it ~~bought~~ for $1.00 or so.

Let me know if you have any further word on this & I'll let you know of anything further I hear.

As ever,

Dorothy

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA
October 9, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 12
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

In the past week I have sent out about 60 of those pamphlets which I took from you to various people and I hope you will be hearing from at least some of them for further orders.

There is something that is bothering me and it is the following. During the last year, the school districts in South Carolina were consolidated. So consequently there were some schools which had been used, abandoned.

Some of the school buildings in York County have been deeded to different Church groups.

The deeding or the sale was done without benefit of public sale as has happened in one or two other counties. What I am wondering about is this. Has this been done with the intention of laying the ground work for Church schools to continue the pattern of segregation according to the mind of Mr. Byrnes, if the Supreme Court decision is something which he does not like?

I don't know exactly how to go about finding out. There isn't a lawyer here in town that I could ask to look up the deeds and find out without causing a great deal of difficulty and more than likely they would refuse to do it. But I was wondering if there was anybody in any other part of the State whom you might know, who could help us in the matter.

I am not complaining about the fact that the different Churches have received the school buildings because they can be put to good use by those people. Nor am I excited about the fact that the sale was made without benefit of public auction which is the ordinary procedure. But I am interested in trying to find out

what the intent was. It has been done so very quietly that it is difficult to put one's finger on it and no body wants to talk. So if you have heard anything about this from anybody else in the State, I would be grateful if you would let me know, or if you have any ideas how I might find out better about this, I would be grateful too.

Yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean C.O.

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e

November third, 1953

Very Reverend Maurice V Shean, C O
P O Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Shean:

We have sent off to Father Pitt the 24 copies of the pamphlet on the Schools and the Courts.

I was in Lexington, Kentucky, a couple of days ago and one of the members of the SRC Executive Committee in Kentucky told that Father Pitt would surely be interested in our discussion group proposal. Happy to see that he has already picked it up.

The Negro teachers of Kentucky have through their treasury enabled the purchase of four hundred copies of QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS to be sent out to various of their members over the state. I am told that a proposal is being seriously considered by the State Department of Education to send copies out to all members of local school boards in Kentucky. That is a key state and we are all working to try to get it prepared to do its best. Our SRC officers are aware of the cordial interest of the Archdiocese in Louisville and Bishop Malloy in Covington.

I have put December thirteen on my calendar for whatever may be worked out in South Carolina. Excellent idea and I would be happy to do what I can. I have talked in this way to various CIO and AFL groups within the last year or two.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

October 27, 1953

384

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

I have received a letter from the Archdiocese of Louisville, dated October 10th and I am delayed in passing the order on to you because I have been traveling. But Father Pitt would like to have 24 copies of the pamphlet, "The Schools and the Courts". Altogether I have distributed all that I had and have received many comments of interest and I believe two places have started a small study club about it.

The address for Father Pitt is:

Reverend F. N. Pitt
Office of School Board
151 South Fifth Street
Louisville 2, Ky.

sent 10/29/53
Billed $3.76
inc post- AS.

If you will remember, I mentioned to you quite briefly during our last meeting that the State CIO Council in South Carolina has been making plans to have some sort of Educational Institute or Institutes during the coming year. At the moment they are tentatively planning to have the first one at Charleston, South Carolina on the weekend of December 12.

At a later date, they will be having one in Columbia and one in Rock Hill. I am quite convinced that it would be of a tremendous advantage to the whole group if it would be possible for you to attend all of these sessions and speak with them, and if not all, some. So I am wondering if you would be free on December 13. I believe that is the time that the sessions will wind up. I had suggested to them that you be asked to speak and they have agreed to it; to speak on South Carolina Industry and Labor in the South or some such relative subjects.

The purpose of the meetings is to sell to the Union officials the need for educational programs in their own organizations. And I think that your help in this matter would be of great assistance. I think you will find them a very good group. As soon as I have more definite information as to the exact time and date, I will contact you again. But I thought at the moment, I should let you know what's in the air.

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean C.O.

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA
November 3, 1953

RECEIVED
NOV 5
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

I am not quite sure that my last letter to you was clear, that is, the letter about the schools.

My primary reason for writing to you about it, was to find out whether or not you had any information as to whether or not the turning of the schools over to the various organizations as such, was connected in any way with the effort on the part of the Governor to insist upon his own solution in case the Supreme Court decision should be unfavorable to him.

I gather that perhaps due to the fact that several of the school were turned over to people other than churches that he has not been able to initiate such a plan.

I wish to assure you that I have no objections to these schools being turned over to these various people, it was only our interest in the reason why it was being done more than anything else.

With every best wish,

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e

November 9, 1953

Very Reverend Maurice V Shean, C O
P O Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Shean:

I send you separately for your office a small stack of the follow-up pamphlets we have done. Discussion groups are supposed to use the first one - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS - to develop the issue and the second to find the facts.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

OMNIA OMNIBUS

The Oratory

ROCK HILL
SOUTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
DEC 8
Southern Regional Council

Sunday.

Dear Doctor,

Your note re: Board forwarded to me at Batesburg.- Can't remember whether or not I wrote to you before leaving the house over a week ago.

Reason for concern:- What Educational-week for the State Council CIO- is this coming week-end- Dec. 11-12-13-

I shall call you Tuesday late in the afternoon or Wednesday.

Reservations have been made for you at the Dort Hunter Hotel.-

Best wishes
J Maurice V. Allen

February 4, 1954

Rev. M. V. Shean, CO
Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Shean:

Here is one worth looking at. Please try to get at least the flavor of it. We have good prospects of a cooperative arrangement with various Church Boards which would get most parts of the South covered in this way.

I think it a most promising device.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosure

February 11, 1954

Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. O.
P. O. Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Shean:

If this works out, I presumably will get to Rock Hill the late afternoon of February 22. Perhaps in that case I could find a bed in your House for that night.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

OMNIA OMNIBUS

The Oratory

ROCK HILL
SOUTH CAROLINA

February 16, 1954

RECEIVED
FEB 18 195
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

I called Father Bernard right after I talked with you on the telephone and he told me that he would be very happy if you were to talk either at 10:00 or 10:15 on Monday, the 22nd. I presume that he is also writing to you.

I then called Dr. Cooke and he decided that he will call a local Chapter meeting at 4:30 on Monday, the 22nd, at the A.M.E. Methodist Church which is down on Trade Street.

We will be very happy if you will stay with us, and we shall polish up a bed for you. I am looking forward to your visit and I hope that this finds you well.

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean C.O.

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.
Provost

MVS:e

No reply

Feb. 25, '54

Dear Father Sheen,

I am most grateful for friendship, beds, beef, conversation, transportation, and especially for the evening with Suritz and the Mayor. I think something will really come of that evening.

Sincerely,

George

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895 ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

February 25, 1954

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

A thousand thanks for your visit at the beginning of the week. As a result of another discussion yesterday, with the gentlemen who were present for our Monday night discussion, I think we are going to get some place with the plans that we outlined.

I'm sending you some copies of our newsletter, the last three issues. It will take us time to make this what it should be.

With every best wish, I am,

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS/MC

March 23, '54

Dear Father, Shean

Sorry not to have you for April 6.

We did write Atwood, and gave him info.

I will be at Rock Hill Saturday evening coming as agreed. I am trying to persuade Alice to come with me, in which case we'll find us a tourist place for the night. But with teen-age children Alice finds it hard to leave, and I can't know till later whether she'll come or not. If I'm a seul, I'll hope for my place in your House.

Sincerely,

George

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 16, 1954

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

First, I am sorry that I will not be able to be with you on April 6. I am preaching in Savannah, Georgia for that week. I have tentative plans to try to get down to see you sometime during this week and if so, I would like to gather some information about this Study we are doing.

However, I have another question. Recently I heard from Mr. R. B. Atwood, President of the Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky. I suspect that he may have already written to you about this matter but he is to take part in a panel on March 24th, at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville on the topic, "The Gospel and Social Legislation". Some of the questions which he says are to be answered are:

1. Is the gospel affection social legislation?
2. To what extent?
3. Is the church influencing social legislation?
4. Is the church opposing it or going along with it?

He asked for available articles from which he might draw some help. Unfortunately I do not know of any articles which show clearly the connection between the Church programs and social legislation which has already been accomplished. It seems to me that most Churches are reluctant to admit that their efforts have had some effect upon the legislation. I was wondering if you had any such material

and that if so, perhaps you would be kind enough to send it to him. I have told him that I would write to you.

I am enclosing for you a copy of the agreement or proposal which we framed last night and which we hope to use to further the efforts to bring about a better atmosphere here in Rock Hill. I expect within the next two days, or next day anyway to visit several of the leaders in the community in the hope that they will work with us on this. The tentative plan is that the City Council will be asked to appoint the planning board which is envisioned in this proposal. And I think that at the moment that we have 3 members of the City Council who are going to be amenable to the idea. However, we will have to build up some other influence in town so that the whole thing is acceptable.

I will tell you more about this when I see you. I would also like to tell you that we are expecting you to stay with us on the night of the 27th, when you come to Rock Hill.

With every best wish,

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean C.O.

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e

PROPOSAL

Conscious of the fact that changes in racial Relations are taking place in the nation and in the South, and aware also of the effect upon this area of the coming decision of the United States Supreme Court in the matter of Segregation in the Schools, we feel that as interested citizens of our Community, we should strive to prepare our people: and work for a proper understanding of these issues in Rock Hill. We are interested because we desire no violence and a minimum of mis-understanding, the elimination of all unnecessary legal action , and the establishment of an atmosphere of brotherly understanding and cooperation.

To accomplish these ends, we would suggest the formation of a long range planning committee, recognized and authorized by proper authorities. This committee would present a long range program of interracial cooperation to be attained step by step as the need asserts itself.

It seems to us that planning and eventual action is needed in the following fields of human activities.

I. Education

A. Schools

B. Extra-Curricular Activities

C. Recreation

D. Library Facilities

II. Recreation

A. Youth - Post School age

B. City-wide Activities

III. Civic Affairs

A. Government

B. Law Enforcement

IV. Health & Social Welfare

A. Community Chest

B. Hospital Facilities

C. Housing

V. Need for an evaluation and study of Rock Hill

I. Research (Fact Finding)

A. To discover the facts of the problems that are pressing in our Community

B. To study what ought to be the proper standards

C. To study methods and means to better conditions

II. Planning

A. To devise the proper steps to be taken to accomplish the necessary changes

B. To plan the solutions of specific problems in the light of the total vision

III. Public Information

A. Open channels of communication on Public affairs to all citizens of Rock Hill

B. To plan means of presenting facts to General Public and in particular to Leaders of the Community

C. Encourage Civic, Church, Educational, and Political leaders to work with their immediate groups so that a fair understanding of these problems might be presented to as many citizens as possible.

D. To clarify principles that would be the basis for such information

IV. Mediation

A. To devise a plan whereby misunderstandings might be settled peacefully. Develop techniques and procedures, proper to this community by which problems might be mediated with a minimum of friction and outside interference.

April 16, '54

Dear Father Maurice,

Warmest congratulations to Rock Hill and to you and your associates for the action of the City Council. That will begin a new era in the life of the City.

I called a friend in Miami and asked him to send you at once a copy of the by-laws of the Dade County Council on Community Relations, the only other publicly sponsored body in this field in the South. It was given standing by a resolution of the County Commissioners. They in the Dade County Council are not particularly approving of their by-laws, as a model, but I thought it would be something to go on. To my mind one of the best of the Northern municipal agencies is the Cincinnati Mayor's Committee on Friendly Relations, with offices in the City Hall. I haven't its by-laws.

May 13 here at the Dinkler-Plaza should work out all right. I'm supposed to make a talk in Knoxville that evening at 7 pm, but can catch a late afternoon plane that should put me there in time. I hate to rely too much on plane to get to a speaking engagement, and would feel safer if whatever I can do for your group May 13 might come reasonably early in the day.

June 22, 9.30 AM at Rock Hill is free and on my calendar, and I will look forward greatly to being there when in due time I hear finally about it.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

April 14, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

There are several things on my mind. Enclosed you will find a copy of the newspaper clipping from the paper yesterday which will give you the present state of the work on the Community Council planning.

I wonder if you have on hand any plans which indicate the by-laws of similar committees.

I think that this group is pretty well aware of the fact that before it can actually produce good results it must make a thorough survey of the city. But at a meeting we are going to have next week, I thought it might be worthwhile to present a simple set of what might be termed by-laws so that the procedure might be clarified without being cumbersome.

Secondly, I think I mentioned to you sometime ago the possibility of an orientation program for the Seminarians of the Charleston Diocese to be held in June.

On Monday, in a conversation with Bishop Russell, we agreed upon the program. It is going to be held here in Rock Hill from the 21st of June to the 25th. The primary purpose of the week this year is to be a study of the State of South Carolina in an effort to help these young men, who are, at least a good number of them, people from outside the State to understand the territory and the people with whom they are going to live.

Therefore I know that Bishop Russell is going to write to you in the very near future to ask you if you would speak to the group on Tuesday morning, June 22nd, at 9:30 A. M.,

giving a thorough study of the State of South Carolina, from its historical, economic, and political growth, quite similar to what you have done with other groups. I hope that you will be able to do it.

C.C.S. is planning to hold a meeting in Atlanta on the 13th of May at the Dinkler-Plaza. We have written to all of the Bishops to send a representative or to bring themselves to the meeting so that we might have a thorough discussion of this segregation of schools and its effect upon the Catholic Church and what the decision or the policy of the Church ought to develop in view of the present problems.

I am hoping that you are going to be in Atlanta at that time because I frankly think that you can be of great assistance to us in that meeting. I shall tell you more about it later. I was hoping that by now you would have been able to send out the agenda on the Williamsburg meeting because I would like to gather additional information if possible, before going to it.

With every best personal wish, I am,

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e
Enc.

April 30, 1954

The Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean
C.O.
512 Ebenezer Avenue
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Shean:

That is fine, and I will be availabl
Wednesday evening, May 12th at 7:30 at the
Dinkler Plaza, and will look forward to it
greatly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Engagements

The Catholic Committee of the South

~~P. O. BOX 895~~
512 Ebenezer Avenue

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA
April 28, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 30 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

In thinking over the proposed meeting for May 12th, I think it would be much better if we were to have a meeting on the evening of May 12th, as well as the 13th, so consequently, I am advising everyone who is invited to the meeting to make an effort to be at the Dinkler-Plaza by 6 pm on the evening of the 12th of May.

I tell you this because perhaps it would then be possible for you to meet with us in the evening, let us say, about 7:30 or 8, on the 12th, and we could have a fairly good discussion, and then you would be free to leave for Knoxville, whenever you might wish.

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean C.O.

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.
Director of Research and Study

MVS/mc

May 31, 1954

Dictated May 28

The Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
P. O. Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Maurice:

Very nice to have news from Alice of your call. I am sorry I was away and missed the TV broadcast, but I will try to pick up the NBC one.

It is a great help to these national program people when some down here will give a favorable or hopeful turn to the news.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

May 26, 1954

RECEIVED
MAY 28 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Yesterday I received your letter of the 24th, plus the proceedings of the Williamsburg meeting.

We shall, of course, not make them public. I called you Sunday to tell you about the events of the previous week here and I presume by now, your wife has mentioned them to you.

Since then, we have learned that the T.V. portion of the work that the National Broadcasting Company did in Rock Hill on last Friday was televised on the Dave Garoway Show on Monday morning of this week. None of us saw it because it is not possible for us to pick up that show in this vicinity.

However, the radio story will be part of the weekend program which runs between 4:00 and 6:00 on a nation-wide hookup of the National Broadcasting Company. I believe you would be able to hear it on WSB in Atlanta. It was a rather hurried job and I don't know what they have done with it since they have taken it to their editorial offices. The whole approach was that Rock Hill was one community that was making an effort to work out a solution to its problem without having waited for the Court decision.

With every best wish,

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Fr Shean

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e

August 25, 1954

The Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
P. O. Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Maurice:

You remember that we have had a young economist from Berea, named Robert G. Menefee, travelling this Summer through the mountain areas, discussing with local leaders the matter of public school segregation in those counties. His reports have been of great interest and generally encouraging. He visited in early August the city of Norton, Virginia, and among others who were called on, there was the Reverend Raymond Dehan, who is priest in residence at Norton. The local church there includes all its Negro communicants in its services without discrimination. And Father Dehan was firm in his view that this was the proper arrangement. Menefee evidently quite enjoyed his visit with Father Dehan.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

August 27, 1954

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Dear Doctor:

Thank you for your recent note about Robert G. Menefee and Father Dehan. I am glad that the Father is so firm.

It is fairly widespread that in the Churches there is practically no discrimination. Of course we don't know yet how successful the integration of the schools is going to be. We have announced the integration of St. Anne's Parish here, and there are, of course, some repercussions. In fact I don't think I could honestly tell you how it is going to turn out, but we are hoping for the best.

At the present time, a Dr. James Hobart Kirk, who is head of the Sociology Department at Loyola University in Los Angeles, is here working with me on the Research and Study that we had worked on at Belmont Abbey over a year ago.

For the past several days, he has been in Chapel Hill and in the course of two telephone conversations with him, he tells me that they are being most helpful and also very interested. Dr. Odum said that he always felt that some work ought to be done in the fields that we have indicated in our outline.

We were discussing, before he went to Chapel Hill, the possibility of coming down to Atlanta for a couple of days. So I shall let you know when.

With every best wish,

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e

Sept. 1, 1954

To:GSM

FROM ; GTH

Father Shean telephoned this morning to tell you that he and a co-worker hoped to come to Atlanta to talk with you - and to have the use of materials (maps, etc.) for the study which they are doing for the Catholic Committee of the South. Since you are out of town this week, he said that he will plan to come some time after the 8th of Sept. Will let you know when.

Sarah Cordina

C. C. O. S.

December 6, 1954

Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
The Oratory
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Shean:

The report was just grand and I read every word of it with deepest interest.

How satisfying it is that you and the others work at this matter exactly where it counts, and so well.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

GSM/eab
Encl.

December 14, 1954

The Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
512 Ebenezer Avenue
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Shean:

I had this nice letter from the NCCJ people.

I think it would be quite safe to send Mr. Louis A. Padelet a copy of the Rock Hill program. If you agree and will send him one, I will be grateful.

Please return the letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

. ATL.

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895
512 Ebenezer Avenue

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

December 9, 1954

RECEIVED
12/10/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

Just an additional note on our recent correspondence.

We have actually, in the set-up of these subcommittees of our Human Relations Council, done something about doing surveys. We have been using the material from your publication in the matter, and, in the not too distant future, we hope to have some of the material finished, and as soon as it is, I shall send it to you. We think that within another two months, it will be possible for us to elicit the assistance of a great many other people in making, actually, a door-to-door survey, particularly in the matter of housing and other such pertinent information which the Council is beginning to realize it needs.

At first, it thought it could accomplish its needs just by a quieter survey, but is becoming increasingly evident to the members of the Council that this will not be sufficient.

I hope this finds you well.

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean
mc

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS/mc

The Catholic Committee of the South

Report to AH.

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA
December 31, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

I have your letter of the 14th, regarding the copy to be sent to Mr. Louis A. Radelet, and I am sending it to him. I am sorry that this has been a little bit delayed but with the Christmas rush and other things, I just haven't gotten to it. In fact, I am way behind with my mail.

At the same time, I am very much engaged about this resettlement project which I spoke to you about sometime ago. I am enclosing for you the sort of Prospectus that I drew up on it about a month ago. I am going to have to do another one in the very near future. To date, the progress is as follows:

There has been a certain amount of interest shown in the project by the Credit Agency of the Italian Government and I have been at two meetings at the Italian Embassy with regard to this thing in the last month. We are not quite sure that they are going to be in a position to purchase any stock in the corporation, but even if they don't, both Monsignor Swanstrom and Monsignor Wycislo who are both connected with the War Relief Services, feel that we will be able to elicit enough funds in the United States to get the project started and well on its way. We might not be in a position to raise enough to accommodate all 75 families but we will be able to do some.

I have had several conferences with the Soil Conservation people and we are drawing up a study on the land. We have done a preliminary study on three farms and now we must get to work on the farm which we purchased day before yesterday.

It's a 2,000 acre tract on the Broad River. It has some excellent bottom land and it seems that it will be suitable. Of course there is a tremendous amount of work to be done on the thing. I want very much to go over this whole thing with you and to discuss various details, particularly the kinds of agreements to be made with the people who are coming and I would like to do it sometime in the near future.

There is going to be a meeting in New York sometime during the early part of January. Just exactly when, I don't know, At this meeting there will be approximately 10 or 12 people gathered together with the intention or purpose rather of forming a committee which would be used to raise money for this among the Italian-Americans. I think what I shall do is send this to you and then call you up the beginning of next week to see when it would be feasible for us to have a get-together about it.

The land which we purchased the other day is held in the name of the corporation, which is to be known as the "York County Farm Produce Company", and at the same time, the money I used was an advance by the War Relief Services in view of the strong likelihood that it would be a going concern in the not too distant future.

You will be interested to know too that there is a strong movement now among the members of the Council on Human Relations that at the next meeting be brought up the need for making a house-to-house canvass, particularly on housing. The work which we have done on Welfare and Education and some other fields gives a pretty clear picture of what has been done, but it really doesn't give us a picture of what the needs are. And so the day before yesterday, two men called me up and asked if I thought there was any possibility of getting some professional assistance and also some funds. But this, we shall bring up. I think it would be good for the City, if the City Council were to pay for it however. More about that later. As soon as we have the reports in good shape that we have already done, I will mail them to you.

With every best wish,

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Maurice V. Shean

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e
Enc.

JAN 7 1955

January 5, 1955

Dear Father Shean:

We cannot adequately express our gratitude for the copy you have sent me of your confidential report on the formation of the Rock Hill Council of Human Relations. Its story is inspiring, a source of great gratification, and we want to express our heartiest congratulations as well as to indicate our continuing deep interest in developments there. We want to encourage you in every possible way. Please let us know if you see any ways in which we could be of help.

Best wishes.

Cordially yours,

LOUIS A. RADELET
Director, Commission on
Community Organizations

Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. D.
The Oratory
Rock Hill, South Carolina

LAR/gb

cc: ✓George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE *of* CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.
For the Advancement of Justice, Amity and Understanding
381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

February 14, 1955

The Right Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C. O.
512 Ebenezer Avenue
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Shean:

Allen Edwards wrote me that the Winthrop College Sociology Department is having a Sociology Forum for high school seniors and college students at Winthrop on Tuesday April 19th. John Ivey is the head speaker. Edwards wanted me to come over and sit in on a panel. I sent him the attached.

So, I will be in Rock Hill that day. I give you this advance notice in the hope that there will be opportunity for us to sit together and talk.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

February 22, 1955

FEB 24 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

I was so happy to receive your letter of the 14th and to know that you are going to be at the Sociology Forum at Winthrop on the 19th.

First, I am awfully sorry that I was not able to attend the last meeting of the Executive Committee. It's just that there are so many things going on, that I had to beg off.

On the other hand, I am very happy that Bishop Russell has agreed to send two women to Mrs. Tilley's meeting and I am quite sure that they will be in a position to contribute something to the overall discussion. By the time you receive this, we will more than likely have met in Washington. But I do want to tell you that I hope that you will come on the evening of the 18th and stay with us. If you wish, we would be happy if you were to stay over the 19th. In short, while you are in Rock Hill, do make sure of our hospitablity. There are many things we could talke about and at the same time I would assure you of a reasonable amount of rest.

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean, C.O.

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e

The Catholic Committee of the South

[redacted]

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

512 EBENEZER AVENUE

September 8, 1955

SEP 9 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

I was really quite surprised and I suppose a little bit tongue-tied in the midst of our conversaiton the other day.

I must plan to come and see you and discuss the whole business with you before I talk to Father Foley. I am going to Cleveland for the National Catholic Social Action Conference from the 7th to the 9th so consequently will not be able to do anything until I get back.

I think we should be able to prepare quite a program if we spend a little time on it. I have another problem. I have received a letter from the Diocesan Supervisor of the Lafayette Diocesan School Board in Louisiana asking for "study units" that they could use to distribute during their teachers institute at the end of September. The purpose of the units would be to give the teachers material that they might find worthwhile and useful for their own study and also for the children. I am wondering, therefore, if it may be possible for me to get 100 copies of the mimeographed booklet prepared by Anna Holden entitled "Desegregation in Education Toward Democracy in the Class-Room". I would also like to have 100 copies of "Changing Patterns in the New South" and 100 copies of "A Check List for your Local Schools". You might send a bill along with those so I will know how much to send you.

With every best wish,

Sincerely yours in Christ & St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:mrf

September 19, 1955

The Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C. O.
The Oratory
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Maurice:

Generally speaking I am against polls. Asking most Southern people what they think of unsegregation is like asking them whether they would like some confection they have never tasted. They don't know and they give confused answers. They have never seen an "unsegregation." Also I am taken with the point made by Sobeloff before the Supreme Court, who, when the matter of polls came up, quite suavely said " I had not expected that the enforcement of one's civil rights depended upon a public opinion poll."

I think the right thing to do is to persuade the people at the top that they should abide by the law; persuade some general citizens that abiding by the law is right; and then press for lawful action.

Here is a poll that was made. Though I don't know the circumstances, I suppose that those who took part in it would consider that they did have some rights to have the results of the poll analyzed. I agree that the findings are less unfavorable to desegregation that one might have expected; still I do not think that the figures give much help to the cause for desegregation. But if a commitment has been made to produce the results of the poll, the results should be produced.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

SEPTEMBER 15, 1955

SEP 16 1955

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 AUBURN AVENUE N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEAR DOCTOR:

RECENTLY WE HAVE BEEN CONDUCTING A POLL IN CONNECTION WITH THE WORK OF THE HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL.

WE HAVE TRIED TO DO A FAIRLY DECENT JOB WITH THE POLL AND CONSEQUENTLY WE WERE SOMEWHAT SELECTIVE IN THE NAMES OF PEOPLE THAT WE SENT THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO. I AM ENCLOSING TWO SHEETS WITH THIS LETTER; ONE IS THE COPY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE THAT WAS SENT TO 500 PEOPLE IN THE CITY OF ROCK HILL; AND THE SECOND, IS A TABULATION ON THE RESULTS. YOU WILL NOTICE IT IS BROKEN DOWN ACCORDING TO THE VARIOUS PROFESSIONS. WE COVERED PRETTY WELL ALL THE PEOPLE IN THE PROFESSIONAL AND SO-CALLED "WELL-TO-DO" BUSINESS MEN.

THE RESULTS OF THIS POLL HAVE NOT, AS YET, BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL. BUT I AM WONDERING WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE VALUE OF IT. OFF-HAND, IT SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT OUT OF 217 PEOPLE POLLED, 143 OF THEM ARE IN FAVOR OF CONTINUING A SEGREGATED PATTERN, AND THE OTHERS IN VARIOUS DEGREES ARE EITHER OUT-RIGHT IN FAVOR OF INTEGRATED SCHOOLS, OR COMPLIANCE WITH THE SUPREME COURT DECISION OR A GRADUAL PROCESS TO ARRIVE AT THAT PARTICULAR STATE. FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE WITH THIS SORT OF BUSINESS, DO YOU THINK THAT THE NET RESULTS OF THE WHOLE THING ARE WORTH CONSIDERATION OR IS THIS SOMETHING THAT WE SHOULD PLAY DOWN A LITTLE BIT. IF YOU THINK IT MIGHT BE WISE TO TAKE THE WHOLE BUSINESS TO SOMEONE WHO IS MORE EXPERT, IN THE SENSE THAT THEY ARE ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS AND HAVE THEM EVALUATE THE WHOLE THING I WOULD BE HAPPY TO DO SO.

FOR MYSELF, I THINK THE RESULTS OF THIS POLL ARE SOMEWHAT

ENCOURAGING. AT LEAST IT INDICATES A HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF FAVORABLE ATTITUDES THAN I SUSPECTED EVEN IN THIS COMMUNITY.

SINCERELY YOURS IN CHRIST AND ST. PHILIP,

Maurice V. Shean

(VERY REV.) MAURICE V. SHEAN, C. O.
PROVOST

MVS:E
ENC.

TABULATION OF
ANSWERS RECEIVED FROM
"INFORMATION POLL ON INTEGRATION"

(SPONSORED BY ROCK HILL COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS)

PROFESSION	POLLED	ANSWERED	QUESTION #1	QUESTION #2	QUESTION #3	QUESTION #4
ACCOUNTANTS	8	2	0	1	0	1
BUSINESS MEN & WOMEN	63	23	1	20	0	2
CITY, COUNTY & GOVT. EMPLOYEES	14	5	0	4	1	0
DENTISTS	8	4	0	2	2	0
ENGINEERS	12	4	0	2	2	0
GENERAL	75	50	1	35	12	2
LAWYERS	24	11	0	6	3	2
MINISTERS & RELIGIOUS WORKERS	19	7	0	3	2	2
NURSES	31	10	2	5	2	1
POLICEMEN, FIREMEN & GUARDS	23	7	1	5	1	0
PHYSICIANS & PHARMACISTS	34	10	0	4	6	0
SALESMEN & SALESWOMEN	11	9	0	8	1	0
SECRETARIES, BOOKKEEPERS & CLERKS	30	15	0	14	1	0
TEACHERS	97	44	2	19	15	8
TEXTILE	51	16	0	15	1	0
TOTAL	500	217	7	143	49	18

INFORMATION POLL ON INTEGRATION

(SPONSORED BY ROCK HILL COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS)

BELOW ARE A GROUP OF STATEMENTS EXPRESSING VARIOUS SHADES OF OPINION REGARDING INTEGRATION IN THE SCHOOLS. PLEASE CHECK THE STATEMENT WHICH MOST CLOSELY APPROXIMATES YOUR OWN VIEWPOINT. IF NO STATEMENT IS ACCEPTABLE TO YOU, WRITE IN YOUR OWN CONVICTIONS.

PLEASE PUT INTO THE ENCLOSED ENVELOPE. DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME.

_____ 1. I AM ENTIRELY IN FAVOR OF INTEGRATION IN THE SCHOOLS.

_____ 2. I AM IN FAVOR OF SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS.

_____ 3. ALTHOUGH I DO NOT SHARE THE "MASTER-RACE" VIEWPOINT, I AM NOT IN FAVOR OF DESEGREGATION AT THE PRESENT MOMENT. IT WILL BE MANY YEARS BEFORE NEGROES ARE READY TO EXERCISE FULL RIGHTS. DESEGREGATION OUGHT TO BE SLOW AND GRADUAL.

_____ 4. I THINK WE SHOULD MAKE AN EFFORT TO COMPLY WITH THE DECISION OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

_____ 5. NONE OF THESE VIEWS EXPRESS MY THOUGHT. HERE IS MY OWN POSITION.

PLEASE DO NOT GIVE NAME OR ADDRESS, BUT FILL IN THE BLANK SPACES BELOW.

1. PROFESSION OR OCCUPATION: _____

2. HIGHEST EDUCATION OR TRAINING ( ) GRAMMAR SCHOOL; ( ) HIGH SCHOOL; ( ) COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY

3. INCOME BRACKET : NOT MORE THAN $3,000.00 _____

$3,000.00 - $5,000.00 _____

$5,000.00 - $8,000.00 _____

$8,000.00 - 10,000.00 _____

MORE THAN 10,000.00 _____

CCS

OMNIA OMNIBUS

The Oratory

ROCK HILL
SOUTH CAROLINA

OCTOBER 4, 1955

OCT 5 1955

DR. GEORGE MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE. N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR DOCTOR:

I HAVE BEEN AWAY FOR THE PAST TEN DAYS AND CONSEQUENTLY AM A LITTLE BIT BEHIND IN EVERYTHING. I DO, HOWEVER, WANT TO ACKNOWLEDGE YOUR LETTER OF THE 19TH.

I AGREE WITH YOU THAT WE DO NOT EXPECT BY POLLS TO CHANGE PEOPLE'S OPINIONS. THE MAIN REASON WHY WE CONDUCTED THE POLL AND USED SOMEWHAT OF A SELECTIVE AUDIENCE WAS TO HAVE SOME WEIGHT BEHIND OUR ARGUMENTATION WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS THAT THE POPULACE AS A WHOLE, PARTICULARLY THE LEADERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY, WAS NOT OPPOSED TO WORKING IN SOME DEGREE WITH THE HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL. IT WAS PERHAPS NOT SUCH A GOOD WAY TO HELP INFLUENCE THEM, BUT IT HAS MORE OR LESS CALLED THEIR ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE PUBLIC ANSWERS WHICH ARE SO PREDOMINANT DO NOT NECESSARILY REFLECT THE SOLID THINKING OF A GOOD MANY CITIZENS IN THE COMMUNITY. AND I THINK WITH THAT PURPOSE IN MIND, PERHAPS THE POLL WILL EVENTUALLY PROVE TO BE OF SOME VALUE, AT LEAST AN INFLUENCE IN THE COUNCIL, SO THAT WE DO NOT FEEL THAT WE ARE STANDING UTTERLY ALONE IN THIS PARTICULAR PROBLEM.

I DO NOT SEE OF WHAT USE IT WOULD BE AT ALL IN TRYING TO INFLUENCE THE TOTAL POPULATION. WE ARE ACTUALLY TRYING TO PROCEED ON THE BASIS THAT IF WE CAN GET THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNITY TO MOVE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, WITH THE RIGHT KIND OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM, AND QUIET DEFINITE EFFORTS IN THE SAME DIRECTION, WE WILL EVENTUALLY BE ABLE TO INFLUENCE THE TOWN SO THAT IT DOES WHAT IT SHOULD DO.

I HOPE TO GET DOWN TO ATLANTA ON FRIDAY OF THIS WEEK TO SEE YOU, AND THEN OF COURSE, STAY OVER FOR THE MEETING OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE ON SATURDAY.

WITH EVERY BEST WISH,

SINCERELY YOURS IN CHRIST AND ST. PHILIP,

Maurice V. Shean C.O.

(VERY REV.) MAURICE V. SHEAN, C. O.
PROVOST

MVS:E

The Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.,
The Oratory,
Rock Hill, S.C.

December 12th, 1955.

Dear Father Maurice,

You will remember our conversations by phone some time back on the use of consultants, many of them to be drawn from the Negro institutions, and in Social Science. We have since moved ahead with that, and I write to offer that machinery, for actual use or for companionable advice, to the C.C.S.

We have asked John Hope at Fisk University to be the head of this part of our job. He stays on at Fisk, in the main employ of the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, and gives us various days at $35.00 plus travel, to work up and out a training program (so-called) for our State staff and Board people. It takes advantage of just the devices you and I discussed.

John Hope is the son of the distinguished President of Morehouse College, here in Atlanta, who became the first President of Atlanta University, and whose portrait you and I see when we meet in Mr. Clement's Board Room. He is about forty-five, perhaps a year or two more. Lately he did a remarkable job for the Committee of the South, on up-grading in Southern industry, and published his results through the C. of the S. in a series of helpful pamphlets. John is busily marshalling the appropriate social science brains, of the South and elsewhere. In a short while he should be able to supply tested people, in almost any part of the South, on comparatively short notice. These persons would be useful for workshops, for counsel with school Boards or citizens' committees.

I think in general they will come at $35.00 a day plus travel, but that is up to Hope.

The Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.,
The Oratory,
Rock Hill, S. C.

December 12th, 1955.

Had a pleasant visit with Father Foley and spoke at his Institute, December 5th. He and the Mayor of Mobile are busily imitating you and the Mayor of Rock Hill.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

P.S.

That American Missionary Association has an epic story. A Cuban slave ship, the Amistad, suffered a slave mutiny, and ended on the South shore of Long Island, circa 1842. Cuban owner was aboard, in chains. The slaves wandered inland, were arrested, and the owner claimed his property in the U. S. Courts. A Yale professor ingeniously got the translated story of the slaves, and the Congregational Church raised a fund to fight for the freedom and return to Africa of the slaves. They won the case, and sent them back, where all except the Chief died pretty quickly. But the remains of the Fund, added to later on, became the first resource for sending teachers into the post-bellum South. Hence AMA aid to a whole string of Southern (now mainly Negro) schools and Colleges.

May 15, 1956

The Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
P. O. Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Maurice:

I had occasion a couple of weeks ago to be at Memphis where LeMoyne College fetched together one hundred or so people interested in progress on matters of race.

One of those present who helped stably and without conspicuousness was a certain Father Capistran Haas.

I know nothing of Father Haas, but made note to let you know that he is well disposed and effective.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

"Catholic Committee of the South"

September 20, 1956

Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C. O.
Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Maurice:

I thought your meeting went very well indeed.

I had one recommendation that seemed to me to get lost in the last few minutes of anxious speech-making. I wanted somebody to write each of the agencies about once a quarter and ask them how many locality groups having meetings of the kind described they have got going, and where, and any news of how the groups are doing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Mr. Arnold Aronson

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The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895 ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

P. O. Box 3821
Fairview Station
Birmingham 8, Alabama
January 21, 1957

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Ben Segal has forwarded to me a copy of Treasury Department Form No. 1099 which was filed with the Internal Revenue Service by the Fund For The Republic, Incorporated, showing that they paid me the sum of $2,000.00 during the calendar year 1956.

Inasmuch as the Southern Regional Council withheld taxes during the four months I worked there, I would appreciate your having Mrs. Alexander send me a withholding tax statement covering that period.

I would also like to have a covering letter from you, clarifing the "screwy" double-play system of handling the funds for my salary between the Fund For The Republic to Ben Segal to Southern Regional Council.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Morton

Morton T. Elder

MTE:e

February 5, 1957

Mr. Morton Elder
~~1518 Forty-Sixth Street,~~ N. W. P. O. Box 3821
~~Washington, D. C.~~ Tuxedo Station
Birmingham 8, Ala.

Dear Mort:

I want you to know that we aren't neglecting the tax problem which inadvertently arose over your salary for the fact-finding project last summer. I am in close communication with Ben Segal about it, and he is working with the fiscal people at the Fund for the Republic toward the end of getting the information report rescinded, which shows the second payment of the $2,000 to you. These things take time, for which I am sorry, but I hope to give you the answer so that you can proceed with the filing of your return soon.

It was good to see you at the Atlanta University conference week before last.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Thermo-fax of incoming from DF to RHA

Catholic Cam 7
the South

March 12, 1957

Mr. Morton Elder
P. O. Box 3821
Fairview Station
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Dear Mort:

I hope the letter from David Freeman of the Fund for the Republic clears up sufficiently the tax problem that Ben Segal and I got you into. From my reading of it, I should think that you would have no trouble from the Internal Revenue Service.

I hope all goes well with you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

bcc: Winifred G. Meskus
F. R. Van Vechten

RECEIVED MAR 2 1957

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 28, 1957

Mr. Morton Elder
P.O. Box 3821
Fairview Station
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Dear Mr. Elder:

We are writing to clarify our payment of $2,000, made to you in 1956, and reported to the Internal Revenue Service on our information return (Form 1099).

This check was issued to you at the instruction of Mr. Benjamin Segal, Consultant to the Fund, under a joint agreement between Mr. Segal and the Southern Regional Council, Inc., to retain you to carry out a study of the impact of extremist movements on trade unions in the South.

Under this agreement The Fund for the Republic was to meet the cost of your salary for a ten-week period in the amount of $2,000, and the Southern Regional Council was to reimburse you for your necessary travel expenses in connection with the study. We understand that the $2,000 due to you as salary was, in fact, paid to you by the Southern Regional Council, less appropriate withholding deductions for federal income tax purposes, and that our check was endorsed over by you to the Southern Regional Council as reimbursement to them.

Your endorsement of the check to the Council was exactly in accordance with our understanding. We did not intend that any portion of that amount should be paid to you in your individual capacity.

I am enclosing an additional copy of this letter in case you wish to attach it to your Federal Income Tax return.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman
Treasurer

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. Benjamin D. Segal

Principles and Facts assumed for the Study, which are also assumed in the determination of Policy.

PRINCIPLES

1. Man, as created, is by nature both spiritual and material. The proper order of values is that the material is subordinate to the spiritual.

2. Man has a destiny which is incomplete on this earth, and which extends beyond death.

3. Human nature, being spirit and matter, and with an eternal destiny, has a dynamism which impels the human person to strive for perfection on various levels.

4. Human beings have a dignity which entitles them to esteem, respect and inviolability. Hence man has a right to liberty, the right to establish free social institutions, the right to personal property, the right to establish authority, the right to truth.

5. Man, as a spiritual being, having an intellect, is capable of acquiring a knowledge of objective truth.

6. Man has a right to access and use of material goods which are needed for attainment of, and are ordered to his destiny and perfection.

7. Those who control the material goods of the world are obligated to administer and use these goods with due regard for needs and rights of men anywhere in the world.

8. Men, as spiritual creatures, guided by revelation, and right reason, can work together to promote, foster and establish a social economic and cultural order in the South, which helps man to make proper adjustments with problems and work together for the establishment of solid spiritual principles in the Institutions of the area.

FACTS

1. Profound cultural, education, sociological political religious and economic changes have and are taking place in the world, particularly in the South. These changes make it necessary that certain human adjustments be made.

2. In the so-called under-developed sections of the South, those which are still predominantly agricultural, people through contact with more highly industrialized

FACTS (contd.)

2. areas, are becoming aware and aspire to different, and in some cases, higher standards of living and education and become dissatisfied with existing conditions.

3. Increase in population of the country in recent years, aggravate dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

4. Adequate measures have not been formulated by Citizen groups, Churches or Governmental groups to alleviate the dissatisfaction or arrange for change to keep pace with the economic and sociological changes now taking place in the South.

5. Modern communication has brought people of the South in closer contact with other parts of the world, opening channels for better understanding but simultaneously making people more aware of differences.

6. The modern means of communication have become not simply a means to keep people informed, but have and are used to serve as an effective mean to educate and influence people.

7. There is need for a better understanding of the eternal truths, natural and supernatural, so that the evolution, culturally, socially and economically might be guided and fashioned in the light of Man's eternal destiny.

I. N.B. These assumptions of principle and fact are the basis upon which the study can be developed. We are assuming them to be true. They can, and should be restated in clearer, more precise and fuller language, so that the meaning is understood by all.

II. Working Plans: We are interested in the basic Institutions of the South. By Institutions, we mean: "Patterned relations in human activities founded upon human needs, followed to attain the ultimate end of man. They are groups with fairly fixed laws influencing and even governing the actions of the actions of the individual members of the group." These institutions are indicated in the outline for study. It is suggested that they ought to be studied in the light of the following outline.

Method:

I. What is the Structure of the Institute?
   - A) Physical
   - B) Organizational. How organized?
   - C) Purpose of Institute.
     - 1) What does it do now?
     - 2) What are the results? good, or bad?

Working Plans: (contd.)

II. Historical Background.
   A) Development of Institutions should be studied and Historical facts known.
      1) Show reasons for present conditions and circumstances
      2) Gives insight into the philosophy governing the working of the Institute.

III. Conceptural Structure.
   A) What is the philosophy predominant in that Institution?
      1) Where is it seen or evident?
      2) What effects or results indicate the underlying philosophy?
         a) How have individualistic concepts effected the whole?
         b) Effects of groups concepts upon the whole?
   B) What has been the effect of outside agencies upon these Institutions?
   C) Effect of new ideologies and practices?

In short: We need to understand as much as possible the pertinant facts and principles in each institution, then it will be possible to develop a common policy the changes that ought to be made in each institution.

COMMISSION ON ECONOMY AND SOCIAL ORDER
(A better title if needed?)

The Economic order ought to operate or function in such a way that its operations, the results of its work, should make it possible for men to attain their eternal destiny easier. Therefore, it is important that the Economic Order be examined, and if necessary, changed, to give man all that the natural resources, technical skills, special organizations and means of production and distribution can give.

It should be too, the function of this Commission to clarify for men and women in the South a Philosophy of work.

The proposed outline is as follows:

I. An Historical and Sociological analysis of the economy of the South was suggested: this analysis can give the reasons, facts, historical factors which have directly influenced the Economic growth in the South. Hence treatment should include.

   A. English Type of family farms

   B. Plantation System

   C. Subsistence Farmers (Share-croppers)

Commission on Economy and Social Order (contd.)

D. Rise of Industry.

N.B. This may include a brief sketch of the organization of the economy of the South in three periods - 1850 - 1900 - 1953.

II. Appraisal of Natural Resources.
God's commission to man to dominate the earth implies, makes it necessary that he use the creation wisely. A good Social Order depends a great deal upon wise use of Natural Resources. Hence:

A. Land (Kinds, extent, etc., Classifications)
1. Homogenous sub-regions (ref. Rupert Vance & Odum)

Sub-regions
(a) Coastal Plains
(b) Piedmont Area
(c) Mountain Area
(d) Piney wood Area

N.B. Land Classification maps furnished by State Agricultural Colleges contain valuable data.

It was suggested that ways and means be found to interest Catholic colleges and Universities to make investigations into these areas, which would produce factual data.

B. Water
1. Availability
2. Effects & use in or for Agriculture & Industry

C. Forests
1. Kinds
2. Extent
3. Availability

D. Minerals
1. Kinds
2. Use

E. Climate
1. Relation to Agriculture and Industry
2. Important in relation to Resort Trade.

III. People (General Description)

A. Historical note on people who settled in the South.
1. Where from? (Origins)
2. Reasons for settling. (Purpose)
3. Time of settling (Time)
4. Results of Integrating cultures (Effects)

Commission on Economy and Social Order. (People - Contd.)

B. Factual Data on: (Present time)
   1. Types of sub-culture based on livelihood.
      a. City workers
      b. Professional class.
      c. Farmers
      d. Sharecroppers, etc.
   2. Educational Status
   3. Racial origins.
   4. Birth rate
   5. Total number.

N.B. It was suggested that the attitude resulting from a society formerly dominated by slavery is the chief characteristic of Southern people.

IV. Patterns of Use of Natural Resources by our People.

A. Agriculture
   1. Ownership (Types)
      a. Types of ownership varies in the South from the Mountain area where there is full ownership, progressing to the Piedmont where there is partial ownership to the Plains where we find the Sharecropper and the Planation, the poor farm laborer. There is noticed in the Plains of Georgia and Alabama an encouraging increase in small Farm ownership.
      b. Effects of Ownership. Gives stability, dignity, etc., to human personality. Since widespread ownership of productive private property is not possible in a modern capitalistic system, the worker has attempted to recover some of the attributes of ownership by trying to achieve ownership of a job. This ownership of the job may now be transferred to the farm job, through the strength of union organization, such as the present Tractors Drivers Union in Louisiana, or young part-time workers in Iowa. This "ownership" may give more dignity and security to the farm worker, as it has to the industrial worker, even though he owns no land.
      c. Land Leases: Written and Verbal. Upon the abolishment of slavery there were many illiterate farmers for whom written leases would have no meaning. But even today with far greater literacy, there is still a great absence of written leases. Labor organizations have brought the written contract to the industrial worker. Union organization could do the same for the farmer.

Commission on Economy and Social Order (contd.)

2. Family on the Land:
   a. Great difficulty is noted in climbing the ladder to farm ownership for the family. The ladder being the climb from laborer to share-cropper, to tenant to partial owner, and to full ownership. The reasons for this difficulty were sighted as the lack of technical education, necessity of capital, and the need for written leases.
   b. Recommendation: We should encourage ownership of family farms with greater diversification and average mechanization.
3. Farm Organizations.
   a. The small farmer though he has experienced great benefit from rural housing, rural electrification, and rural education, needs the help of some union organization. Such exists in the Natl. Farmers Union, but the strength of this organization is not evident throughout the South. Some vigorous union seems to be necessary to improve land tenure, production, and distribution. The Church could either foster such organizations on the point of campaigning for written leases, etc., or it could urge membership in farm organizations.
4. Trends.
   a. Increase of Industry - greater clearing of land.
   b. From 1940 - 1950 - about 1 million farm workers left farms in the South. There would now be about 2½ million farm workers.
   c. Mechanization of the farm.
      1. Growth
      2. Effects upon family sized farm.
      3. Effects upon agricultural patterns in the South. (Shifting of cotton growing, etc.)
   d. Crop changes.
      1. From one crop to diversified farming.
      2. Great trend towards cattle raising in the South.

B. Industry.
Following outline of this type was suggested.
1. Capital
2. Management
3. Labor
4. Consumer.

Commission on Economy and Social Order (Industry contd.)

I. General Notes:

A. South has gone in for big industry, but not into basic industries.
   (1) One steel center. This may be due to:
      (a) Lack of Capital
      (b) Lack of Skill

B. Consequences:
   (1) Lack of diversification- mostly Textiles, furniture, synthetics, steel.
   Dominant industry about 40% is Textiles
   What is number of total employed in Industry in the South?
   Steel about 200,000.

N.B. (1) To what extent do we want the region industrialized?
   (2) Ownership has changed. Whole chains of mills have been sold to Northern interests.
   (3) Industry has historically been grouped about sources of power (coal, etc.). In South due to utilization of water power, particularly in textiles, industry has been dispersed. This is an advantage.
   (4) A Landed people with industrial opportunities seems to be desirable.

Questions: Areas of Investigation - Get facts:

   (1) How many people employed in Industry?
   (2) What is extent of Industrialization of Southern region?
   (3) Should Industry be more dispersed: Why?
   (4) Will Industry come? Plantation belt needs Industry.
   (5) What percent of workers unionized?
   (6) If granted unionization is a good thing, should our policy be to promote unionization? Why?
   (7) Has unionization suffered in recent years due to following?
      (a) Opposition of Industrialists.(If so,why?)
      (b) Mistakes of which prompted Taft-Hartley.
      (c) Character of Industrial South.

N.B. These facts may have bearing on the findings and influence plans for the future:
In the old South, many people had been denied full participation in society. One reason why unions were resisted, is that those in positions of influence in a given community felt that these people would immediately be given responsibilities and rights they had not exercised previously, consequently they were thought not to be ready for these responsibilities.

Commission on Economy and Social Order (contd.)

Capital:

How does the note of Capital and private ownership and its responsibilities fit into the Southern picture?

I. Authority to make over-all decisions resides in various officers according to the nature of the company. Sometimes a major customer may set policy, not the owners of the company itself. Hence it is difficult to indicate or determine area of responsibility or culpability. This is important because Management, as distinct from Capital, should have obligations and responsibilities, toward Labor as well as Capital.

N.B. It is suggested that the whole section of Management in modern Industry be examined in light of its specific role in Industry - separate from Capital and Labor, yet connected with both and having obligations and responsibilities to both.

II. What techniques can be used to obtain participation of Capital and Management?
Consider the advisability:
(a) Getting a University to sponsor an Institute on Industrial Relations, inviting many other groups (Protestant and Jewish) to participate.
(b) Renewed efforts to reach Management with principles of good social order.
(c) Foster small meetings between officials-both Management and Labor so that they get to know one another as persons.
(d) Is there a responsibility of laboring men in their unions to help in the formation of policy of production?
(e) Is the Labor union movement mature enough to engage in policy making functions? (Certain gains have been made, but a philosophy of Labor has not been formulated)
(f) Acceptance of Paternalism in industry in South is a weakness. Paternalistic system historically stems from plantation system. Fostering of unions is a means to overcome such a problem.

We must see the necessity of a sympathetic approach to management.
Principle: "To work with other like-minded groups to achieve our end."

Government:

What part should it play?

Commission on Economic and Social Order(Government contd.)

A. To set up a legal frame of reference by which the consumer and public good may be protected and disputes arbitrated.

B. N.B. Government should be called in upon settlement of disputes between Capital and Labor, only as a last resort. Economic problems should not be put into the political arena unnecessarily.

C. Techniques for collective bargaining must be improved in order to diminish the necessity of government intervention.

Consideration of "Right to Work" bills passed by many Southern States in South.

1. Are the decisions of Federal government to be countermanded by States?
2. Is it the responsibility of the State to make such laws? Province of State-Yes -- Part of prudence, No.

Inqdequate Workman's Compensation laws in many Southern States also need to be considered.

COMMISSION ON RELIGION

Whether a man does good works or not, is not of the first importance. The actions, workings of Institutions in the South necessarily reflect the total of religious beliefs of its members, or reflect the absence of religious principles in those Institutions.

Men who fight or disobey their own principles can be used for good. But man with no principle can never be counted on as reliable.

Hence the religious atmosphere of the South is important. This Commission should try to ascertain the basic facts of theseinstitutions. The Total Mission of the Church in the South is directly influenced by the religious institutions of the South.

Therefore the following investigation is necessary:

COMMISSION ON RELIGION

PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION IN THE SOUTH

I. PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

A. Church Members
1. Total percentage of South that are members of some religious body.
2. Percentage that is Catholic
3. Percentage that belong to conservative Protestant groups.
4. Percentage that belong to other religious groups.

B. Non-Church members
1. What religious convictions, if any, do these people of the South have?
2. Number of conversions per year from this group to various Churches.

II. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF RELIGION IN THE SOUTH (Catholic and Non-Catholic)

A. The authority of the Church(Hierarchal and Congregational)
1. Chosing of Clergy
2. Running of Parish

B. Religious Life (Catholic vs. Non-Catholic)-Same outline applies to both
1. Worship
   a. Public worship (i.e. Group Worship in Church)
   b. Private worship (i.e. Personal relationship to God)
2. Means of obtaining Grace
   a. Sacraments
   b. Personal inspiration
3. Apostolate (Preaching Gospel to others)
   a. Clergy
   b. Laity - (Lay Apostles)
4. Religious Activities
   a. Social
   b. Economic
   c. Political
   d. Cultural
   e. Recreational

III. PURPOSES OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS IN THE SOUTH (i.e. What the people of the South expect to get out of Religion)

Commission on Religion Purposes of Religious Institutions (contd.)

A. Social Purposes
   1. To fulfill a basic human need of practicing religion.
   2. To establish a decent society on earth.
   3. To be together with the rest of the community.
   4. To get help and guidance in understanding their religious duties.

B. Individual Purposes
   1. To satisfy his individual religious nature.(i.e. physical, intellectual, emotional, moral)
   2. To attain a personal relationship with a Supreme Being.
   3. To give him a practical set of principles by which to live.

IV. EFFECTS OF THESE PURPOSES ON THE SOUTH

A. Influence of Religion on the Social Structure of the South
   1. Political structure
   2. Economic Structure
   3. Cultural Structure

B. Influence of Religion on the attitudes of the South (What they think)
   1. Sense of dedication to an apostolate.
      a. Catholic
      b. Conservative Protestant groups
      c. Other religious groups
   2. Common Intellectual attitudes
      a. Acceptance of absolute truths
      b. Principles of the Natural Law
      c. Government
      d. Church - State Relationships
      e. Family life
   3. Moral Attitudes (rules of Conduct)
      a. Ten Commandments, especially 6th,7th,& 8th.
      b. Various virtues
   4. Protestant Character of the Southern Social Order
      a. Attitude towards recreation and amusement (Blue Laws, drink, smoking, lotteries,etc.)

Commission on Religion Protestant Character of Social Order (cont.

b. Public schools (e.g. Bible classes, etc.)

5. Secularism in the South
   a. Evidences of Agnosticism and Pragmatism as taught in Southern schools.
   b. The American materialistic way of life as colored by the religious convictions of the Southern people.

C. Influence of Political, Economic, Cultural and other factors in the South on the Religion of the South
   1. Political - How do ruling powers favor Protestant concept of religion?
   2. Effect of the rapid industrial growth and urbanization of the South.
   3. Effect of racial segregation and other racial problems peculiar to South.
   4. How economic status of people determines particular religion to which the people are attracted.

SUGGESTED PROGRAM OF ACTION

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

A. General attitude to be shown to people of South.
   1. Respect for the sincerity of others
   2. Effort to understand the position of others
   3. Immense love for others
      a. Kindness and gentleness in dealing with those who disagree
      b. Sincere desire to help them
   4. Explanatory rather than polemic or apologetic
   5. Avoidance of too authorian attitude
   6. Emphasis on Christ (Common ground with Non-Catholics)
      a. Church is the Mystical Body of Christ
      b. Grace is the life of Christ living in us.
      c. Our personal relationship with Christ.

Commission on Religion General Princples (Contd.)

B. Begin at the Grass-roots
   1. Wherever possible begin on the Parish level.
   2. Utilize the laity as much as humanly possible.
      a. Christianization of society belongs to the laity by right of office.
         (1) Doctrine of Mystical Body
         (2) Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation
         (3) Direct mandate of Pope and Bishops
         (4) Principle of subsidiary functions
         (5) This is their field by right of vocation
      b. Such utilization multiplies many-fold the number of workers (lay apostolate is an extension of the arm of the priest)

C. Begin in the Cities
   1. Number of Catholics much greater in Southern cities than in rural areas.
   2. Number of priests and trained lay leaders greater in cities
   3. People of cities less conservative.
   4. Large number of Catholic-trained leaders from North.
   5. Population more concentrated and therefore easier to influence
   6. Rural areas follow the mores of the cities (radio-television-newspapers etc.)

II. PROGRAM OF TRAINING FOR LAY LEADERS

A. Spiritual, Intellectual and Practical training should run concurrently.
   1. Spiritual training-principle work of priests for apostolate
      a. Spiritual direction of the lay leaders
      b. Active participation in liturgy by laity(frequent Communion, dialogue Mass, etc.)
      c. Fostering works of mercy among lay apostles
      d. General intensification of spiritual life of lay apostles.
   2. Intellectual training
      a. Training centers for apostolic workers (Parish, deanery, Diocesan and regional levels)

Commission on Religion Program of Training for Lay Leaders (Contd.)

b. Regular workshops on deanery level to complete training.
c. Development of a training technique that may be easily applied by average priest in his own southern parish.

3. Practical Training
   a. Parish Level
      (1) Christian Family Groups for married couples
      (2) Legion of Mary for unmarried and couples without children.
      (3) Student groups for high schools, colleges, Universities
   b. City-wide level
      (1) Catholic Information Centers staffed by lay workers
      (2) Coordination of activities of various Parishes
   c. Deanery and Diocesan Level
      (1) Workshops at frequent intervals
      (2) Diocesan Study-weeks, etc.
      (3) Diocesan training centers.

B. Specialization of work in lay apostolate
   1. Lay Catechists for instruction of converts.
   2. Specialized training of leaders to enter various fields of action (Newspapers, State colleges, etc.)

III. SPECIALIZED TRAINING OF PRIESTS AND RELIGIOUS OF THE SOUTH

A. Priests
   1. Understanding of problems of South
   2. Knowledge of different techniques for Negro & White
   3. More direct contact with the people of the Community.

B. Religious
   1. Use of parish visitors, etc., to make direct contact with people.
   2. Better understanding of the South

COMMISSION ON EDUCATION

Education

Division of Work:

Formal: in which a particular subject matter is dealt with in a specified course according to specified methods of procedure, as for example in a school

A. Youth
B. Adult

Informal: in which the subject matter is less specified (as - development and growth of man's faculties in general) and specified methods are usually not so concrete, e.g. education in the home (N.B. "Credits" are never earned)

A. Youth
B. Adult

***

Commission on Education (Informal Education contd.)

school (state and Church) has the right to educate only by delegation.

Is it possible that due to extrinsic "DEMANDS" on the family in this day and age, parents are striving to have more time and leisure and are actually glad to give up their responsibility to the school?

Result: The natural right has been and is being "transposed" from the family to the school authorities.

****

The above must be considered in the light of the purpose of education: "to bring out and develop those powers (faculties) which an individual should have by nature."

N.B. That was an "off the cuff" definition!

Do we agree: there is a growing tendency among parents to shun their responsibility to educate?

In certain phases of education (esp. at early age) the family is the only proper educator. (i.e. responsibility cannot be delegated)

Ad lib questions:

1. Has not the Church promoted the shifting of education from home to school by her pioneering insistence on Catholic education?

2. Has the school endeavored to "take over" certain phases of education which more properly belong in the home?

3. Is there any movement afoot to lower the age of compulsory school attendance?

4. Is "society" trying to lower the age? Is the school authority anxious to "get" the kinds at age 4? How would the typical Southern parent react?

Commission on Education (Informal Education contd.)

5. Is it true that parents have so totally given over their responsibility to the school that they are now placing "demands" on the school which they should be satisfying themselves?

6. Do school authorities (people at NEA) consider that their work in the first grade would be considerably easier if they had the children at age four for preparation?

7. Should't we insist much more with the parents that they should prepare their children prior to age six?

8. Has not our labeling of school people as "professional"(and therefor apart from the community) been detrimental?

9. Important to consider the viewpoints of a) parents; b) educators

NON-FAMILY INFORMAL EDUCATORS(or education agencies)

Diocesan Youth programs (on parish level):

1 - CYO
2 - Legion of Mary
3 - YCS
4 - YCW
5 - Sodality
6 - Scribes (K of C)
7 - Catholic Scouts
8 - Jr. Catholic Daughters
9 - Daughters of Isabella (north)
10 - Campfire Girls (north)
11 - CCD
12 - Holy Name Society
13 - Newman Clubs
13 - NFCCS
14 - Summer Camps

N.B. States of Calif., N. H., N. Y. are considering making summer camps compulsory at certain age levels.

****

Series of N.B.'s

a. We must investigate the need of "extra curricular" youth programs for ages 8-14.
b. There are 34 Catholic youth serving organizations in U.S.
c. There has been suggested using "physical" instead of "athletic".

Commission on Education (Informal Education contd.)

d. Has there been an over emphasis on development of the body, e.f. athletics, sports, teams leagues,etc.
e. The sensible purpose of informal Church sponsored youth programs "provision for development extending beyond what the family and school can give." "formation supplementary to family and school."

****

Non-Catholic (sectarian) youth programs:

1. YMCA
2. YWCA
3. Red Shield
4. Scouts (non-Cath.)
5. B'nai B'rith Youth Organizations (age 12-17)
6. Hillel Foundations(College youth)
7. Temple Youth programs
8. 4-H Clubs
9. FFA (Future Farmers of America)
10. FHA (Future Homemakers of America)
11. Boys Clubs of America
12. PoliceBoys Clubs
13. Natl. Council of Jews and Christians

Problem:

Can Catholic children participate in YWCA swimming lessons? (i.e. in cases where they do not join organizations but use facilities.)

Can Catholic parents serve in YWCA adult circles as advisers, fund-raisers on the basis that Catholics are benefiting from facilities?

What should be our policy about Catholic adult membership in non-Catholic dominated Community Chests, Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, etc.?

To what extent can Catholics(children father, pastors) work together with denominational sponsored youth groups? (in areas largely non-Catholic)

Can a Catholic boy in a community of 5,000(with 300 Catholics) join a Scout troup sponsored by Baptist Church?

Commission on Education (Informal Education contd.)

The 4th R -- There should be more insistence on religion in all youth groups of informal education, i.e. consideration of the problems of the day from the point of view of moral principles.

N.B. NCCY (Natl. Council of Catholic Youth) has a program (sound) co-ordinating youth groups e.g. on deanery basis regardless of those groups' names or programs, conducting a fuller program than what is commonly known as youth program emphasizing recreation.

TENTATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Utilize lay personnel more in parish youth programs.
2. Avoid over emphasis on athletics.
3. Every organization should be based on real need. or Avid organization for organization's sake. (Can above be better stated? It tends to give impression that we already have too many youth activities!)

SPECIAL SOUTHERN PROBLEMS:

1. Problem of communities with small Catholic population, inability to establish Catholic youth programs, and all others in the community are sponsored by non-Catholic Churches.

2. Large number of Catholics in non-Catholic boarding schools.

3. What is the number of Catholics in South graduating from non-Catholic colleges as compared with number graduating from Catholic institutions?

4. Same with High school level and grade school levels.

****

Every pastor should see that his Catholic youth are receiving supplementary Catholic formation which cannot be given within the family and school. (general statement)

Commission on Education (Informal Education contd.)

How many Protestant ministers in the South are paid State (public) school teachers?

Are Parishes utilizing Catholic groups or non-sectarian youth group work? What is the proportion? To what good effect?

The Negro in Education

Can the Catholic Church, a minority group in the Southeast, champion the cause of the Negro?

Have members of the Catholic Church been wise enough to strengthen its "minority group position" by cooperating and working together with other groups who are sincerely interested in human relations?

We have entitled this section:"The Negro and Education" but actually our interest and mentality should be such as to include all minority groups in this field.

We should be interested in BASIC HUMAN RELATIONS (even with the same religious group or racial group or "social-strata group, etc.) in ATTITUDES toward other people regardless of their race, color, creed, intelligence, job, position in the community.

What are public schools doing in the matter of inculcating and developing a spirit in human relations? White schools? Negro schools?

What is being done on the adult level in "human relations"?

What good effects has the "trade union" philosophy of human relations had? How far reaching? How Christian?

Have the trade unions set a "pace" in "conditioning" people in the various racial groups for integration?

Isn't as much "conditioning" among Negroes and other minority groups needed as among the whites, etc.?
e.g. Why don't Negroes have greater interest in education when they do have fine opportunities?
Why do more Negroes quit school earlier?

Commission on Education (Negro in Education contd.)

Is it going to be a "second emancipation" in the Negro thinking?

How many courses do we have in the S.E. on the College and/or high school levels which are similar to the Belmont Abbey College course in SOCIAL PROBLEMS? The class-room atmosphere (especially on college level) is wonderful to help people consider human relations in a cool, intellectual, unprejudiced manner. College students can really dwell on the "nature of man" without thinking about having to EAT WITH A NEGRO, or something similar.

Reference to YCS Convention at Belmont Abbey on non-segregated basis and of course many other instances not mentioned.

Point: Besides the intellectual apostolate in field of Human Relations, there is much room for attempting to create situations where people of different groups (especially race groups) really experience "doing things together". Experience has shown that people forget differences of color, etc., when involved in discussions of matters in which they have common ground.

AT WHICH LEVEL OF EDUCATION will integration more easily take place first?

At which level of education in the S.E. HAS integration taken place, to what extent and with what success?

Regardless of what we think of possibilities and what Supreme Court decides, we should use every effort on the school level to break down prejudice.

TOTAL RESOURCES OF ALL HUMAN RELATION AGENCIES BOTH SECTARIAN AND NON-SECTARIAN SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ALL PARISH PRIESTS.

In each area, diocese, deanery, etc., there should be at least an annual workshop for priests in field of Human Relations.

Commission on Education (Negro in Education contd.)

We must strive for many adult inter-denominational and interracial activities.

For practical use:
Is it not true that most majority group people (e.g. whites) have the popular impression that minority group people (e.g. Negroes) are looking for EQUALITY ON:

(1) social level
(2) religious level
(3) political level
(4) economic level
(5) educational level

Can it not be made clear (and truthfully) that they want equality, but in the reverse order of preference?

INFORMAL Adult EDUCATION:

What agencies, institutions are influencing Adults?

More or Less Catholic

(1) Holy Name Society
(2) N.C.C.M.
(3) N.C.C.W.
(4) Family Life Bureau
(5) C.C.D.
(6) C.F.M.
(7) Cana Conferences
(8) Liturgical Movement Groups
(9) K of C (Advertisements,etc.)
(10) Social Study Weeks
(11) Catholic Evidence Guilds
(12) Diocesan Lay organizations NCCLA, etc.
(13) Publications, magazines
(14) Third Order Groups
(15) Religious Discussion Groups
(16) Forums
(17) Retreats
(18) Days of Recollection

More or Less Generally Non-Catholic

(1) Newspapers, Press
(2) TV - Radio - Movies
(3) Philosophical Clubs cf. Frater Ignatius
(4) YMCA Extension Courses
(5) Government(Government sponsored training classes)

Commission on Education (Informal Adult Education contd.)

(6) Local citizenship Center (public school sponsored)
(7) Jewish Community Centers
(8) Trade Unions

The above is certainly not complete. Further the above mainly aimed at mass education.

SHOULD BE EVALUATION ALSO OF ALL ATTEMPTS of information and formation on adult level in LEADERSHIP TRAINING! e.g. Grailville and like attempts.

Should be also well organized section here on need and purpose of LEADERSHIP APOSTOLATE (c.f. Commission on Religion for similar section, however)

Need and purposes of Informal Adult Education:

1. Why doesn't formal youth and adult education accomplish our purposes? Informal adult program is a supplement.
2. A sense of civic responsibility has to be developed in adults: e.g. responsibility in voting; bettering the community, jury duty, cultural development, family community life, parent group interest in youth education, recreation, etc.
3. A proper understanding must be given to adults in such matters and the Christian stand on certain social issues; human relations, political issues, organization of labor, etc. In other words, are such things being accomplished in formal adult education?
4. A consideration of the impact of secular mass media on adults generally TV, Radio, movies, Life, Time, etc.
5. How can we better place such as "America", "Commonweal" in the hands of adults as means of informal adult education?
6. What can we do to "better" our diocesan paper and then increase its circulation? Also Catholic Digest, etc.?

Consideration of FORMAL EDUCATION

Distinction of Youth and Adult not so fine: i.e. Formal education more or less limited to the SCHOOL including elementary,

Commission on Education (Formal Education contd.)

secondary, university levels.

General investigation

1. How many school age persons in S.E.
2. How many Catholicsof school age in the S.E.?
3. How many in public schools and colleges (total enrollment)?
4. What is total enrollment of Catholic schools? Elementary? High Schools? Colleges?
   (The one who makes this survey will have to decide whether and then indicate white only, white and negro, etc.)

5. How many Catholics in public schools?
6. How many Negroes of school age in the S.E.?
7. How Many Catholic Negroes of school age in the C.E.?
8. How many Negroes in school?
9. How many Catholic Negroes in schools
10. How many city Negroes and country Negroes are in school? What is the proportion?
11. How many Negroes in Catholic schools?
12. How many Negroes in public schools?
13. How many Catholic Negroes in public schools?

We tried to give a definition of formal education:
"The process of growth and development whereby the individual assimilates a body of knowledge, makes his own group of life's ideals, and develops the ability to use that knowledge in the pursuit of these ideals." from "Pivotal Problems of Education" Cunningham, U. of Notre Dame.

"The purpose of education is to provide those experiences best calculated to develop in youth ideas, attitudes, and virtues necessary for successful living in modern American democratic life." non-verbatim from Dr. George Johnson.

Public Education: Integrating factor preparation of individual for good ditizenship.
Catholic Education: Integrating factor preparation of individual for Christ-like living.

Commission on Education (Formal Education contd.)

Objection: Good citizenship requires a religious framework. How can the public school system presume to prepare the individual for good citizenship without religious training in its curriculum?

Answer: Public schools are forbidden to teach religion, but not forbidden to teach non-denominitionally about God and religion and to have courses on philosophy of religion and history of religion, etc. This (?) is (?) sufficient to build a religious framework.

Give a complete comparative delineation of the training given in the public and Catholic systems. If the Church is going to go on record as aiming for "every Catholic child in Catholic school", then we should have a complete statement of what and how and in what manner, the Catholic system is superior over the public school system, i.e. Answer at full length: "Why should I send my child to the Catholic school?"

Give a comparative study of the "finished products" from both systems. From several points of view: Intellectual; moral; citizenshipwise marital, social, character-wise, etc.

Have Catholic schools stressed or overstressed the dogmatic approach?

Compare Catholics:
(a) graduates from public schools
(b) graduates from the Catholic system.
i.e. to what extent has the public system (with aid of religious instructions provided by the Church) produced the type of adult Catholic that the Church needs? And to what extent has the Catholic system produced the same?

Is the Catholic system producing the type of adult who meets the standards which we are setting up here in this policy meeting for the average lay Catholic? For the average Catholic leader?

To what extent has the Catholic system provided training and formation in leadership abilities? To what extent has the Catholic school inspired Catholic graduates with a sense mission, responsibility, apostolate?

Commission on Education (Formal Education contd.)

How many Catholic schools in the S.E.?
How many Catholic sisters, priests, brothers, lay people are working in the Catholic system in the S.E.?

What is the annual cost of the Catholic system in the S.E.?
(a) elementary (b) high school
(c) college

What would be the estimated cost for a total Catholic system for all Catholic children in the S.E.?
(a) elementary (b) high school
(c) college

How soon can the Church accomplish this in the S.E.?
(a) from point of view of personnel?
(b) from point of view of finances?

Are our personnel and money involved in the Catholic system being used to the best advantage of the Church? i.e. without considering the workings of grace, is the Catholic system a sound business investment of personnel and money?

Is there not a possibility of developing new forms of apostolate in which the same personnel and money would be more wisely invested? i.e. in reaching more people with equal successes?

Given that the public school system exists and that they deal with people both Catholic and non-Catholic to whom we have great responsibility, do we as Catholics and good citizens sufficiently recognize our role and obligation toward the public system?

Do we consider the public system "ours" in the sense that we consider the economy "ours" although it is not Catholic?

Do we recognize that the public system is here to stay?

The public system is part of the totality of our responsibility; then is it not our serious duty to "train people for it". Should it not be just as important to us as our own system?

Commission on Education (Formal Education contd.)

From the above statistics, we will know what percentage of school graduates are from the public system. Are we sufficiently interested in what kind of graduates those are? Can we "work with them" from any point of view?

How does a Catholic school with a faculty (½ religious, ½ lay) differ from a public school?

****

From the above requested statistics, we will know how much of our personnel and money is invested in the school system on elementary, and high school level as compared to that invested on the college and adult level.
Should not more be devoted to adult(college and post-college)and less to elementary?

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In view of difficulties in the educative process on the basis of Church and State relations, to what extent does a total Catholic education system postulate also a "Catholic State"?

Is reference to "Commonweal" (Cunneen's articles) revelant?(first days of August,1953)

How "formal"should and/or will training in leadership get?

COMMISSION ON THE FAMILY

We know that the Family is the natural basic unit of Society. It is the purpose of the Commission to study not only the life in the Family itself, but in some sense more important, the Family in relation to all other institutions in the South.

What are the great influences upon family life in the South? What great influence can the Family have on the rest of the South.

It is possible to see the whole of living from the family unit. But we must realize that the many complicated structures that men have built in society, fashioned for one need or another, require special attention if for no other reason than that they exist for the common good as well as family.

We are led to suspect that much of our thinking about Christian Family living has been concentrated in the Family. It is of the essence that the basic unit be holy and complete, but it cannot be so if the economic order is lacking in justice; cannot be so if the political institutions are working on a wrong philosophical basis. Every institution in which a Family exists or has control, influences that Family and is in turn influenced by the Family.

We noticed great stress upon the Christian Family at Belmont. The Total Apostolate places upon the Family an astounding obligation to be the training center for Apostles in our modern age and the spark for a total community based upon Justice and Love.

Hence much research is necessary. We must know the facts--all of them-- that pertain to the Family. Our suggestions and policies must be based upon facts--not simply opinions and guesses.

COMMISSION ON THE FAMILY

PART I FAMILY IN ITSELF

I FAMILIES IN GENERAL

A. As a natural unit
   1. Prime necessities for a family - food clothing, shelter, etc.
   2. Natural rights of a family - access to resources, right to educate, etc.

B. As a Supernatural Unit
   1. Basic unit of the parish and Church
   2. Largely determines the supernatural destiny of each member.

II FAMILIES IN THE SOUTH

A. White families
   1. More stable and united in South than elsewhere (get data)
   2. Rural family more stable than urban, because wife ordinarily does not work away from home.(get data)
   3. How does economic status affect their divorce rate? (get data)

B. Negro families
   1. Very unstable in South
      a. Because usually necessary for woman to take job to help support the family (our culture expects the Negro woman to work outside home)
      b. Very frequent cohabitation without legal marriage
         (1) Because of lack of proper religious training
         (2) Because of so many unpleasant experiences with the law.
   2. Rural Negro family more stable than urban (get data)
   3. Birth rates much higher than for white (get data)
   4. Negro more community minded. Help their own needy.

PART II FAMILY IN RELATION TO OTHER INSTITUTIONS

I ECONOMY

A. A certain minimum of material goods necessary to well-being of family.
   1. Annual family income (data on real income of southern families in relation to their needs) for man (so woman can be at home)

Commission on the Family - Part II - Economy (Contd.)

2. Decent housing (data on white and Negro families in South)
3. Proper food and diet (need of consumer education)
4. Working conditions suitable to a full family life (e.g. night shifts, traveling jobs, etc., must in some way be rectified or compensated)
5. Medical care (wider extension to Negro and lower income families)
6. Desire for luxuries leads women to work outside home.

B. Proper environment for raising of family
1. Families should be a part of a small Community (not necessarily geographic)
2. Decentralization wherever feasible(one foot on land)
   a. More possible in South (See Commission on Economy)
   b. Will present many problems however (e.g. sanitation, lack of a community and neighborliness)
3. Problem of the migrant workers (how establish proper environment)

II GOVERNMENT

A. Military Life
1. Moral problems of youth taken away from home environment.
2. Impossibility for young men to plan intelligently their future
3. Breaking up of families
4. G.I. Bill of Rights - older and married men in college
5. Housing problems in vicinity of military camps (acute in South)

B. Public Welfare agencies (need data)
1. Public Health and Welfare groups sponsoring birth control and sterilization.
2. Changes that have resulted from recent widespread public assistance programs sponsored by both state and national governments.

III EDUCATION

A. Influence of the philosophies taught in our public schools on the student's attitude towards family life (See Commission on Education)

Commission on the Family Part II Education (contd.)

B. Influence of Catholic school education on stability, etc., of family life(need data)

IV. MASS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

A. Television - its influence on the family

B. Newspapers, Magazines, Radio, etc. (influence on family life)

C. Travel - influence of easy, fast means of transportation
1. Causes members of family to be away from homemore often.
2. Increases the wants of such members by seeing what others have.

V. RECREATION AND AMUSEMENT

A. Spectator sports

B. Emphasis on material, pleasure and emotional excitement

VI. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Segregation in the South (how this influences family life)
1. For the white
2. For the Negro

B. Ideal of a small family (one or two children)

C. Modern attitude towards sex (no inhibitions)

D. Modern attitude towards discipline of Children (freedom of expression)

D. Lack of cultural, spiritual, and asthetic experiences.
1. Need of arts, crafts, etc.
2. Folk-ways, music, etc.
3. Use of leisure time

PART III FAMILY IN RELATION TO THE COMMUNITY

I. WHAT IS MEANT BY COMMUNITY (Need for much study on whole question. What is the basis for a Community?)

A. Geographical community (neighborhood)

Commission on the Family Part III - Community (contd.)

B. Community of Friendship and relationship.

C. Community of common interests (e.g. work,recreation, etc.)

II. PRESENT AMERICAN CULTURE IS DESTROYING COMMUNITY LIFE

A. Individualism and selfishness

B. Need of community for a full family life.

PART IV FAMILY AND THE CHURCH

I. CATHOLIC FAMILIES AND THE CHURCH

A. Family Life of Catholics needs restoration.
1. Influenced by modern post-christian paganism
2. Lost the synamism of our Catholic Faith
a. Lack of knowledge of principles of Faith
b. Lack of appreciation of practical application of the teachings of the Church to their own problems of the day.

B. This restoration must begin with small, family groups (4 to 8 couples)
1. Participants of group must accept responsibility for success of group.
a. Preaching and lecturing are not enough
b. People must learn to sell themselves on principles of Church
c. Rediscovery of the joy and satisfaction of accomplishment
2. Intimate, personal contact with the priest.
a. For them priest represents Church and God.
b. Rediscovery of their need for religion and the Church
c. Respect for position of priest and Church
3. Active participation in the worship and activity of Church
a. Liturgical revival will thus come from grass-roots and not superimposed by priests or high authorities (more natural)

Commission on the Family Part IV Restoration (Contd.)

b. Prevents an artificial return to customs of another age and
4. Development of lay leaders (Apostolic)
a. Learn to express themselves not only in worship but in every way.
b. Multiplies the power and work of the priest
c. Results in christianization of whole community
5. Teaching of spirit of Poverty

II. SUGGESTED ORGANIZATIONS TO ACCOMPLISH THE RESTORATION

A. Christian Family Movement (CFM)
Family Life (NCWC)

B. Cana Work (Pre-Cana & Cana Conferences, Family Retreats.

C. Preparation for Marriage
1. Pre-marital instructions by the priest (90% have not received such)
2. Preparation for Marriage courses
3. Pre-Cana Conferences

D. Spiritual Formation and Direction (especially for those who do not take active part in CFM groups, etc.)

E. Training Centers, e.g. Grailville

F. Use of Sacramentals of Church

G. P.T.A. (cf. Detroit Archdiocese)

H. Parent-Educator part of Confraternity of Christian Doctrine

I. Bishops Committee of Christian Mothers (cf. Buffalo Diocese)

III. RESTORATION OF BAD MARRIAGES ($\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ Catholic couples unhappy)

A. Group therapy (meeting of bad marriage couples with CFM couples to find out ways & means to help other bad marriages)

B. Marriage counseling (Cana Directors and other priests)

Commission on the Family Part IV Restoration (Contd.)

C. Special courses for priests
   1. Last year of seminary
   2. Post-ordination

D. Priests Court (cf. Chicago Archdiocese)

E. Lay Board (Doctor, lawyer, Social worker psychiatrist,etc.)

IV. NON-CATHOLICS AND THE RESTORATION OF FAMILY

A. What are Non-Catholic bodies doing to restore family life (need data)

   1. Studies by secular Universities (e.g. N. C.)
   2. Lutherans

B. Cooperation of Non-Catholics with Catholic movements to restore Christian family life.
   1. Mixed marriages - Non-Catholic party should be included as often as possible(e.g. C.F.M., Cana, etc.)
   2. Non-Catholic marriages - How far can and should they be included in Catholic family movements?

COMMISSION ON THE BODY POLITIC

The root of the state lies in the nature of man. The state has its origin in the social nature of man and his instinct toward fellowship: man achieves integration only in the community which fulfills the basic social functions and so enables him to realize his existential ends. Thus his nature impels him to form a community to organize those fundamental functions. The state rises out of the nature of man, the order of the state is part of the law of his nature. The notion that even in an ideal society there is no need of a governing body is fallacious. Because of the complexity of society, and more so because of the nature of man, a common authority is necessary to attain the common ends of that society.

Our interest in the relation of man to political order is double because of our faith in what we call "American Democracy". The whole political structure must be examined so that we might find the best means to work for the further development of our American Democracy. Each citizen must see his vital interest and concern in this matter. Each Catholic must see that this total dedication pleaces upon him the obligation to work for the perfection of our political system, exercising all knowledge and strength to see that it is founded upon Justice and Love.

COMMISSION ON THE BODY POLITIC

I. OBSERVATIONS

A. People seem to have a low opinion of politicians.

B. Participation in civic affairs, both on a local and national level seems to be relegated to the professional man. If a man is outstanding, he almost automatically becomes the statesman or the representative of the people. This seeming lethargy of the Southern people seems to be rooted in the historic tradition of Paternalism, which in essence designates a "father and son relationship". (Ref: "Millhands and Preachers"by Liston Pope; Yale Univ. Social Studies)

II. SOME EVILS ENCOUNTERED

A. The One-Party System

B. Defranchisement (Poll Tax)

C. Unfair legislative apportionment antiquated in many states

D. County unit system

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. We should earnestly attempt to effect a more active participation in civic and governmental affairs, both on a local and national level. More positive action can be stimulated in our voluntary civic institutions such as Community Chest, Chamber of Commerce, and School Boards.

B. The use of literature as a media for activating greater participation in the political spheres, should be incorporated. (Ref: "Government is Your Business" by James Keller)

C. Utilization of the school in the education of the masses along these lines.

D. Some statistical data should be gathered in reference to what the Church has done in these particular fields.(e.g. voting, etc.

Commission on the Body Politic (Contd.)

THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF RIGHTS

I. CONSIDERATION OF SOME FALLACIES

A. That the State grants rights (ref: "Leviathan" by Thomas Hobbes) A great number of authors think that rights are concessions of a group.

B. Reference can also be made to Social Contractualists, for whom the State has its origin in an agreement or contract. (Ref: "Social Contract" by Rousseau)

II. OUR CONCEPT OF RIGHTS

A. Rights are vested in the nature of man, who was created by God. We must insist upon the Divine origin of rights, in virtue of the final purpose for which we were created.

B. Southern Attitudes toward Rights

1. Because of the complexity of Southern mores it is difficult to determine whether the average Southerner considers rights as Divine in origin. However, the fact that the people become very much disturbed in tight spots and cultural difficulties, which have their bearing on the inalienability of rights shows that they have certain moral motives.

   Observation: The European attitude envisages American society as immature, because of this difficulty to adjust itself in difficulties. Clear thinking, they maintain, does not seem to be a part of American thinking, in relation to the above mentioned difficulties.

III. TRENDS

A. There seems to be a trend toward a more sound approach to religious matters, along the lines of dogma and doctrine. (c.f. the influence of theologians such as Niebuhr, and other theological seminaries on the minds of Protestants)

B. There seems to be a growth in the organizational aspects of religious sects in this area. From this has arisen some healthy discussions on more

Commission on the Body Politic (Trends-Section B contd.)

B. basic and more fundamental religious and social concepts..e.g. the understanding of economic life, in order to better social, religious and economic conditions.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO RIGHTS

A. Greater local and civic responsibilities should be developed, as well as the consciousness of the essential nature of these rights.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE FAMILY WITH REGARD TO THE STATE AND POLITICAL SOCIETY

I. Right to economic status..e.g. housing, etc.

II. Right to rear and educate the children in a proper manner, i.e. intellectually, religiously, economicly and socially.

III. Right to recreation

IV. Family allowances..i.e. governmental and industrial subsidies.)N.B. This should be investigated more thoroughly.)

V. Opportunity to a job. (This too should be investigated more thoroughly) Ref: "Catholic Social Principles" by Cronin See also Family Commission

RIGHTS AND DUTIES IN RELATION TO THE CHURCH (cf. The Commission on Religion)

RIGHTS AND DUTIES IN RELATION TO THE ECONOMY AND EDUCATION (cf. The Commission on Economy and Education Paragraph D, Section 1, Sub-section d.)

OBSERVATIONS

1. There is more laissez-faire in the South than in the North. As also there is a difference in regarding the function of the State in the South than in the North.

2. Southerners are more quick to enforce civil laws in industrial disputes.

3. Note the statistics on the economic cost of education in

the South. There is more paid out for the Southern regions than in the North. There is a tremendous expense, where the economy will not avail itself. The expense is due in part to the dual system of education i.e. the need for Negro and white facilities. (cf. "Southern Regions" by Howard Odum, p. 112.

PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARITY

Social Authority derives its power solely from the common utility. No social authority, therefore, has a right to interfere with activities for individual and social ends so long as those responsible for these ends are able and willing to cope with them. cf. also the Encyclicals of Pius XI and XII.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Observance of this principle should especially be observed with regard to:
a. Unions
b. Family
c. Farms and Agriculture

cf. The Brannon Plan: which in essence subsidized what would be equivalent to a family income.

STATEMENT OF POLICY FOR C.C.S. with regard to Principle of Subsidiarity

A higher group should not be brought into settle difficulties when it wants, but only as a last resort.
(cf. in this regard the State of Virginia legal legislation on the Dairy industry)

CONNECTION WITH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. The South's percentage of native born are less international minded.

2. The South's problems within its own region do not afford the opportunity to focus attention on an international scale.

3. There is a suspicion of the U.N.

Commission on Body Politic (International Relations 3 contd.)

3. because of the attempt of the U.N. to change Southern mores e.g. The Declaration of Human Rights.

4. Influx of a liberalizing element from the North, in virtue of the industrialization, which is effecting a change in attitudes in the South, with the result that it is developing a more cosmopolitian outlook.

5. Large World Federationists movement in North Carolina

6. Immigration: The southern people have a suspicion of foreigners

7. Point Four: The Southerner has his own problems, hence his disinterestedness in this international movement. Is this true?

RECOMMENDATIONS

I. In order for the South to take its place in the national economy, a more active participation in the above programs is essential.
Suggested means
a. By preparing the South primarily through educational media in understanding national and international problems.
b. By having its leaders and others assume responsiblities on a national and international level

II. What Catholics are doing

1. Immigration: A priest has been appointed in each diocese throughout the country to care for the immigrants.
2. There is a fairly active participation of Catholic priests and laymen with other groups with regard to the above mentioned programs.

III. Suggestion has been made that some factual data be gathered on the Latin American influx into the U.S.
(Reference: "Dominant and Minority Problems" by Marden)

COMMISSION ON FULL LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY
(Perhaps it would be better to call this)
Commission on Integral Christian Living
or Integral Society

People live in communities. These communities have a culture or an atmosphere. This atmosphere can be helpful to the full life and final destiny of man, and of families; or it can be such that it makes the final end of man difficult to attain, if not impossible.

At the same time, man is a social creature. He lives with other people not just his family, but neighbors, citizens of the same city, etc. All these share common problems, civic events, recreational activities, civic betterment campaigns or activities such as Blood bank, community charity events, etc. To these help or hinder? What is the place of the Catholic in these affairs?

The whole question of how, and how much a Catholic and Catholic groups ought to cooperate with others in the local community needs a great deal of study.

We are thinking too of the Catholic - not as an official representative in a community affair - but as a citizen whom others respect because he is a man of character and of Faith.

Perhaps in no other field of human activity, can Catholics do as much good as they can in the local community - civic - social - recreational.

This outline needs a great deal of amplification.

COMMISSION ON FULL LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY

I. Community - What is it?

In general, association of people which is necessary in satisfying their needs; viz.
(a) Familial
(b) Civic
(c) Economic
(e) Social
(f) Religious

Here Community restricted to one's "environment".

Catholics should be conscious of their stake in the Community.
(a) Development of a sense of responsibility towards their civic duties.
(b) Sympathy of husband and wife towards necessary sacrifice in satisfying community obligations by one another.
(c) Principles of faith and reason must not be checked at the door in community participation, while "professional Catholicism" must be avoided.
  (1) Tact and humility of Christ not forgotten.
  (2) Personal motivation must be supernatural.

Leadership training is necessary in order that Catholics participate effectively in civic groups. Non-Catholics of goodwill should not be excluded from this training.
(a) This can be done most effectively in small groups.
(b) Added impetus to Catholic living arises from close association with other Catholics.
  Example: Father & Mother with 6 children feel very much at home in association with couples with like number of children.

II. What use can be made by Catholics in development of Fine Arts (creative) alone and in cooperation with others?

Possiblity of ceramics, etc., developing into Southern Catholic Art, rather than borrowing from European countries.

Commission on Full Life in the Community (development of Fine Arts.)

Contribution to Personal development:
(a) expression of faith
(b) used as a hobby; from utilitarian point of view-proceeds for sale of such to individuals and to parishes. cf. Benedictines at St. Meinrad's; Art Dept. of C.U., Washington, D.C.; Rev. Francis Berkley, Baton Rouge, La.; Grailville)

III. Catholic Influence in Recreation

Negative: Checks on improprities, vulgarity, etc., by the Legion of Decency.
Clarification of Legion of Decency listing. Wider dissemination of listings is necessary.
Indecent Literature

Positive: Stimulation of Catholics to attend outstanding films.
Encouragement of theater managers to show better films.
Value of personal contact of trained lay leaders with theater managers; radio & T.V. program directors in influencing them.
Utilization of local radio and television facilities to present Catholic doctrine, liturgy and cultural attainments. (Radio time is especially easy to obtain at present).
Practical efforts through advertising in Catholic newspapers to attract Catholic talent from North. Listing of job opportunities in South.
Example: Catholic doctors from medical colleges, Catholic lawyers.

A

IV. Mass Media T.V.-Radio-Newspapers

For Production manual for Radio and for scripts, etc., consult "Catholic Broadcasting Association"., Wilmington, Del.

Same principles apply here as above.

Continued efforts to obtain decency in advertising.

Full Life in the Community (Mass Media contd.)

Viciousness of advertising in the role of stimulation of artificial and unnecessary purchasing.

Misinformation about the Church and Catholics can be corrected by helping Catholic editors of secular papers and newspaper men or women on local staff. An effective means too is to supply secular papers and newspaper men with correct information regarding Catholic position. Personal contacts can easily be developed in this field. Newspapers would be happy to know the truth about the issues of the day.

Historical note concerning work of First Christians in dealing with pagan civilization of their times.

Group morale of Catholics necessary so that they may dare to differ in a dominant non-Catholic community.

V. Cooperation with Others.

There is a necessary cooperation with non-Catholics of good-will to work together for the establishment of justice and social charity in society.
Example: Anti-defamation League in same areas.
Social Action Depts. of Major demominations,etc.

Cooperation of all local groups who do not foster evil practices(viz. birth control)

Cooperation with Ministers

We should presume their sincerity and treat them with kindness.

Area of cooperation is on the level of civic gatherings; public welfare; such groups as American Legion; and efforts guided towards public morality.

CCS The Catholic Committee of the South
P. O. Box 895 • Rock Hill, South Carolina

COMMENT ON THE OUTLINE

This outline was prepared by those who attended the Study Session which was held at Belmont Abbey, during the week beginning August 17.

The purpose of the Study Session was to initiate a study of the Church in the South, keeping in mind the ultimate purpose which was to be able to issue a clear manifestation of policy, regarding the total apostolate of the Catholic Church in the southeastern part of our country.

To break it down, we want to know - first, the South. Secondly, we wish to arrive at a clear understanding of the institutions that exist in the South. Thirdly, reflect and evaluate the work of those institutions in the light of our Faith and our living social philosophy. Fourthly, as a result of this evaluation, we hope to be able to compile or issue a policy statement regarding the total apostolate. Fifthly, make this policy manifest so that it is clearly understood by everyone. Sixthly, to help point up or indicate or explain the possible techniques and approaches which would make the work of the apostolate in the South more fruitful.

It can be easily understood that the amount of work which should have been covered at Belmont was quite tremendous. Consequently, we feel that the outline here presented is by no means complete. It will be quite obvious with a rapid reading of the outline that there are many sections which should be amplified and developed and some other sections really ought to be added to this outline.

This outline is the result of the work which was done at Belmont. After the various Commissions had met, the outline for each Commission was prepared and then the whole outline discussed by all who were at the Session. Corrections were made, additions suggested, and then after the Session was finished this present compilation was put together.

We are sending it to those people who have indicated their interest in this Study, in the hope that they will be in a position to review the outline carefully, to make any additions suggestions, corrections, or comments on it which they feel would make it a more effective outline.

So that we can determine, as exactly as possible; the scope of investigation for each one of the Commissions, and put ourselves in a position, as rapidly as possible to go further with this particular study.

For common information for all those concerned, we would tell you that at the Belmont Session, the following temporary Chairmen were appointed for each Commission.

Chairman Commission on Religion	- Most Reverend Joseph H. Hodges Auxiliary Bishop of Richmond
Chairman Commission on Body Politic	- Reverend Marvin Bordelon Simmesport, Louisiana
Chairman Full Life in the Community	- Reverend A. O. Sigur Lafayette, Louisiana
Chairman Commission on Family Life	- Reverend Chester Michaels Williamsburg, Virginia
Chairman Commission on Education	- Reverend Louis Flaherty Richmond, Virginia
Chairman Commission on Economy (In this, he will co-ordinate his efforts with	- Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean Rock Hill, South Carolina - Reverend Joseph Gremillion Shreveport, Louisiana

who will help particularly with that section of the Commission which deals with the agricultural end of our Economy)

The Co-ordinator for the whole Study, at the present time, is Father Shean.

As this outline is studied, you may notice that there are some questions which perhaps might not need answering. On the other hand, there are questions which ought to be included, which are not there. And we ask those who study this outline and work on it, to understand that we do not feel that this outline is complete by any means, but it is only the beginning and must necessarily be refined. Therefore suggestions are very much in order and would be helpful.

The format is so arranged that it would be possible for comments to be written next to the typed sections and therefore give us a better understanding as to just where you think your suggestions or corrections or additions should be included in the over-all outline.

After the corrected copies have been sent back to us or suggestions have been sent to us, we will re-edit the whole outline and they will be distributed then to the different Commission Chairmen, so that the work can be concentrated according to the Commissions.

This first presentation of the outline is to make it possible for everyone who is interested to see the complete scope of the Study. And it should then make it easier for everyone to work on his own particular Commission, knowing what everyone else was more or less doing and what particular sections were being covered. This should also help us overcome unnecessary duplications.

We might say that this outline, in its present form, is one huge question. We need much information. We hope in the very near future to be able to secure the services of a Secretary for The Catholic Committee of the South, who would be a person competent to amass a great deal of the necessary data and information. But we do know that it will also be necessary for the different Commissions to concentrate on acquiring a certain amount of statistical information for their own Commission. But we feel that these investigations can be co-ordinated after we have received the corrected copies back. We are, therefore, anxious to hear from you if you have received a copy of this outline, and we hope that you will be able to let us know what you think about it in the very, very near future.

October 14, 1953

Miss Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N W
Washington, D C

Dear Maggie:

All praises to faithful members who send in $5.00 dues.

I am most cheerful to hear of the program with the Office Practices scheme. I am sure if you get it moving it will grow.

Here is still another pamphlet as a follow-up on the first. Any encouragement you can give it will be welcome.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures:2

Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

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MARGARET GARRITY
Social Action Department
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CONSULTANT

LINNA E. BRESETTE

October 1, 1953

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed is a check for $5.00 for my dues in the Southern Regional Council. I hope that brings me back in good standing but if it is not enough please let me know. I was sorry you were not at the Cleveland Meeting of the NAIRO last week but look forward to seeing you in Minneapolis. They have arranged a meeting space for the Resolutions Committee out there and as soon as I get the time and place of our meeting room I shall drop you a note. Meanwhile if you can think of any good resolutions please send them on to me and I will transport them to the conference.

As far as the little project of arranging classes for government personnel goes, we are making progress gradually. At present the Negro school system here is offering free courses in OFFICE PRACTICES and we think we are working towards an adult educational program sponsored by some of the business and professional groups for any or all office workers who wish to improve their skills and advance in their work. What we had in mind is ~~placing~~ top flight secretaries, office managers and so on to explain to the people the value and importance notonly of the skills of their trade but of personal hygiene, letters, etc. The idea has been greeted with a great deal of enthusiasm so I am in hopes it will be of some benefit.

With all best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Maggie

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

MG:mos

Receipt sent 10/6/53

December second, 1953

Miss Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue N W
Washington 5, D C

Dear Maggie:

I subbed for you on the Resolutions Committee and sat on the proposed resolutions pretty hard. Various people wanted to send greetings to this and that but it seemed to me such things should be done by the body itself rather than via resolutions.

I had a pleasant visit with Father Vincent O'Connell who kindly let me accompany him when he made a talk to several hundred seminarians thereabouts on the work of the Catholic Committee of the South.

We would-be de-segregators down here are beleaguered but the bad boys have not starved us out yet. I think they will take to using heavier ammunition before long.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

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LINNA E. BRESETTE

RECEIVED
NOV 4
Southern Regional Council

November 3, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I learned only yesterday that it is going to be impossible for me to attend the NAIRO Conference in Minnesota and I wonder if you would be good enough to take over the Resolutions Committee at the conference. It involves two things: eating dinner with the other members - Myron Schwartz, Will Maslow, Frank Baldau and Tommy Norford - Thursday evening at 5:45 to work out a set of resolutions and be available at that time for suggestions from the membership, and to present the report of the committee at the two o'clock session Friday afternoon. I am sorry that I will be unable to be there but I am sure you will do a much better job on the committee than I would.

With all best wishes and best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Maggie

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

MG:mos

125

National Catholic Welfare Conference

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NORMA ANN KRAUSE

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
REPUBLIC 7-3553

CABLE ADDRESS: ENNSEE

November 5, 1953

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I had a note from Bill Leland today telling me that in view of the changed arrangements for the Wednesday evening NAIRO program, Charlie thought the Resolutions Committee might like to plan their meeting at private dining room at the Hotel Nicollet after the reception for new members which would mean about 7:00 p.m. Meanwhile, I have written Charlie and Bill telling them that I could not be there and that I have asked you to take over the Resolutions Committee. If the time they have suggested for this meeting is not agreeable with you, would you like to write Bill and have him set it up at your convenience?

I talked with Roberta Church, who is replacing Tommy Norford at the Department of Labor, and she learned while I was in her office that she will not be able to attend the Conference either. She had already bought her tickets and was practically ready to leave when word came through changing her plans.

Please give everyone my best regards at the Conference and I am only sorry that I will not be able to see you again out there.

With all best wishes and best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Maggie

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

MG:jam

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Social Action Department
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LINNA E. BRESETTE

125

December 7, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for taking over the NAIRO Resolutions Committee and sitting on any and all resolutions. I am sure you sat much better with the people than I would have.

I had a letter from Father Maurice Shean and he tells me that he would not be surprised to see emotions splattered all over the countryside, since there seems to be an indication that some people are going to fight-for-real to keep segregation. I am counting on the two of you to keep things in line and on that basis insist to any and all comers that there is going to be no trouble in the immediate future with de-segregation taking place, I hope. Please don't prove me a total liar.

Thanks again for everything and with all good wishes for your continued success and best wishes for a Joyous Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

Maggie

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

MG:mos

November 30, 1954

Miss Margaret Carrity
3571 South Stafford Street
Fairlington, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

This confirms telephone conversation this morning. I'll stop in Washington, airplane weather permitting, about 10:00 a.m. Saturday, December 18, and will need to be a'travelling on toward Atlanta about 5:00 p.m. that day. At your service, Arlington or wherever, for the hours in between. And will bring some Answers for Action.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED
11/29/54
Southern

3571 South Stafford Street
Fairlington, Virginia

November 24, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

A happy Thanksgiving to you and all your family and thank you for all of the suggestions, help and fun you supplied me with in Boston.

Last night in Arlington, a meeting was called by some of the liberal-thinking people in the section, to discuss the possibility of circulating a petition asking that the Supreme Court decision be upheld. David Scull, a good guy from the Quakers, and I opposed the plan and brought the group around to thinking more in terms of working with groups and prominent individuals in the community to aid and abet the action already taken by some of the groups. I suggested that you might be willing to stop in Arlington on your way to or from New York, December 15, and ~~discuss~~ meet with a larger gathering to help us work out our plans. As I recall in Boston, you thought your schedule would be clear so that you might make such a stop. Could you do so?

Also if you can come, would you be willing to let me know what you think of these plans: as soon as we hear from you setting a date, we will invite members of organizations, but not necessarily representing their organization at this meeting, such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Business Men's League, the religious groups - both clergy and lay, civic groups, and so on. We would hope, at least Dave Scull and I and a few more, that from the meeting with you, we could establish a Core group for Arlington at least and possibly one for the whole Northern Virginia area, taking in Alexandria, Fairfax, and Falls Church.

At the meeting we would have a pamphlet rack and have pamphlets for sale. Does S.R.C. ever ship pamphlets on consignment? If you do, would you send us about 30 "Answers for Action".

Thanks again and with every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Maggie Garrity

Dec 18. Wash

December 13, 1954

AIR MAIL

Miss Margaret Garrity
Catholic Conference on Industrial
Problems.
1312 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Maggie:

Delighted if Lee Nichols will be good enough to meet me at the airport on Saturday, December 18th. Tell him what I look like!

I will be on the plane which leaves New York at 8:45 and is due at your airport in Washington at 10:04 a.m. I will try to have the dope for him on the churches.

Your program sounds wise, useful, and pleasant.

See you in New York.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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CONSULTANT

LINNA E. BRESETTE

125

December 9, 1954

RECEIVED 12/10/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Lee Nichols of "Breakthrough on the Color Front" fame was into see me the other day. He and a colleague of his are now preparing to make an article on the Church's role in race relations. He would like to go into the background of what Churches have done in the past and what they are now doing. I suggested that you might be one of the ones he should talk with, since you have kept in touch better than almost anyone with what the Churches have done in the South. He wonders if he might meet you at the airport on Saturday the 18th and talk with you before you come to Arlington.

At present, the Arlington schedule for you is - lunch at 12:00, with about 8 or 9 of us who first got together - followed by a larger meeting at 1:30. Both the lunch and your ideas will be digested at St. Clement's Episcopal Church, 1701 Quaker Lane, Alexandria. As the meeting is shaping up now, we will have in attendance individuals ~~you~~ who have membership in the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish women's groups, B'nai Brith, PTA groups, civic associations, a few professional people - doctors, lawyers, teachers, and individuals who have worked in one capacity or another in community life. There seems to be a great deal of interest in the meeting, and I think it will act as a spearhead toward pulling ideas together and possibly give impetus to the idea of setting up a core group in the area. We will have people from Fairfax, Falls Church, Alexandria and Arlington in attendance. It will not be the most representative group, since we have whipped it up in a hurry but, I think, we can get something out of it.

Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems

Lee Nichols lives in Maryland, and has been appointed chairman of the area PTA group to work on this problem there. He is anxious to talk with you, from this point of view as well as from the other. If you don't think it is too much of an imposition on both your time and your good nature to see him prior to meeting with the rest of us, he would meet you when you get in and then take you out to our meeting. He is a good fellow and would appreciate whatever you could do.

Would you let me know what you think of this, and I will look forward to seeing you both in New York and on our own home base.

With all best wishes and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Maggie

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

MG:mos

December 23, 1954

Miss Margaret Garrity
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Maggie:

Could you send me here (or if belatedly to Emerson Smith's address at 109 West Grace Street in Richmond), three, four, five or six names of people in Northern Virginia who seem to you to be outstandingly suitable for inclusion on such a body.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

January 10, 1955

Miss Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems ✓
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

If you will read through this copy of a letter to Thomas Young at Norfolk, you will get the whole picture.

I got, with much appreciation, your kind letter sent to me at Emerson Smith's office. I really meant to ask you to name people active in your general movement in Northern Virginia, but I will supply your letter to Paul Williams, who asked to receive it, as he will be responsible as one of the members of the Nominating Committee.

My choice from the letter you sent me is Kathleen Sheehan as the designated person. So, what I would ask you to do is to send me or Paul Williams names of two or three people active in the general movement in Northern Virginia.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P. S. I had a particularly nice time in that stop in Arlington, and was most grateful for the opportunity it gave me to meet your mother and your sister and your niece, Miss Mary Ann.

January 28, 1955

Miss Margaret Garrity
Catholic Conference on Industrial
Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Maggie:

Many thanks for your letter of January 24th. Most helpful for the Virginia group.

They forgot to send with the letter the brochure put out by the NCCW. If it's coming separately, it will. If it still sits in Washington, please hook it and send it on to me. Would like to see it.

Hope to see you when I am in Washington next Friday, February 4th, in the custody of a meeting the NAACP has at American University in the daytime and in the nighttime at the Metropolitan Baptist Church, 1225 "R" Street, N. W., where I have to make a speech to NAACP youth at 8:00 p.m. But be thou home with thy family at 8:00 on Friday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems

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WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

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MARGARET GARRITY
Social Action Department
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Washington, D. C.

CONSULTANT

LINNA E. BRESETTE

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JAN 28 1955

January 24, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Attached is a copy of a letter which I am sending to Paul Williams on recommendations of people in the North Virginia area. They are interested in the problems of desegregation, have through their present and past activities an awareness of the thinking of people in several groups, and to my way of thinking have a sound approach in that they recognize the differences in population, background, school facilities, etc. between the various counties in the state.

Attached is a copy of the brochure put out by the National Council of Catholic Women which was sent to the Bishops of the United States, plus all the parishes where an organization is affiliated with N.C.C.W. We hope to follow this up with additional material, if sufficient requests are received or at least to follow it up when the Decree is handed down.

Would you please let me know what you think of this approach and what you would suggest for a future brochure.

With all best wishes and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Maggie

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

MG:mos
Encs.

February 21, 1955

Miss Margaret Garrity
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Nice of you to praise Changing Patterns in the New South. I send you four more, hoping that you can arrange for their review and notice.

I have asked my able assistant, Mrs. Grace Hamilton, to represent the Southern Regional Council at the gathering of the Civil Liberties Clearing House. Wish I could get there also, but I can't. If you will be friendly to her, I will be grateful. I think I would enjoy a side session with you and Irene Osborne more than the sure enough meetings.

I shall be in Richmond tomorrow and will see you there.

Fifty copies, Answers for Action heading toward you on consignment.*

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

*Miss Garrity:

Dr. Mitchell is bringing these to the Richmond meeting.

EAB

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Social Action Department
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CONSULTANT

LINNA E. BRESETTE

February 18, 1955

FEB 21 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I got a copy of the pamphlet and you are right, it is a honey. As soon as we get some idea as to our financial standing in the clearing house, we will place an order with you for some copies. Among other things, what we plan to do is establish libraries (pasteboard box with pamphlet material in it) in schools, churches, public libraries and so on. Certainly your pamphlet, "Changing Patterns in the New South" will be included. Meanwhile, if you have sufficient copies for publicity purposes on hand that you could send me three or four more, I could place them for review with the National Council of Catholic Women, the state office of the League of Women Voters, which is well underway in its study program, the state chapter of the AAUW and so on.

I do hope you will be able to accept the invitation to be on the program of the Clearing House this spring. It would be helpful to all of us to have you on the panal and Irene Osborne and I would enjoy the opportunity of having a short beer with you.

Should you be attending the meeting in Richmond on the 22nd, I will see you then. I was most sorry to have missed you when you were here in town but I was home sick at the time.

With all best wishes and best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Maggie

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

MG:etl

P. S. Could you send us fifty more copies of "Answers for Action" to use in our local group here. If you can send them on consignment to Mrs. Barbara Marx, 6897 North Washington Boulevard, Arlington 13, Virginia. We would all appreciate it.

February 23, 1955

Miss Margaret Garrity
Catholic Conference on
Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Missed you yesterday. All went beautifully. Will write in detail when moment allows.

I carried up fifty Answers for Action, and mailed them to you from Richmond for you to give to Miss Marx. Please do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 25, 1955

Miss Margaret Carrity
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Some further report on the Virginia meeting.

They invited forty-nine. About thirty-one or two said that they would serve. Twenty or so came to the luncheon, plus a few others from here, or people who had been on the Nominating Committee. No empty chairs at the lunch table!

Excellent attendance from distant points in the state: Norfolk, Fredericksburg, Ashland, Lynchburg, and Danville. Richmond delegation not unduly heavy. The A.F. of L. man came, though he hadn't yet cleared permission to be in the group. The C.I.O. man was out of town -- Ted DuCuennois. Well rounded group who had accepted membership. Church leaders valuably known among the Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, and the 'Piscolopes. Bishop Hodges and Monseigneur Flaherty helpfully and pleasantly participating. Parsons a'plenty, white and Negro. Mrs Boyle down from Charlottesville crowned with SEP laurels.

Paul Williams had an author in town and couldn't be at the meeting, but I talked with him afterwards. Our man, C. H. Parrish, from Kentucky, set the tenor of the meeting -- none of our problems were beyond solution by people meeting and working together in simple equality.

They unanimously resolved themselves into a Virginia Council on Human Relations. They elected Reverend W. Carroll Brooke of Staunton temporary chairman. They named three committees -- one on By-Laws, of which Mr. Roland D. Ealey of Richmond is chairman, one on Personnel, of which Dr. J. Earl Moreland of Ashland is chairman, and one on Nominations of which Mr. T. H. Henderson of Richmond is chairman. Monseigneur Flaherty is a member of the Nominating Committee.

Lunch was over and everybody had gone by 12:32 p.m. I call that expeditious business.

So far as I know, the next time I get to Washington is April 13th, when I am speaking for something called the Associated Church Press, which is having a Convention in that city.

By the way, the prognosis on action out of the Virginia Council on Human Relations was "after Lent."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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LINNA E. BRESETTE

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February 23, 1955

FEB 24 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I was most sorry to miss the meeting at Richmond yesterday. At the last minute the ride which I had been promised failed to come through. It was then too late for train, plane or bus. All in all I messed up on it. I am particularly sorry for the inconvenience I caused you over the pamphlets you had brought. And I'm sorry not to have been on hand to help out. Could you let me know how things went? // she should get your letter today. Ed

We will not only be friendly to Mrs. Hamilton when she appears for the Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference, we will insist she pay fitting homage to St. Patrick between sessions. That his feast day comes mid-Lent is certainly not one of his lesser virtues.

Again please forgive me for yesterday. Anything I can do to further the work, I will.

Sincerely yours,

Maggie

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

March 22, 1955

Miss Margaret Garrity
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Somebody ought to make available to the whole South the experiences after the first year of those parochial schools in Southern and border locations which have been put together. Come about May, you will have had the whole school year of it. I think New South is an organ suitable for carrying the story. It will be seen and noted by many people who can benefit from the example.

The story ought to be a careful appraisal, putting in the rough spots as well as the smooth. Disguise locations if you want, but the kinds of events should be detailed.

I do think it would be mighty nice if NCWC or any other appropriate body would authorize you or whoever to do the job. I would particularly treasure an article with you for the author, but the main thing I want is an article that will let the whole South get the advantage of Catholic experiences.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: GTH
HCF

April 21, 1955

TO: HCF

Margaret Garrity in Washington told me that it would not be possible for her to make the survey of Catholic schools. It was suggested that we attempt to get Father Foley at Spring Hill, or Father Shean to do this.

GSM/eab

June 21, 1955

Miss Margaret Garrity
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Maggie:

I am delighted with your letter to Dan Dodson!

I don't doubt you and I could cook up a plan about Northern Virginia if we could get together. I am to be at a Workshop at Howard University in the custody of one Paul Cooke from 9:00 a.m. daylight time Friday, June 24th until about 2:30 that afternoon. And I take a plane out of Washington at 6:50 p.m. June 24th.

I am to spend the night of June 23rd, or what is left of it after 10:00 p.m., at the Cosmos Club.

If you can come out to Howard any part of the forenoon of the 24th, that fixes it. If you can't, what do you say to leaving a note for me around telephone wires at the Cosmos Club and we could meet Friday afternoon when and where you might say.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

JUN 13 1955

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Social Action Department
National Catholic Welfare Conference
Washington, D. C.

CONSULTANT

LINNA E. BRESETTE

June 10, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Attached is a copy of the letter I sent to Don Dodson in regard to the luncheon meeting on Tuesday in New York City. You may recall that when you were in Arlington in December I discussed with you then the fact that Ed Lucas had tried to establish just such an arrangement in Washington, more or less in competition to our local National Civil Liberties Clearing House. When he failed here, he apparently went to New York, and the monthly luncheon meetings up there are the results of his activity.

The last meeting of the Virginia Council on Human Relations established our organization for us and I hope it will soon be able to get underway. Since in Virginia our state legislature will in all probability hold a special session very shortly to wipe out our compulsory school laws and set up school registration on the local level directly with the school board so that the board itself will assign the children to schools on the basis of education, health and community welfare, do you think it advisable for us to spend a little time real fast discovering what actions can be taken legally within the state so that we can notify local communities of such possibilities? The confusion in north Virginia on what can and cannot be done under the May 31 decision and possible state action is great.

The little group that we established up here after your visit is now getting out factual information on the schools in the various areas and we have been holding meetings with small groups of citizens to discuss the local problems in Fairfax County. Phil Lerman of ADL, Irene Osborne and I have already worked with one segment of the Fairfax group and, in turn, they have set up additional small meetings to discuss possible future action. I have hopes that it will work out fairly well.

With all best wishes and best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Maggie

Margaret Garrity

MG:jam

June 10, 1955

Mr. Dan W. Dodson, Director
Center for Community and Field Services
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Dan:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 27 advising me of the luncheon meeting at the Faculty Club at New York University next Tuesday. You will recall that I wrote you after the last meeting questioning the advisability of establishing a national agency group concerned with desegregation. My feeling then was that the national agencies are, through already established channels, exchanging ideas on the program of desegregation. Since Propositions 1, 2, 3 and 4 which were enclosed in your letter offer a procedural plan but no programatic plan, I can only assume that the program will in no way add to the work we are already doing. For that reason I could not take the time nor the money to attend monthly luncheon meetings in New York to discuss what we should be doing in the South.

For your consideration, I would suggest to you that in my opinion the only way the problem of desegregation in the South will be solved is by the local people working at the local level. It does seem to me that national organizations could better spend their time activating their local membership in Mississippi than discussing the problems of Mississippi in New York City.

With all best regards and sincere good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

MG:jam

National Catholic Welfare Conference

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1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
REPUBLIC 7-3553

CABLE ADDRESS: ENNSEE

June 22, 1955

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter which came today. I'd love to see you Friday after 2:30 if its agreeable with you. Since you'd head in the general direction of my office from Harvard to the airport, we could meet here — or if you prefer sipping iced tea or a reasonable facsimilie thereof, we could meet elsewhere. Would it be convenient for you to call me so we could work out something. Phil Larman, who's been coming out to Fairfax County to little meetings we've arranged, wanted like to meet with us for this discussion if that is agreeable with you. He'll be at Harvard Friday morning and if possible, I'll try to get there, too.

Sincerely,
Margaret

May 16, 1958

Mr. Lloyd David
Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Lloyd:

Thanks for your letter of the 14th inviting me to participate in the Catholic Interracial Council's workship. I will be happy to do so and have entered the dates of August 29, 30, and 31 on my appointment calendar.

I am thankful you can cover my expenses for we have a pretty stringent rule that all non-Southern travel be not at SRC expense.

I look forward to seeing you again and participating in this important workshop. We sadly miss the Catholic Committee of the South.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
(Dictated by Mr. Routh, signed in his absence)

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21 WEST SUPERIOR STREET ✣ CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS ✣ DElaware 7-7776-79

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LUCIA MOYADO

May 14, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

For the past year and a half representatives of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York and the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago have been making plans for a national conference of Catholics active in the field of race relations in the United States. Cardinal Stritch kindly granted permission for such a conference to take place in Chicago on August 29th, 30th and 31st of this year.

The heart of the conference as now structured will be Commissions dealing with specific problem areas: schools, health, housing, parochial life and employment. Each Commission will have one chairman, a secretary and three members. It will be the responsibility of the Commissions to eventually produce the kind of report on its particular area which can be published.

Commission sessions will operate as sort of an informal hearing. Experts (called consultants) will be invited to discuss and share with Commission members their experiences in a given area of concern. Delegates attending the conference will also be provided with ample opportunity to contribute to the deliberations of the Commissions.

We would like to invite you to be with us on August 29th, 30th and 31st of the conference if at all possible. We would like to have you meet with the Commission on "Schools" on Friday and Saturday and be our guest on Saturday evening at our conference banquet in the Edgewater Beach Hotel.

We would especially like to have you serve on a most important panel on Saturday morning, August 30th at 10 a.m. The panel will discuss the subject: "Effective Race Relations - its ways and means". Chairman of the panel will be Father Thomas Harte, C.Ss.R. of Catholic University. Members of the panel will include:

-Dr. John J. Kane, University of Notre Dame
-Roy Wilkins, NAACP
-Dr. Max Birnbaum, American Jewish Committee

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We will be in a position to take care of your travel expenses and hotel accomodations.

I do hope you can be with us on this historic occasion.

Thanking you in advance for this kindness.

Gratefully,

Lloyd

Lloyd Davis

LLOYD DAVIS
Twenty-One West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
118

Catholic Interracial Council

Relig Org.

May 19, 1958

Dear Fred:

Our thanks and appreciation for your kind letter of May 16. We're really grateful to get the news that you can be with us on the occasion of our national confab in August. Thanks much. We'll be sending you additional conference info in a few weeks. John Lassoe is looking over my shoulder so I had better make this letter brief (he sends you his best). Here's hoping our national conference can do something about the Catholic Committee of the South.

All for now:

Gratefully,

Lloyd

Lloyd Davis

July 30, 1958

Mr. Lloyd Davis
Catholic Interracial Council
of Chicago
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Lloyd:

Nope, I haven't died, just been swamped with a variety of activities which have been time-consuming and attention-demanding.

I will be more than happy to discuss with Harry Golden the South today at lunch on Friday, August 29.

I am enclosing a vita sheet that contains, I suppose, the information you want.

I am also enclosing your form requesting a travel advance.

I apologize for my lack of communication. I look forward to being with you in Chicago.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
encls. vita sheet, travel advance form

HCF

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

PHONE
REctor 2-5417

NEWS SERVICE

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

SOUTH AND NATION SEEN FACING
CRUCIAL DECISION

New York, Aug. 8 - With the beginning of this new school year, the South and the nation face an important and unavoidable time of decision. This was the theme of a talk delivered here last night by Joseph P. Lyford, Public Information Officer for the Fund for the Republic, at the Catholic Interracial Forum.

Mr. Lyford, who has recently conferred with many civic leaders of the South, indicated that the decisions that will have to be made by Southerners concern not only whether desegregation will be resisted at the various levels of education, but how far they are willing to go to prevent it. Even more important, he said, is the nationwide decision as to whether some States will be allowed to nullify Federal law regarding the rights of citizens.

Among the most important elements giving comfort to the extreme segregationists, Mr. Lyford pointed to the recent overwhelming victory of Governor Faubus in Arkansas. On the other hand, he said, the alternatives to desegregation are often so extreme as to force all but the most avid segregationists to take pause. He noted as an instance of this such a city as Arlington, Virginia, whose only alternative to admitting seven or eight Negroes to its schools this Fall is to close the schools entirely. In view of the fact that few other means of education have been provided by the segregationists in the event of this possibility, there is strong resistance from those who otherwise share their ideology.

The problems and the approaches vary within each State and each City, said Mr. Lyford, but in many places there is evident a searching for a more moderate position. He further noted that while John Caspar was again at large to rally extreme elements, this was a source of embarrassment even to most segregationists. The attitude of State and Federal officials, he said, plays a crucial role in the peacable settlement of this vital issue.

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1958

August 14, 1958

Mr. Lloyd Davis, Executive Director
Catholic Interracial Council
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Lloyd:

Thanks for the check for $125.00 as a travel advance. I will arrive in Chicago Thursday, August 28th.

We will be on the lookout for any ad or story in the various papers we get here in the office. We will be happy to supply copies of them for your files. I have asked our Research Assistant to follow through on this. I have been in touch with Father Harte and Commissioner Carter regarding my participation in the conference.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF CHICAGO

21 WEST SUPERIOR STREET ✦ CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS ✦ DElaware 7-7776-79

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Office Manager
LUCIA MOYADO

MM please return for files — Lem

August 12, 1958

Hi Fred:

Please be on look out for "ad" and story etc., in any of the following if they get down your way on National Conference:

Afro-American
New Amsterdam News
Chicago Defender (national)
Pittsburgh Courier

Could use any of articles for our files.

Lloyd.

MM please follow through with those we get. FBR

FBR —

We don't subscribe to any of these, although we are going to begin Afro in the next few weeks. — I'll check it beginning then —

Chicago CIC

August 20, 1958

Panel Questions

Reverend Thomas J. Harte, C.Ss.R.
Panel Chairman

Panelists on "Effective Race Relations--Its Ways and Means" Program

Here is the list of questions I promised each of you in my last letter. Most of the questions are quite broad in scope; I shall expect each of you to limit your questions as you see fit. May I suggest that you word your answers as concisely as possible in order to conserve time. You will almost certainly have an opportunity to elaborate further on your ideas in the open forum session.

1. What should be the major objectives of the Catholic inter-racial apostolate, both personal and organized, for the next ten-year period?

2. What are the principal obstacles which can be expected to impede achievement of improved inter-racial relations?

3. What specific contributions to improved race relations should we expect from organized religion, and more particularly from the Catholic Church and Catholic organizations, exclusive of the Catholic Inter-Racial Councils?

4. What specific contributions in this area should we expect from (a) the Federal Government and its agencies; (b) state and local governments; and (c) local citizens' associations.

5. How can the Catholic Inter-Racial Councils be made to function more effectively?

6. Does the massive resistance in the South to the Supreme Court decision mean that law without previous community organization and education will create insoluble problems?

7. How shall effective race relations be conducted in the North without increasing centers of resistance there which may make common cause with Southern resists?

8. How can we deal with inter-religious problems which arise out of the quest for inter-racial justice?

9. How can one increase motivation for upward mobility among disadvantaged racial groups?

Thank you again for your splendid co-operation. I shall be happy to discuss changes or modifications in question wording at the Chicago meeting.

T. J. H.

TJH:em

August 21, 1958

Mr. Lloyd Davis, Executive Director
Catholic Interracial Council
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Davis:

Since I received your check for my travel expense to Chicago I find that my summer tour of duty with the Southern Regional Council will extend through the middle of September. This means that I will be on loan from the Southern Regional Council during the period of the conference in Chicago. I have turned in the check you sent to SRC. The round trip fare Atlanta-Chicago is $91.52. You may send a check for the difference ($50.38) to me or directly to SRC as you prefer.

I expect to arrive in Chicago late Thursday afternoon.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP:ls

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF CHICAGO

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July 10, 1958

Dear Conference participant:

Enclosed please find "Memorandum #2" with suggestions as to lines of inquiry and discussion in the Commission meetings at the First National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Also please note the "sheet" requesting autobiographical information. Would you return this to us in the envelope provided just as soon as possible.

Finally, some participants who require transportation assistance if not returned the "application" requesting such aid. We have provided a second application which can also be returned in the envelope provided.

We would like to know the arrival time of our participants.

Again, our thanks for your help and assistance.

Sincerely,

Lloyd Davis

Lloyd Davis

Mr. Lloyd

Dear Mr. Davis

Since I received your check for my ~~expenses~~ travel expense to Chicago I find that my summer tour of duty with the Southern Regional Council will extend through the middle of September. This means that I will be on loan from the Southern Regional Council during the period of the conference in Chicago. I have turned in the check ~~to SRC~~ you sent to SRC. ~~You may send the difference~~ The round trip fare Atlanta-Chicago is $ 91.52, you may send the check for the difference ($50.38) to me or directly to SRC, as you prefer.

I expect to arrive in Chicago late Thursday afternoon.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish

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NEWS LETTER

Published Monthly By The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

21 West Superior Street - Chicago 10, Illinois - Phone Delaware 7-7776

Vol. 5, No. 3 118 August, 1958

CHICAGO CIC TO HOST NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE IN AUGUST

The first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice will take place in Chicago at Loyola University and Mundelein College, August 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st.

Delegates from 35 Catholic Interracial Councils across the country along with representatives from leading Catholic lay organizations will be on hand to exchange information, evaluate the current climate of race relations in the United States and to project plans for the positive and constructive promotion of more harmonious relations among the various racial groups.

Keynote speaker of the conference will be the Reverend John LaFarge, S.J., former editor of the Catholic magazine "America," and founder of the Catholic Interracial Council movement in America.

Four special Commissions will study specific race relations problems in the area of **schools, employment, parochial and institutional life and housing.** Experts from national intergroup relations agencies like the Southern Regional Council, National Urban League, National Congress of American Indians, National League for nursing, American Jewish Committee, National Association for Advancement of Colored Peoples, Intergroup Relations Division, Federal Housing Administration and others, will serve as resource consultants to the various conference workshops and Commission sessions.

CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS

*MASS each morning at 8 a.m. in beautiful Madonna Della Strada Chapel.

*Delegates' reception Thursday, August 28, 8:30 p.m., Loyola Hall.

*Major addresses on Friday, August 29th:

Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. (keynote)

Rev. J. Kenealy, S.J., School of Law, Loyola University, New Orleans, La.

AIMS OF CONFERENCE

Rev. John LaFarge, S.J.

"The purpose of this National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is positive and constructive. The Catholic Interracial Councils who will be meeting for the first time in their history, aim to affirm with the utmost clarity Christian teachings on just and charitable relations between the various racial groups in our national community, and to deliberate on ways and means for applying these teachings to the urgent problems of our day.

"The Councils believe that nothing is gained by avoiding issues and pretending to ignore them. Rather, every effort should be made to show the pertinence to present-day conditions of the Church's universal mission, and her sublime doctrine of the unity of all peoples and races in the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ, as well as her teachings on natural human unity and its corollaries in the field of the natural law and natural human rights.

"The problems in question result inevitably from the rapid population changes taking place in our cities, our neighborhoods, our parishes and countrysides. They are only part of a much wider issue touching the situation of our country itself in a changing world, and in the long run our national security.

(Continued on page 2)

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN

Housing

Dennis Clark, Commission of Human Relations, Philadelphia.

Employment

Dr. Paul Mundy, Loyola University, Chicago.

Schools

Dr. John J. O'Connor, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

Parochial and Institutional Life

Emanuel A. Romero, Vice President, CIC, New York.

LUNCHEON DISCUSSIONS TO BE FEATURED AT CONFERENCE

"The South Today" and the **"Role of a Metropolitan Police Department in the Promotion of Intergroup Relations,"** will be topics of discussion on Friday, August 29th at 12 noon and again on Saturday, August 30th. Featured in the discussion of the **"South Today"** will be: Elmer A. Carter, New York, Harry Golden, Charlotte, North Carolina, and Fred Routh, Atlanta, Georgia

OUTLINE AIMS OF NATIONAL CONFAB

(Continued from page 1)

"The Councils are convinced that over and above the clouded horizon of these current problems shines the light of a great opportunity that every racial group in this country can and should do its share in joining to build a stronger community, whether it be the local neighborhood, the city or the nation, or the religious community of the parish, and a stronger position for the free world in its combat with the deadly enemy, communism. Experience has confirmed them in this belief, and they pray that out of this Conference may come new strength and light in bringing the teachings of **Our Lord Jesus Christ** to bear upon a divided world."

SOUTH, WEST COAST TO BE WELL REPRESENTED AT TOP CONFERENCE

Any conference without representation from America's South and Far West areas would be far less than national in scope. These areas will be well represented at the Conference in August. Aside from delegates, Conference consultants, Commission members, and speakers include the following distinguished persons: **William Osborn**, St. Joseph's College, Maryland; **Loretta Butler**, New Orleans; **Dr. Euphemia L. Haynes**, Washington, D. C.; **Dr. James H. Kirk**, Loyola University, Los Angeles, California; **Rev. Raymond Bernard, S.J.**, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri; **Dr. Charles H. Parrish**, Louisville, Kentucky; **Brother Gerald Schnepp, S.M.**, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas; **Rev. Elmer Powell**, Bay St. Louis, Mississippi; **Rt. Rev. Msgr. Hugh A. Dolan**, Greensboro, North Carolina; **William H. Gremley**, Kansas City, Missouri; **Helen Burke**, Denver, Colorado; **Terry Francois**, San Francisco, California; **Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. Tobin, S.T.D.**, Portland, Oregon; **Rev. Robert Guste**, New Orleans; **Rt. Rev. Msgr. F. N. Pitt**, Louisville, Kentucky, and others. On hand will also be: **Sister Mary Yolande, O.S.F.**, St. Teresa's College, Winona, Minnesota; **Sister Maria Augusta, S.N.D.**, Boston, Mass.; **Lawrence W. Pierce**, Brooklyn, New York; **Fred W. Fries**, Indianapolis, Indiana, **Rev. Franklyn J. Kennedy**, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; **Rev. John F. Finnegan**, Detroit, Michigan, and **Morris Milgram**, Princeton, New Jersey. Observers will be on hand from Omaha, Nebraska, and Spokane, Washington, South Dakota, Kansas, Oklahoma.

SIGN 3 FOR CIC
(Membership Reminder)

Delegate's Package Deal

$25 per person (Includes registration, room and board, banquet and reception.)

Individual Prices

Board: $2 per night

Registration: $2

Banquet: $6

Meals: Breakfast $1.00, Lunch $1.25, and Dinner $1.50

"MAKING THE CONFERENCE ROUNDS"

Governor **Orville Freeman** of Minnesota and **John L. Yancey** of Chicago, will be the principal speakers at the official banquet of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, on Saturday evening in the Grand Ballroom of the Edgewater Beach Hotel. Delegates and guests will be welcomed by Governor **William G. Stratton** of Illinois and Mayor **Richard J. Daley** of Chicago. The banquet will get under way at 6:30 p.m. Banquet tickets may be secured from the CIC office at 21 West Superior Street. Tickets are selling for $6 per person.

The first CIC delegation to register—**Brooklyn** CIC, under the leadership of **Lawrence W. Pierce**, Assistant District Attorney for the County of Kings. **Rev. Patrick J. Molloy**, Chaplain of the CIC of St. Louis, reports that they are sending a delegation of 18. **Rev. Charles F. Brady**, Chaplain of the Syracuse, New York, CIC, reports that their delegation will number 16. One of the newer CIC units to register for the conference—**Buffalo**, New York.

Elder statesmen of the Chicago CIC to attend the conference banquet: **Augustine J. Bowe, Judge Roger J. Kiley, George D. Kells, John L. Yancey, Cassius J. Foster** (former member of the Federated Colored Catholics of America back in the 1929's), and **Mrs. Thomas J. Crowe**, wife of the late Thomas J. Crowe, first President of the Chicago CIC. Attending the banquet will also be CIC past Presidents **Thomas Webb Sexton** and **Edward M. Kralovec, Jr.**

George K. Hunton, affectionately known as "Mr. CIC," will be in Chicago in early August to help direct conference plans. Expected to attend the conference **Very Rev. Msgr. George C. Higgins**, Director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Business and corporate leaders participating in the conference include: **William J. Stebler**, President, General American Transportation Corporation, and **James C. Worthy**, Vice President, Sears, Roebuck and Company.

(Continued on page 4)

CLIP AND MAIL

CIC of Chicago
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Register me as a participant in the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Enclosed please find check to cover cost.

(Check) .....registration .....room

.....meals .....banquet.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

PHONE.....COMMENTS.....

PICTORIAL HIGHLIGHTS

THOSE LAST MINUTE DETAILS. Putting the finishing touches on CIC's "BIG SHOW" (left to right): Comic, **Dick Shawn**; Narrator-producer, **Norman Ross.** Production Advisor **Dave McElroy**, and Announcer, **Ed Grennan.** The show which featured Danny Thomas, Damita Jo, Duke Ellington and Henry Brandon and his Chez Paree Orchestra, played to a capacity house. Chicago critics hailed the show as the greatest benefit ever presented in Chicago.

"DINE WITH DANNY DINNER ELOQUENT AFFAIR." Just prior to opening curtain of the Big Show, Danny Thomas entertained benefit benefactors in the Imperial Suite of the Conrad Hilton Hotel. Shown congratulating Danny on the success of the benefit, **Mrs. Frank J. Lewis** and **Robert Weaver**, honor student at St. George High School. Mrs. Robert Elson and Mrs. Charles Comiskey were Co-Chairmen of the "Dine with Danny" Dinner.

1958 "BIG SHOW" A SMASHING SUCCESS

Ask anyone attending CIC's 1958 "BIG SHOW" and they'll tell you that it was a smashing success. The talent included the biggest names in show business—the capacity audience provided each and every act with the best kind of reception—the net proceeds will keep CIC in business for a while longer and new friends won by the Council are beyond measure. Support given the benefit by the owners of the Black Orchid, Chez Paree, The Blue Note, not to mention the press, radio and television medians, the Chicago Police Department, Park District Police, Courtesy Ford, Theatre Authority, Inc., Musicians Protective Union and the Metropolitan Funeral Parlors, Inc., goes without saying—**was simply great!**

NOT BAD FOR A BEGINNER. **Mrs. Clifford J. Campbell,** who Co-Chaired the Benefit Committee with **Mrs. Patrick C. Lynch,** is told that her efforts were not bad for a beginner. This was Mrs. Campbell and Mrs. Lynch's first large scale benefit. (Left to right): **Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr.,** CIC President, **Danny Thomas,** and CIC Advisory Board member, **Charles A. Comiskey.** Members of the Benefit Committee accorded Mrs. J. Goodsell Jacobs and Mrs. Bernard T. Peele special honors for their outstanding ticket promotion activity.

AN OUTPOURING OF DISTINGUISHED GUESTS. Among the many prominent Chicago civic leaders attending the "Big Show" (left to right): **Edward M. Kralovec, Jr., Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell,** Council Chaplain, (standing) **Msgr. W. E. Croarkin,** Chaplain, South Cook County Chapter of CIC, **Danny Thomas, Mrs. Sydney P. Brown** and **Mr. Sydney P. Brown.** Others at the Benefit included: **Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Ryan, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin S. Adamowski, Mr. and Mrs. David B. Wallerstein.**

The Quality of Cardinal Stritch's Greatness

"His Mission: To Persuade Lay People That They ARE The Church"

By DANIEL M. CANTWELL

The last public meeting that Cardinal Stritch attended was, as far as I know, a small dinner with members of the Catholic Council on Working Life three days before he left for Rome. This more than anything else points up what, I believe, is the unique greatness of the man whom God has taken home.

Since his death I have read news stories saying that he was known as the Cardinal of charity. Personally I never heard that title used of him. I don't doubt that it might have been—and with justification. I know that he gave away whatever was given to him—and that he stored up nothing for himself.

But the word "charity" has a peculiar sound. Applied to him it doesn't fit. It ought to mean love—but it usually doesn't. Or—at best—it means love expressing itself in welfare and benevolence.

A Visit at a Busy Time

This is not the kind of love or charity for which Cardinal Stritch deserves to be remembered. He ought to be remembered for the kind of charity and love expressed in coming to our dinner meeting. He came despite the fact that he had cancelled many appointments those final busy weeks, and despite the exhaustion that was even then showing on him.

Why, then, did he come? From many conversations with him over the years, I know he came because he had made it his mission to convince the laity that they do not merely belong to the Church, but that they are the Church. That as he periodically ordained and commissioned priests to do their indispensable work in the Church—as indeed he did early in the morning of our dinner—so he ordained and commissioned lay men and women to a work unique in its own way, and equally indispensable.

He approached the laity, not as one dispensing welfare—even if supernatural welfare through the sacraments—but as one seeking co-laborers. "I need you," he would say, "I depend upon you." And he meant it.

Eye on Both Worlds

To him the work of the Church was not confined to the sacristy or sanctuary—nor was it concerned only with eternity. The work of the Church also embraced the universal welfare and progress of temporal society.

Cardinal Stritch always made clear what the Church's goal was within society. It was related to human dignity and human rights, to social justice and social peace. No one ever spoke more frequently or more eloquently of human rights than he did.

He was at pains to make clear that the Church is concerned about labor unions, housing conferences, interracial councils, and world organization in order to promote and preserve human rights and the general welfare, and not to enhance her institutional power, or to promote her sons and daughters to positions of power.

Indeed, he made clear that their duty, when in power, was to the common good of society. To promote the common good is to do the work of the Church—and to give glory to God who in making us made us members of human society.

Laity Not Only 'Assistants'

He was, then, the Cardinal of charity, but of that magnanimous spirit which aimed at helping people find themselves, their grandeur, their true potentialities, their true place in the life of the Church and of human society. Under him the laity found their dignity recognized—and their minds and energies challenged.

He called upon them not just to assist himself and his priests, but he gave himself and his priests to assisting them. Nowhere else in the United States have so many lay men and women organized themselves to bring the ennobling sanctifying, and genuinely humanizing spirit of Christ to human affairs as in Chicago. And nowhere else have so many priests been allowed and encouraged to act as assistants to the laity in their work for Christ within the conditions and traditions of the U. S.

It would not honor Cardinal Stritch to pretend that anything more than a beginning has been made. Many Protestants and Jews still think that the Church is interested only in herself, her own power; that she aims at intellectual and cultural regimentation; that she is not concerned with people, their freedom, their ideas, their rights.

Only a beginning has been made. Within the Church itself, large obstacles must still be overcome. One is the apathy, even hostility, of those lay men and women who, because they are themselves satisfied with being passive, inactive members of the Church, look unfavorably upon other lay people who appear to be "too zealous," too active, too concerned.

The other is the impatience of priests who by their long training and education are admittedly more capable than the laity in many fields, and so tend to underestimate the unique talents and capacities of the laity. So the lay people are sometimes checkmated, and the legitimate spheres of their energies usurped. Frustrated, their energies tend to secularize themselves, and to divorce themselves from vital contact with Christ and the Church.

By uncanny native instincts and by the grace of God, Cardinal Stritch knew the importance of freedom for the children of God. He came by this wisdom, I suspect, by his passionate love for America, and by an even more passionate love for the Gospels and the writings of Paul and John. He knew that the Church must be free from identification with any particular culture or set of social schemes.

He knew that at the same time the Church must free itself from the tyranny of those who even in the name of the Gospel would predetermine what is the best way to apply the spirit of Christ to contemporary society in any age.

The Cardinal of Charity loved his people—loved them so much he wanted them responsible and free. This was his legacy to us, and to history.

Reprinted from the August, 1958, edition of "WORK" published by the Catholic Council on Working Life, 21 West Superior Street, Chicago 10, Illinois.

ALVERNIA HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS CONTRIBUTE $1500 TOWARD CIC SCHOLARSHIP FUND

A young man, Paul Gregory Foster, age 17, was in to visit with members of CIC's staff this month. Ordinarily this is not a particularly significant occurrence, yet this particular visit by this particular young man was most significant.

Paul Gregory Foster was the very first student to receive a CIC scholarship more than four years ago. The scholarship which Paul received made it possible for him to complete four years of high school at St. Ignatius. Paul, one of eleven children, would not have been able to continue his Catholic education without the assist of the Council's scholarship program.

> **.."There is justice to be done and charity must even lead us beyond the mere requisites of justice."**
>
> SAMUEL CARDINAL STRITCH

From its humble beginning in 1954 with financial assistance from Mr. and Mrs. John A. Sullivan, CIC's Scholarship Program has grown to include some 28 students, presently attending schools in the Archdiocese of Chicago. This month the program received its greatest boost to date. Students at Alvernia High School (operated by the Sisters of St. Francis), presented the Council with a check in the amount of $1,500, to be used to provide scholarships for needy minority group students.

For the record, let it be said, that no one will ever need pose the question: "Am I my brother's keeper," to these young followers of Christ, at Alvernia High School. Their charity should prove to be an inspiration to young and old alike.

Finally, for those interested in how Alvernia students managed to raise such a large amount of money, it should be pointed out that they did so simply by organizing a "penny-a-day fund." Each student was given the opportunity to contribute one penny a day toward the scholarship program. A large jar with a small sign was placed in the lunch room. There was no pressure—no speeches—no campaigns with slogans—no prizes—these gimmicks were not needed.

We salute the students of Alvernia High School and we salute their teachers and parents who have so ably helped them to understand the meaning of the Mystical Body of Christ.

⊗ MARK YOUR CALENDAR

The 1958 Communion Mass and Breakfast of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago will take place on Sunday, October 26th. Mass will be celebrated at 9 a.m. in St. Peter's Church, and breakfast will be served in the Terrace Casino of the Morrison Hotel. Presentations of the Council's 1958 Thomas J. Crowe Interracial Justice Awards will be made at the Breakfast. Newly elected Council officers and board members will also be presented to those in attendance.

Testimonial Honors Retiring Chairman of CIC's Schools Committee

Brother Jude Aloysius, F.S.C., Principal of St. George High School in Evanston for the past six years, is retiring from his post as Chairman of the Council's Schools Committee. Brother Jude is also leaving St. George High School in order to continue work on his Ph.D. in education at Loyola University.

One of the most ardent supporters of CIC, Brother Jude was given a testimonial last month by members of the High School Division. The students wanted to honor Brother in their own special way and so first attended Mass in Holy Name Cathedral, the celebrant of which was Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell, Brother Jude's brother, and later partook of breakfast in Younker's Restaurant. Speaker of the morning was Francis W. McPeek, Executive Director, Chicago Commission on Human Relations. More than 150 students and faculty members attended the Brother Jude Testimonial.

HONOR BROTHER JUDE. Leaders of CIC's High School Division, shown attending Testimonial Breakfast in honor of Brother Jude Aloysius, retiring Chairman of the Council's Schools Committee.

BULLETIN BOARD

The South Cook County Chapter of CIC came up with a most successful public meeting in Park Forest last month. Individual speakers discussed such topics as: "Hopes and Fears of the White," "Hopes and Fears of the Negro," "Hopes and Fears of the Mexican," and "Morality and Racial Prejudice." The South Cook County Chapter of CIC hopes, through forums like the one held in Park Forest, to provide a meeting groud where members of the majority group and the minority group can exchange points of view on vital issues of the day in a spirit of friendship and understanding. Additional educational programs are being planned for this fall.

THREE FOUNDATIONS PROVIDE FINANCIAL AID FOR HISTORIC MEET

Three Foundations have joined in providing financial assistance for the first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. These Foundations include: **The Field Foundation, Inc., The Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation, Inc.** and **The Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation, Inc.** Funds contributed by these foundations will be used to defray conference administrative costs, assist with the transportation expenses of speakers, Commission members, panel members and consultants, and to assure adequate conference representation in particular from among Catholic lay leaders in the South, West and Far West areas of the United States.

"MAKING THE CONFERENCE ROUNDS"

(Continued from page 2)

Business and corporate leaders participating in the conference include: **William G. Caples**, Vice President, Inland Steel Company; **John G. Sevcik**, President, Burton-Dixie Corporation; **Arthur Rubloff**, Chairman of Board, Arthur Rubloff and Company; **Philip M. Klutznick**, Park Forest, Illinois; **Emil J. Seliga**, President, Talman Federal Savings and Loan Association, and **John Ducey**, Real Estate Research Corporation.

Ave Maria Magazine, is presenting a full-page advance write-up on the conference without charge.

John V. P. Lassoe, Jr., Executive Secretary of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials will join NAIRO President **Arnold Aronson** at the Chicago meet.

Top AFL-CIO leadership participating in the conference include: **James B. Carey**, President, International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, and **Joseph D. Keenan**, International Secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. **John F. Henning**, Research Director for the California State Federation of Labor will also be on hand.

Mary Dolan, Director, Chicago Friendship House, reports that Friendship House, which concludes its national study week just prior to the conference, will be well represented.

Press Activities will be coordinated by **Mrs. Robert C. McNamara, Jr.**, and **Mr. William Moloney.**

"A Christian Conscience and Interracial Justice"

A PANEL DISCUSSION

Friday, August 29th, 8 p.m., Mundelein College

Speaker: Rev. J. Kenealy, S.J., Loyola University, New Orleans

Panel: Chairman: Charles W. Pecke, Detroit
Loretta Butler, New Orleans
Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell, Chicago
Joseph Bonsignore, Matteson, Ill.
Fred W. Fries, Indianapolis, Ind.
Francis W. McPeek, Chicago

"Effective Race Relations — Methods — Techniques"

A PANEL DISCUSSION

Saturday, August 30th, 10 a.m., Mundelein College

Chairman:
Rev. Thomas Harte, C.Ss.R., Catholic University, Washington, D.C.

Panel Members:
Frederick B. Routh, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. Max Birnbaum, New York
Rev. Franklyn J. Kennedy, Milwaukee
Arnold Aronson, New York
Lawrence W. Pierce, Brooklyn

IMPRESSIVE LAY PANEL TO QUIZ LAFARGE

Keynote speaker for the first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, Father John LaFarge, S.J., will undergo questioning following his address from an impressive array of prominent Catholic lay leaders. Chairman of the panel scheduled to quiz Father LaFarge will be a life-long friend, **George K Hunton**, Executive Secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York. Members of the panel include: **Edward Marciniak**, Director, Catholic Council on Working Life, Chicago; **John McDermott**, Associate Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Philadelphia, and Treasurer, National Catholic Social Action Conference; **Percy Williams**, Assistant Regional Director, President's Committee on Government Contracts, and **William Osborn**, St. Joseph's College, Emmitsburgh, Maryland, who is completing a special study on race relations for the Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Father LaFarge will deliver his keynote address on Friday, August 29th, at 10 a.m. at Mundelein College.

Room Assignments

Plenary Sessions
Mundelein College Auditorium

Commission on Housing
Mundelein College—405
Commission on Schools
Mundelein College—607
Commission on Parochial Life
Mundelein College—402-3
Commission on Employment
Loyola Hall—Lounge
Press Headquarters—
Loyola Hall
Housing—
(Men) Loyola Hall
(Women) Mundelein College
Registration—Loyola Hall

THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF CHICAGO
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
118

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September 2, 1958

Mr. Lloyd Davis, Executive Director
Catholic Interracial Council
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Lloyd:

It was good to be with you at the first Annual Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice. I very much enjoyed participating in so worthy an enterprise.

It is my belief that this is the first big step toward the foundation of a nation-wide organization. I hope that the more progressive elements will assume the leadership of the national organization as it is formed.

My expenses were less than the travel advance you sent me. We are sending you a check for the balance. Below is an accounting of all costs involved:

air transportation	$91.52
taxicabs	8.85
car storage (Atlanta)	4.00
meals	6.50
tips	2.15
	$113.02

Travel advance	$125.00
Expenses	113.02
	$11.98

Once more, thanks for asking me and I hope you feel my participation was worth the cost.

With all good regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enc. check no. 4566

September 15, 1958

Mr. Lloyd Davis
Catholic Interracial Council
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Lloyd:

Thanks for your letter of September 9th with the kind words about my participation in the first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. I am impressed with the resolution the group adopted regarding the future of the movement.

Now as to the problem you raise. I think it would be helpful if you would call together an advisory committee of Southern clergymen and laymen to advise with CIC leadership on organizational efforts in the South. For such a committee I would suggest, among others, the following:

Father L. J. Toomey, S. J., Director
Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Father Alexander Sigur
P. O. Box 532
S.L.I. Station
Lafayette, Louisiana

Mr. Paul Williams (Knight of St. Gregory)
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Father Maurice V. Sheen (former Director, Catholic
P. O. Box 341 Committee of the South)
York, South Carolina

Bishop Joseph B. Brunini
P. O. Box 57
Jackson, Mississippi

Father Albert Foley, S. J.
Department of Social Sciences
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

I believe that a staff person working in the South should be attached to some unit of the Catholic Church or to one of its lay organizations rather than to SRC or any other non-denominational organization. SRC has worked cooperatively with the Catholic Committee of the South in the past. We would hope to establish a similar relationship with any CIC staffer. We have such a relationship at the present time with staff members of the social action agencies of the Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church (both North and South), the Southern Baptist Church, and the Methodist Church as well as the National Council of Churches and the various Jewish agencies.

You ask what such a person could do. There are endless things to be done and what he could do would depend to a considerable extent on the attitudes of the hierarchy throughout the South, the size of the budget, and the readiness of local Catholic groups to become active. One very important thing would be the creation of local CIC's in every major Southern city. This would be a difficult and time-consuming task but it is not impossible.

You ask: "What kind of Catholic support does SRC need?" I need hardly say that we need financial support from every friendly source! SRC enjoys good support in terms of participation of the clergy. On our regional board we have Bishop Joseph Brunini of Mississippi and Father Alexander Sigur of Louisiana. In several of the state organizations, Catholic clergymen serve on state boards. It would be helpful if in each of the Southern states Catholic clergymen could participate as Board members with the state Councils. Beyond this, we of course desire to maintain the understanding friendship of the Church, and we hope to so conduct this organization that the Church will continue to participate in and support our efforts.

Rambling though they are, I hope these suggestions are helpful.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

In order for the Catholic Interracial Movement to more effectively and more quickly reach its avowed goals of achieving interracial justice for all men, this conference proposes a closer unity among the various councils throughout the United States.

Toward this end we accpet the following recommendations:

An Interim Committee be appointed to study the possibility of some form of closer association of the various Catholic Interracial Councils.

The Interim Committee be composed of Father John LaFarge, honorary chairman; Mr. George Hunton; Mr. Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr.; Msgr. Daniel Cantwell; Mr. Lloyd Davis; Mr. Guichard Parris of New York; Miss Dorothy Mattingly of St. Louis; Dr. John O'Connor of Washington, D.C.; Mr. Edward Bradley of Indianapolis; Mrs. Mildred Mahoney of Boston; Mr. Charles Wexler of Detroit; Rov. Charles Brady of Syracuse; Mr. Dennis Clark of Philadelphia; Mr. Percy Steele, Jr., of San Diego; Mr. Frank Shane of Pittsburgh; Rev. Joseph Connolly of Baltimore; Rev. Franklyn Kennedy of Milwaukee; Rev. Elmer Powell, Bay St. Louis, Mississippi; Mr. William McCoy of Portland; Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F., of Catholic University; Mr. Frank Nally of Toledo, Ohio. The secretary of this committee is Mr. Mathew Ahmann of Chicago.

If possible a staff person shall be employed by the Interim Committee to help it in its work.

The staff person is further charged with the implementation of the following two points:

A. the exchange of information between the various Councils;
B. the stimulation of new CIC units and the servicing of the basic needs of these young and inexperienced Councils.

(more)

9. (continued)

A committee of the presidents, chaplains and executive directors of all the Catholic Interracial Councils in the United States be formed, and to this committee all reports from the so-called Interim Committee will be rendered.

We accept the challenge offered by Father John LaFarge to go forth with energy and devotion in assisting in the creation of fifty new Catholic Interracial Councils.

We look with favor on the benefits of national conferences, and ask the Interim Committee to report to the various Council presidents, chaplains and executive directors, on the likelihood and location of the second national conference sponsored by the Catholic Interracial Councils of the United States.

THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
OF CHICAGO
21 WEST SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILL.
118

September 19, 1958

Dear Fred:

Just few words at this point to say how much I appreciate your letter of September 1 5. This info will be of great value and I have already call some of your suggestions to the attention of Father Twomey and others down South way.

I'll be in touch with you soon. Again thanks much.

(Oh yes, those reports and resolutions are on the way.

Gratefully,

Lloyd

Lloyd Davis

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF CHICAGO

21 WEST SUPERIOR STREET ✣ CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS ✣ DElaware 7-7776-79

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September 23, 1958

Dear Mr. Routh:

I do wish time and staff would make it possible to write a personal note. Please know how grateful we are for your participation in and support of our first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. We are indeed grateful to you for helping to make this historic occasion possible.

With your continued assistance, we'll get on with the job.

Gratefully,

Lloyd Davis

Lloyd Davis, Jr.
Executive Director

LD:lm

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L

PHONE
REctor 2-5417

N E W S S E R V I C E

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

DEFIANCE OF COURT DECREE
LINKED TO RECENT BOMBINGS

Commissioner Charles Abrams
Addresses Interracial Forum

New York, 10/17/58 -- Charles Abrams, Chairman, New York State Commission against discrimination, told the Catholic Interracial Forum last night that since the rendition of the Supreme Court's decision on school integration cases, the open disrespect it has received and its "nullification" by Southern States, Southern communities have been unwittingly inspiring the spread of lawlessness. Respect for law, he said, is indivisible. When a high state official encourages disobedience to a court decree, disobedience to law becomes part of the community attitude. The feeling grows that only those laws which are liked need be complied with. Soon there is no identifiable line between what is lawful and what is not.

Referring to the recent bombings of synagogues, the Commissioner told the group that "when it becomes moral to engage in immoral disobedience of law, irrational minds in the community become the agents of destruction in pursuance of their distorted cause. Since prejudice and violence are contagious, the chain of violence soon spreads from one community to another. Those advocating disobedience of law can not escape responsibility for the wave of violence now underway."

Mr. Abrams then recommended that an intermediate agency be set up - one which could negotiate and work with school boards, using citizen groups to enforce the law.

Following his address, the Catholic Interracial Forum adopted a resolution condemning the recent bombings of synagogues in the South, a nd the prejudice and hatred behind them. (See annexed text of Resolution.)

FROM: CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
20 Vesey Street
New York, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Catholic Interracial Council Forum, following an address by Commissioner Charles Abrams, chairman of the State Commission Against Discrimination, on the subject of the recent bombings in the South, last night (THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16) adopted the following resolution:

"Americans everywhere are outraged at the sacrilegious destruction of the houses of God in our American-Jewish community. This defiance of law, in violation of our American traditions of mutual respect and fair play and of religious freedom presents an immediate challenge to community organizations and individuals who should redouble their efforts to combat intergroup prejudice, discrimination and unfriendliness, so often the forerunners of such lawless acts of violence as those committed in Atlanta, Miami, and other parts of the country.

Accessories before the fact in the Atlanta outrage are the individuals and groups that are openly resisting or, through strategem or subterfuge, defying the law of the land as defined by the United States Supreme Court in the school integration decisions. Clearly, there can be no doubt that in their attempts to curtail the civil rights of American Negroes they are not only flouting legally constituted authority, but, by their example, are giving aid and comfort to those who would defile and destroy Jewish houses of worship.

"We are confident that people of all religious persuasions will continue to condemn not only such bombings, wherever they may occur, but the prejudice and hatred behind them.

"The Catholic Interracial Council urges that the Federal, State and local authorities spare no pains to investigate thoroughly and bring to justice all organizations and individuals responsible for this outrage".

#####

C.Abrams
10/16/58

FBR
Pd
Jc
MM

EDITORIAL PAGE
Journal American
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1958 ★

The Quiet Force

IN THE heat of headlines, many of us tend to forget that beneath the turbulence of the defiance of integration in the South—and of occurrences of racial and religious animosity elsewhere—the forces of good are quietly, constantly and effectively at work. In a sense they are God's underground.

Our attention was drawn to them this time by looking over the achievements of the Catholic Interracial Councils. Their number has grown now to 36, of which 13 are in the South or Southwest. The parent group is the Catholic Interracial Council of 20 Vesey st., New York, established nearly 25 years ago by Father John La Farge, S.J., and George K. Hunton, both of whom are still happily and vigorously its leaders.

Integration in Catholic schools in the South is becoming a commonplace, but it has not been accomplished without very uncommonplace efforts. Among its notable champions have been Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans, and Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio.

The big meeting this year of the Interracial Councils was held over Labor Day weekend in Chicago, and was attended by Jewish and Protestant representatives. Mr. Hunton writes that as result of the conference he has received letters from Catholic laymen asking advice in establishing councils in Miami, Houston and Alexandria, La.

There are, of course, other groups of other faiths engaged in God's underground. Together or singly they reaffirm one's faith in America.

ADDITIONAL COPIES AVAILABLE FROM

Catholic Interracial Council
of New York
20 Vesey St., New York 7, N.Y.

SIDEGLANCES

By the Bystander

How To Promote Interracial Justice

THIS writer of the Sideglances has attended scores of conventions in his life as a priest, and sometimes is inclined to agree with those who say that the net practical results of such conventions are somewhat dubious. But during the last week of August we attended one that was different. It was the first of its kind ever held in America, and it was concerned with a topic that should be of deepest concern to all Americans. It was called the first national conference of the 36 Catholic Interracial Councils that have been formed in 36 large cities of the United States. Against the background of the racial problem in Little Rock, and with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States as yet unrendered on the appeal concerning public school integration there, the conference went about its business of trying to resolve some of the problems of interracial justice with dignity, charity, patience and humble dependence on the help of God and the cooperation of all men of good will.

Every Catholic should know something about the Catholic Interracial Councils; he should know something about how this national meeting of representatives of all the councils went about its work in Chicago; he should know how badly needed are more such councils, and how smoothly and quietly, in the midst of uproar and emotionalism, they go about the task of bringing the ideal of interracial justice into practical realization among men.

What is a Catholic Interracial Council? It is a group of Catholic white and colored citizens in any city who agree to come together once a week 1) to discuss problems connected with the relations between the races, and 2) to listen to experts in some field of human relations that involves or touches upon problems between white and colored people. To these forums and discussions, any member of the public, Catholic or not, is invited as a guest. The Councils have no collections and no dues. Thirty-six large cities of the United States now have such councils, but they are not directly affiliated in any way. Each one is a local unit, trying to bring justice and charity into race relations in the city where it oper-

Additional Copies Available From:

Catholic Interracial Council
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

ates. The parent Catholic Interracial Council is that of New York City, which was founded in 1944, and whose members offer advice and help to groups wishing to establish councils in other cities. In most cases, after a Catholic Interracial Council has been formed, the bishop or archbishop of the see involved appoints a Catholic priest as chaplain and moderator of the activities of the group.

Two giant Catholic figures are chiefly responsible for the origin and development of the Catholic Interracial Council idea. The one is Father John LaFarge, a Jesuit whose shoulders are bent under the weight of his years and his service to the Church, but whose zeal and energy are those usually associated with youth. Throughout his whole priestly life he has been a leader in the cause of interracial justice and charity, and has written or edited several books that present the basic Christian philosophy in this matter. He has been for many years the chaplain of the New York City Catholic Interracial Council. The other pioneer in the movement is George K. Hunton, who, with Father La Farge, brought the first Catholic Interracial Council into being, and who for many years has been the editor of the monthly publication called *Interracial Review*. Both Father La Farge and George Hunton have given much of their time and service to helping groups in other cities than New York to found their own Catholic Interracial Councils.

The Chicago Conference of representatives of the 36 local councils in the United States was made possible by financial grants from the Field Foundation, the Emil Schwartzhaupt Foundation, and the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation. This was really an educational conference, rather than an authoritative or legislative conference, and the grants of the three Foundations made possible the bringing to Chicago of an impressive battery of experts in business, in education, in government, in law, in religion, and in related fields, who could give the conference the benefit of long experience and sound practical advice in the matter of race relations. Some 350 delegates from New York to California, from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, were present to learn whatever could be of use to them for improving race relations in their own local areas.

SINCE the purpose of the conference was chiefly educational, its main work was done in four commissions (any one of which could be attended by any delegate to the conference and even by the public) which concentrated on particular problems of race relations. The four commissions were 1) on schools; 2) on housing; 3) on employment; 4) on parochial and institutional life. It was in these commission sessions that the experts spoken

of above were heard from. After all the testimony had been taken, the previously assigned members of the commission, five in number, drew up a list of conclusions, recommendations, guiding principles for those who would concern themselves with working for interracial justice in their local areas.

How well this worked out can be seen from the experience of the writer of these lines. He had been asked to act as secretary to the commission on housing, and as such to take down and corelate the important points in the testimony of leaders in the field of housing. For three hours at a time, on two consecutive days, the commission on housing listened to such men and women as Clifford J. Campbell, Deputy Commissioner of the Department of City Planning, Chicago; Miss Frances Levenson, executive director of the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing in New York; Dr. George W. Snowden, assistant to the Commissioner of Intergroup Relations Service of the Federal Housing Administration in Washington. Others heard were lawyers, bankers, builders, publishers, priests. Out of these many hours of tedious but important testimony certain conclusions had to be inevitably drawn.

These were some of the conclusions. 1) At the very root of neighborhood clashes over the entrance of colored families into white neighborhoods there is always prejudice — an unjustified feeling that all Negroes are in some way inferior to white people. This must be combatted by prayer, by personal charity and zeal, by community action, by the proven effectiveness of the principle behind Catholic Interracial Councils namely, that when white and colored people get to know one another, prejudices dissolve. 2) City, state and federal authorities are bound in conscience to do long-range, over-all planning for the housing needs of those who are under their jurisdiction, whenever it becomes evident that (as is the case of all big city slums) action to provide decent housing cannot or will not be taken on a private scale. They are bound especially to plan decent housing for low-income, large-family groups, which, abundant testimony revealed, are not able to find housing in an open market except in slums and ghettos. 3) Laws against discrimination in housing along lines of race and color do not destroy prejudice, but they are a powerful educating force, they are a prod to the community conscience, they support right-thinking but timid people, and sometimes they are necessary to enforce the natural law against outright injustice. Such laws, when wisely conceived, should be supported by legislators and all right-thinking people. 4) Unscrupulous real estate operators have been proved to be one of the important factors in the creation of

ghettos and the perpetuation of slums. They buy or lease run-down properties cheaply, then re-sell or re-lease at exorbitant profits. Sometimes they even promote panic-flight from neighborhoods on the part of whites for the sake of profits. Good, conscientious realtors, of whom there are many, should band together against such unethical operators. Laws should be made and enforced to drive the latter out of the real estate field.

No one at the Chicago conference believed that what was said and done there would solve any of the intricate problems of racial injustice. But all went away convinced that a long step forward had been taken by the very fact that white and colored leaders from every section of the land could sit down together, pin-point the problems, and talk and dream about and determine to work for solutions. It was often said, during the conference, that there should not be merely 36 Catholic Interracial Conferences in the United States, but that the number of such councils should be doubled and tripled. Perhaps some Catholics reading these lines, in cities where there are at present no such councils, will be moved to take steps toward forming them.

His Excellency, Bishop Hillinger of Chicago, expressed the sentiments of the hierarchy in Chicago, and of the dozen or more bishops who sent words of greeting and encouragement to the conference at the huge banquet held at the Edgewater Beach Hotel. He read a message of blessing and felicitation from the Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, to the conference. Then he said: "This blessing is from the Vicar of Christ on earth. This assures us that Christ Himself is with us, in this work for interracial justice. And if Christ is with us, who can be against us?"

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF NEW YORK

Catholic Interracial Center
20 Vesey St., New York 7, N.Y.

We invite inquiries relative to the establishment of Interracial Councils

CONFERENCES: Staff members are available to conduct group discussions on interracial justice at Council headquarters or other locations.

RESEARCH FACILITIES: Available 9:30 to 5:30 weekdays. Evenings and Saturdays by special arrangement.

WEEKLY FORUMS: Every Thursday evening throughout the year, except holydays and holidays from 6 to 7 o'clock. Speakers on all phases of race relations and social action. All welcome. Announcements mailed weekly to interested persons.

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L 1958

PHONE
REctor 2-5417

NEWS SERVICE

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

CATHOLIC PRESS REFLECTS
TIMELINESS OF US BISHOPS'
STATEMENT ON DISCRIMINATION

New York, Dec., - The wholehearted support by the Catholic press of the Bishops' 1958 statement "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience" makes it evident that interracial justice is no longer a moot point to the conscience of Catholic America. This was the theme of a talk by George K. Hunton before the Catholic Interracial Forum here last night. The speaker, an active leader in the fight for interracial justice, has been executive secretary of the New York Council and editor of Interracial Review for a quarter of a century.

Mr. Hunton stated that "while most of the annual statements of the Hierarchy of the country often appear on page 3 or 4 of the Catholic papers, the Bishops' 1958 statement on discrimination received banner headlines on the front pages of most Catholic papers in the U.S." He added that editorial comment in Catholic papers expressed joy at the vigor and directness of the statement which was described as "the latest and most important milestone in the unwavering position of the Catholic Church in the U.S. on interracial justice and brotherhood." The speaker explained that more than 40 statements from non-Catholic and Catholic, Negro and white leaders throughout the nation had been received at the offices of the New York Council. Among those who wrote were: Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, UN Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs, Hon. Wayne Morse, U.S. Senator from Oregon, A. Philip Randolph, vice-president of AFL-CIO, Roy Wilkins, National Secretary NAACP, Harold C. Fleming, Executive director, Southern Regional Council, and Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, associate professor of Psychology at the City College of New York.

All those who wrote state that the prospects for better race relations have been greatly brightened by the Bishops' statement.

In answer to questions from the audience, Mr. Hunton commented that "we of the Catholic interracial movement feel pardonable pride in the leadership of our Bishops." He praised in particular the following groups and organizations, as well as the members of the 36 Catholic Interracial Councils for helping to create the climate of opinion favorable to the Bishops' statement: The National Catholic Educational Association, National Council of Catholic Men, National Council of Catholic Women, as well as leading Catholic sociologists, educators and editors for outstanding contributions to the cause of interracial justice.

See Pg 5

NEWS LETTER

Published Monthly By The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

21 West Superior Street - Chicago 10, Illinois - Phone Delaware 7-7776

YOUR INVITATION TO AN OPEN PUBLIC FORUM

HERE WE STAND!

A PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE INTERGROUP RELATIONS PROBLEMS FACING THE PEOPLE OF CHICAGOLAND AND WHAT THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL PROPOSES TO DO ABOUT THEIR SOLUTION

Friday, March 20, 1959 7:30 pm

Crystal Room
Hotel Sherman
Randolph and Clark Streets

Admission: Free

Members of the Council's top leadership will be queried by the following distinguished members of the Press:

- Lee Blackwell - Chicago Defender
- Thomas Buck - Chicago Tribune
- David Meade - Chicago Daily News
- Fletcher Martin - Chicago Sun-Times
- Len O'Connor - NBC-TV

CATHOLIC BISHOPS SPEAK ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND THE MORAL LAW

The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago has available for distribution a four-page attractively designed flyer carrying the full text of the recent statement by the Catholic Bishops of America on racial discrimination and the moral law. Page four of the flyer carries the recently adopted Statement of Principles and Objectives of the Chicago CIC.

Price listing for Bishops' Statement

1-9 copies	$ .10 a piece	
10-99 copies.....	.07 a piece	
100-999 copies	.06 a piece	($6 per hundred)
1000 or more copies	.05 a piece	($50 per thousand)

Inquiries may be made at the CIC Office - 21 West Superior Street, Chicago 10, Illinois. Phone: Delaware 7-7776.

ANNUAL RAFFLE UNDERWAY

The annual raffle of the CIC is underway with John T. Kenna, Advisory Committee Chairman, and Edward M. Kralovec, Jr., Treasurer, at the helm. The Council's raffling off a 1959 (fully equipped) Four-Door Hard-Top "Impala" Chevrolet. Only 500 tickets are being sold on the car. Tickets may be secured from the Council's office at $25 a piece. Winners need not be present for the drawing on March 20th at the Sherman Hotel. CIC's '59 Program is dependent upon the success of this project.

RECEIVE JAMES M. YEARD BROTHERHOOD AWARD

Two members of the CIC Board have been selected to receive the 1959 James M. Yard Brotherhood Award, presented by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The recipients of the awards: Brother Jude Aloysius, F. S. C., and Thomas Gaudette.

PLANS UNDER WAY FOR "1959 BIG SHOW"

Plans for the 1959 "Big Show" of the Chicago CIC are getting underway. The target date for the benefit - Sunday Evening, May 3rd at the CIVIC OPERA HOUSE. The first names of possible talent: Johnny - Pat - Louis - Keeley - Jimmie - Dick - and four young guys from Canada!

THREE NATIONAL STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS JOINTLY SPONSORING CIC'S MID-WEST COLLEGE CONFAB

"From Complacency to Action." That's the theme of CIC's sixth annual Mid-West College Conference on Human Relations, this year being jointly co-sponsored by the National Federation of Catholic College Students, the National Student Association, and the Newman Federation of America.

The Conference is slated for Saturday, March 7th, and Sunday, March 8th. Meetings will take place at the Sheraton Hotel, 505 North Michigan Avenue. The Conference will open at 9:30 a.m. on Saturday, March 7th. The remainder of the day and Sunday will be filled with workshops, lectures, panel discussions, and clinics directed by the top experts in the field. Workshops will center on such problems as: housing, employment, education, leadership, Catholic and social action.

Principal speaker at the Conference banquet on Saturday evening will be the Reverend John F. Cronin, S. S., Assistant Director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.

Total cost for the Conference is $13. This includes registration, room, meals, and banquet. Cost without room is $9.00. Registration only is $3.00.

Inquiries about the Conference should be addressed to Albert L. Nellum, CIC Schools Consultant.

NEGROES IN MEDICINE - TOPIC OF DISCUSSION AT NORTH SUBURBAN CIC MEET

CIC's North Suburban Chapter will sponsor a provacative discussion on the subject: "Negroes in Medicine," Sunday, March 15th at 8 p.m. in the school hall of St. Mary's Church, 1421 Oak Avenue, Evanston. Admission is free. Speakers include: Dietrich C. Reitzes, Chicago sociologist and author of the book Negroes and Medicine, and Robert H. Klein, Secretary-Treasurer of the Division Fund and a member of the Council's Advisory Committee. Edmund A. Stephan is Chairman of the Program. President of the North Suburban Chapter is Alex Popo.

APPROVED CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH SUBURBAN CIC UNIT

The Board of Directors has officially approved the Constitution of CIC's newest chapter - South Suburban. Plans are underway to launch the new unit with a massive "kick-off" meeting.

VOTE NEW SCALE FOR MEMBERSHIP DUES

A new "sliding scale" for membership dues has been approved by the CIC Board of Directors to take effect immediately. The new scale calls for the following:

General Membership: $2 to $5 (will receive special mailings)

Active or Family Membership: $5 to $10

Contributing Membership: $10 to $20

Sustaining Membership: $20 and up.

Active, Contributing and Sustaining Memberships will receive the CIC NEWSLETTER and regular mailings.

Members of the Membership Committee: Eleanor Fackler, Chairman, John Behrens, Secretary, Joseph Robichaux, Board Representative, Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Alves, Rev. George Clements, Miss Phyllis Erk, Peter Foote, Rev. William Hogan, Mrs. Marie Jackson, David James, Dick Ritter, and John Woodford.

WHAT'S WITH STAFF

Mathew H. Ahmann, CIC's Field Representative recently undertook two new assignments: Secretary of the National Interim Committee of the First National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and Secretary of the Housing Committee of the Commission on Human Relations.

Lloyd Davis, CIC's Executive Director has taken on three new assignments: Program Chairman of the 1959 NAIRO Conference in Puerto Rico, General Chairman of the 1960 Convention of the Catholic War Veterans of America (in Chicago), and Lecturer in Sociology at the Calumet Extension of St. Joseph's College, Gary, Indiana.

Albert Nellum, CIC's Schools Consultant has applied for a one year scholarship (Vatterott) to Fordham University in New York to complete work for a Master's Degree.

TOWARD "SOME FORM" OF CLOSER ASSOCIATION

The first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, meeting in Chicago in August of 1959, adopted a resolution establishing a National Interim Committee to explore "some form of closer association" among the more than 36 existing CIC's. That Committee recently completed two gueling days of discussion in New York that point to significant progress. The Committee accepted a proposed foundation grant request submitted by the Chicago CIC and intends to provide the Committee with two staff men.

Officers were elected for the Committee and these include: Rev. John LaFarge, S. J., Honorary Chairman; Dr. John J. O'Connor (Washington, D. C.), chairman; John P. Nelson, Jr. (New Orleans), vice chairman; Mathew H. Ahmann (Chicago, secretary; Charles W. Wexler (Detroit), treasurer. Members of the Executive Committee include: William T. Greenwood (Little Rock); George K. Hunton (New York); Dorothy Mattingly (St. Louis); Anna McGarry (Philadelphia); and Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr. (Chicago).

The National Interim Committee will hold its next meeting in June in St. Louis at which time definite recommendations with respect to some form of closer association among the various Councils will be submitted.

As a result of the National Conference in Chicago last August, CIC units are being considered for the following cities: Beloit, Buffalo, Denver, Houston, Jefferson City (Missouri), Joliet, Kansas City (Missouri), Madison, Memphis, Miami, Mobile, Nashville, Oklahoma City, Portland (Oregon), San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, Spokane, Stamford, Topeka.

URGE FAITHFUL TO STUDY BISHOPS' STATEMENT

Archbishop Albert Gregory Meyer in his Lenten Pastoral Letter urged Catholics in the Archdiocese to "carefully and prayerfully" study the Bishops' Statement on racial justice and the Christian conscience. We quote a small portion of his remarks:

> "In this connection I would like to call special attention to the Statement issued by the Bishops of the United States, on the occasion of their annual meeting in November of 1958 on the subject of racial justice and the Christian conscience. It is not within the scope of this pastoral letter to quote at length from this Statement, which was issued in the name of the entire Catholic Hierarchy of the United States. I would like, however, to emphasize the teaching of this Statement, and to urge all of you to study it carefully and prayerfully, so that you may fully understand and realize in the practical conduct of your lives that 'the heart of the race question is moral and religious.' It concerns the rights of man and our attitude toward our fellow man. If our attitude is governed by the great Christian law of love and of neighbor and respect for his rights, then we can work out harmoniously the techniques for making legal, educational, economic, and social adjustments. But if our hearts are poisoned by hatred, or even indifference toward the welfare and rights of our fellow men, then our nation faces a grave internal crisis."

NEWS NOTES FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY

Continuation of NAIRO's (National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials) Internship Program has been virtually assured by an unexpected grant of over $15,000 received at the New York office on Christmas Eve from a businessman who chooses to remain anonymous. The gift, in the form of common stock, is to cover such administrative expenses as the Internship Seminar, the Executive Secretary's travel to training agencies, and part of NAIRO office overhead, during the program's third year. The Chicago CIC participated in the Internship Program during its first year of operation. Our intern at that time, Al Nellum, is now a member of the staff.

In his memorable Annual Banquet address at NAIRO's recent Conference, Marion A. Wright, Vice President, Southern Regional Council, warned of a well-financed, well-organized drive by Southern segregationist leaders to convert and subvert Northern public opinion to their point of view. This effort--butressed by countless pamphlets, paid newspaper ads, and itinerant speakers--should not be taken lightly, he suggested; it will take many forms, some of them at least superficially persuasive. "They refer to it as education in state's rights, limitations of judicial power, and other euphonious terms. But what they mean is the preservation of a caste system in the South." There is increasing evidence in Northern cities to support Wright's contention. Case in point: almost every issue of U. S. News and World Report deals heavily with "Negro crime" in the North, etc., and note influence of this info on even NBC's Chet Huntley.

John G. Feild, past NAIRO president, has left his post as executive director of the Michigan FEPC to become Special Legislative Assistant to Michigan's junior senator, Phillip Hart.

NAIRO's 1959 National Conference is October 13 - 16 in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

There has been a noticeable shift in program emphasis among agencies around the country. Area of concentration these days is housing.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

John J. Farrell, Chairman of CIC's Board of Directors announces the following Committee appointments:

Personnel Committee: Thomas Webb Sexton, chairman; committee--James Kemp, George Albiez, William Jones, Lawrence Nees.

Constitution and By-Laws: Attorney Charles R. Barrett, chairman; committee--James E. Burns, John L. Yancey, Thomas A. Reynolds, Judge William J. Tuohy.

* * * * * * * * * *

IT'S OFFICIAL!!!

LOUIE
PRIMA
AND
KEELEY
SMITH

First act to sign for CIC's 1959 Big Show on Sunday evening, May 3rd.

* * *

The man who sits in the
nation's hot spot . . .

Roy Wilkins

From his New York office, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, directs the nation-wide legal battle to end the Negro's second-class status in schools, voting, courts, public transportation and housing.

On Friday, March 13 at 8:00 p.m., Wilkins will come to Chicago on the John A. Ryan Forum at the Morrison Hotel to answer the question "Are We Losing the Fight Against Segregation?"

Today many wonder if we are losing the fight against racial segregation. As leader of one of the country's most influential organizations and as a man who puts in a 14-hour-day at his job, Wilkins knows the inside story. He will be here to tell it.

It was Wilkins who masterminded the NAACP strategy which led to the U.S. Supreme Court decision ending segregation in the nation's schools. Without a doubt he is among "the top ten" Negro leaders in the United States.

After his talk, Wilkins will be quizzed by a panel which includes: Dr. Paul Mundy of Loyola University; Emil Seliga, president of Talman Federal Savings and Loan Association; Monsignor John Egan of the Cana Conference; and Clyde L. Reynolds, Director of Provident Hospital.

Tickets for the Forum can be obtained at $1.50 each from the John A. Ryan Forum, 21 West Superior Street, Chicago 10, Ill. (DElaware 7-0143). Please order your tickets early.

THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF CHICAGO
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

(Form 3547 Requested)

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Fredrick B. Routh Ass't. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 13 1959

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L

PHONE
REctor 2-5417

News Service

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

(The following news stories were sent out to all Catholic newspapers and magazines in the U.S. by the N.C.W.C. News Service issued by the Press Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D.C.)

NCCM PROMISES TO WORK
FOR INTEGRATION, HITS
ENFORCED SEGREGATION

Detroit, April 6 - The National Council of Catholic Men has pledged to work "in every prudent way" to create an "environment in which integration can be achieved and discrimination ended."

In a resolution adopted at its biennial convention here the NCCM General Assembly promised that the men's council will work for "universal acceptance" of Church teaching condemning racial discrimination.

The resolution pointed out that "the teaching of the Catholic Church has always proclaimed the brotherhood of all men under Fatherhood of God, and condemns racial discrimination and enforced segregation of persons because of race, color or creed."

INTERRACIAL LEADER WARNS
THAT 'EPIDEMIC' PREJUDICE
THREATENS ALL MINORITIES

Detroit, April 6 - A Catholic lay leader in interracial affairs warned here that race prejudice is "epidemic" in character and thus a threat to all minority groups.

George K. Hunton, executive secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, cited the history of the Ku Klux Klan to show that organized bigotry which begins by being anti-Negro, "soon" becomes anti-Jewish and "inevitably" becomes anti-Catholic.

Mr. Hunton was a participant in a workshop on interracial problems held during the biennial convention of the National Council of Catholic Men. Sessions of the convention were attended by more than 3,000 Catholic men from throughout the nation.

Mr. Hunton deplored the fact that today, more than 90 years after the end of the Civil War, "Negro leadership must still valiantly struggle to obtain the fundamental rights of citizenship that we as a nation are happy to give to the most newly landed immigrant."

Of the 16 to 18 million American Negroes, he pointed out, only about 600,000 are Catholic. The remainder, he said, represent a

"vast potential mission field" for the Church within the United States itself.

Mr. Hunton stressed the importance to this country of solving its racial problems by citing the emergence in recent years of many newly independent nations in Africa and Asia. The People of these countries, he said, "are out window shopping for a form of government." And in choosing between communism and democracy, he added, their first question is: "How do those who are not white share in the equality of American democracy."

Mr. Hunton asserted that lay Catholics have often manifested "apathy and indifference and inertia" toward the question of racial justice. However, he said, such an attitude is no longer possible in light of the U.S. Bishops' statement last fall condemning enforced segregation.

"Never before has the prestige of Catholic leadership been so high in the field of intergroup relations," he added.

Among the "baffling problems" in the field of race relations, Mr. Hunton cited especially so-called "panic selling," brought about by "vere" realtors who induce white residents to sell their homes cheaply when Negroes begin to move into their neighborhoods.

Mr. Hunton and Father John F. Cronin, S.S., assistant director of the Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, agreed that the only way for the problem to be solved is for white home owners to stand firm and refuse to be stampeded into selling their homes and leaving their neighborhoods.

Fr. Cronin stressed the need for organization among home owners in the face of the "shrewd techniques" of some unscrupoulous realtors. He also pointed out that sensible city zoning regulations and community action to provide sufficient housing will prevent the overcrowding which is the principal cause of slums.

In reply to a question from the floor Dr. Eugene B. Perry of Houston, Tex., Supreme Knight of the Knights of St. Peter Claver, who was also on the panel, said that in many areas Negro converts to the Church undergo "social ostracism" by other Negroes.

R E L I G I O U S N E W S S E R V I C E

DOMESTIC SERVICE THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1959

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
MARKS 25TH ANNIVERSARY

By Religious News Service(5-7-59)

NEW YORK (RNS) -- White and Negro Roman Catholics will meet at Town Hall here on Pentecost Sunday, May 17, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York.

This is the same place and the same feast day on which 800 white and Negro Catholics met in 1934 to launch a movement for interracial justice that now embraces 35 other Catholic Interracial Councils throughout the country of which eight are in the South.

Msgr. James J. Wilson, Coordinator of Spanish Catholic Action, will represent Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York, at the jubilee meeting.

Leading participants will include Father John LaFarge, S.J., who has served as chaplain of the Council since its inception and is nationally known for his writings on interracial justice: and George K. Hunton, the Council's executive secretary and editor of its monthly organ, Interracial Justice, who was closely associated with Father LaFarge in launching the new group whose work is mainly educational.

Others who will take part are A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of sleeping Car Porters; and U.S. District Court Judge John F.X. McGohey, who formerly served for three years as chairman of the John Boyle O'Reilly Committee for interracial Justice. This group, made up of Irish-American Catholics, was one of the offshoots of the Council.

The Catholic Interracial Councils held their first national meeting in Chicago last year. In addition to delegates from the 36 Councils, the meeting was attended by leaders of Protestant, Jewish, non-sectarian and other Catholic groups active in the field of race relations.

The New York Council was responsible for the founding in 1942 of the James J. Hoey Awards for Interracial Justice, given annually to two Catholic laymen -- one white and one Negro -- for outstanding contributions to interracial justice. The awards are named in honor of the first president of the Council.

Held every week at the Council's headquarters are interracial seminars at which timely topics are discussed by nationally known speakers. The Council also sponsors Communion Breakfasts as part of its program to spread the doctrine of the spiritual dignity of the human person.

Housed at the C.I.C. center is a comprehensive Catholic Interracial Library, including the Claver Index, a bibliography of more than 35,000 references, and a permanent exhibit of the racial situation in the United States and the Church's work for the Negro.

Among other cities in which Catholic Interracial Councils have been organized are Chicago, Detroit, Columbus, Indianapolis, Philadelphia, Washington,D.C.,San Antonio,Tex.,New Orleans,La., Pittsburgh, Springfield, Mass.,New Haven,Conn.,St. Louis, Mo., Baltimore,Md.,and Rock Hill,S.C.

IC

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

January 12, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Street, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Will you please put my name on your mailing list for the "L" Reports?

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Ivis Calvet

Ivis Calvet
Administrative Secretary

IC:a

via air mail

February 9, 1960

Rt. Rev.
~~Father~~ John LaFarge, S. J.
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Father LaFarge:

It is a matter of regret for me that I cannot be present on February thirteenth to join in honoring you on your eightieth birthday.

This letter must serve as an inadequate expression of our appreciation, esteem, and good wishes to you on this felicitous occasion. Everyone concerned with recognition of human dignity must be eternally grateful for your leadership. You have set an example of service in this work which the rest of us may despair of equaling, but which challenges us to set our goals much higher than we otherwise would.

May this momentary pause for thanksgiving, in the midst of a still busy career, bring you the happiness that we, among your many thousands of admirers, wish for you.

Most sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

#F

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

February 10, 1960

Dear Friends of Father LaFarge:

The members of the Catholic Interracial Council wish to thank you for your kind contribution as a Sponsor for the luncheon-reception in honor of the eightieth birthday of our beloved founder.

We appreciate your thoughtfulness and know how much joy it will bring to Father LaFarge.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel J. Sullivan

Daniel J. Sullivan
Chairman

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Reverend John LaFarge, S. J.

Chaplain of the

Catholic Interracial Council of New York

invites you to assist with him

in offering the

Holy Sacrifice of the Mass

in thanksgiving

on his Eightieth birthday

on Saturday morning, February the Thirteenth

Nineteen hundred and sixty

at eleven o'clock

Saint Patrick's Cathedral

New York, N. Y.

PRESS RELEASE

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior
Chicago 10, Illinois
DE-7-1025 FOR RELEASE: Thursday, May 12, 1960

The 40 Catholic Interracial Councils in the United States will hold their 1960 national meeting in St. Louis, Missouri, August 25 - 28. The Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis will host the meeting, the first since the Council movement founded the new National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Patron of the convention, to be held on the campus of St. Louis University, is Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter. Convention chairman is Miss Dorothy Mattingly, Board member of the National Conference and of the St. Louis CIC. Co-chairman of the meeting is Mr. Ellsworth Evans, President of the St. Louis Council.

At the meeting the deligates from CICs, and other interested persons, will take part in special sessions on public and private school desegregation, civil rights, discrimination in employment and housing.

There will be special workshops for Catholics from the southern states to plan methods of strengthening their interracial work there. At the same time other Councils will take part in discussions on youth and adult education techniques.

A spokesman said special attention would be given to increasing the participation of Catholic lay people in educational work for integration of city and suburban neighborhoods, as well as work in the South. Catholics will be encouraged to work with those of other faiths to secure interracial justice.

This will be only the second time the Catholic Interracial Councils have met together. They first gathered in Chicago in August, 1958. At that meeting they a ppointed a national committee which recommended the formation of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, a federation of the various CICs. The National Conference was founded to provide local Councils with increased communication with each other, special program services, and greater national impact on interracial problems.

- end -

MF - Pls send these.
HCF

Sent 5/18/60

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

May 13, 1960

Dear Mr Fleming,

We would like 150 of your reprint, "A Southern View of the South," as soon as possible for distribution in our Asia-Africa-Pacific Newsletter. Please bill us. It is very good.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Frank Demus

New Address for Catholic Interracial Council - received 5/20/63

C.O. files

233 Broadway, Suite 901-903
New York 7, New York

Telephone: REctor 2-5417

CAMPION HOUSE · 329 West 108th Street · New York 25, N. Y.

With enthusiastic greetings -
to Harold Fleming & the
SRC - from
Fr LaFarge

2/13/61

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Room 432

Address given by Fr. Roy Gasnick, O.F.M.
at the Communion Breakfast, sponsored by
the Catholic Interracial Council of New York
and the Catholic Laymens' Union, Sunday,
April 16, 1961.

The Third Order of St. Francis and Race Relations

A few years ago, there was an editorial in the Newark Advocate which expressed a rather wistful wish: "If only the mandate of the Spanish king, insisted on by Fr. Serra and the other Franciscans in California, proclaiming that non-white races were not to be enslaved, had taken effect in the non-Catholic colonies along the eastern seaboard. . . things might be different today!"

And now, this same Franciscan influence which could have helped prevent the American race problem 200 years ago, is exerting its influence again, this time to help find a solution to the problem.

This step taken by the Third Order opens up unlimited possibilities for the Catholic Interracial movement because suddenly 106,000 lay Catholics have been committed to work actively in helping solve racial problems. These 106,000 lay Catholics, grouped together in approximately 1,200 fraternities throughout the country, are located in the areas of Catholic life where they are needed the most - the parish, school, college and professional levels.

It would be an exaggeration to say that overnight 1,200 centers for interracial understanding had suddenly blossomed, but potentially that is what had happened.

As can easily be seen, the whole scope of the Catholic interracial movement is immediately broadened. For the first time, a nationally organized Catholic group has adopted an interracial program as its official Catholic Action apostolate. Up to now, the burden of the movement has been carried by groups like the C.I.C. organized for that specific purpose. They had to fight a long

struggle just to win enough members to make themselves effective.

In the Third Order movement, members do not have to be recruited, they are there already; they do not have to be convinced of the necessity of social action, for they are committed to that by their Rule and Constitutions. The only work left to the Third Order, then, is to train and educate its members in methods of effective leadership in the specific problems of race relations.

And what is perhaps the most significant fact about this new Third Order movement, is that a new dimension has been added to the cause of civil rights. It is first of all a new dimension of method: it is a popular movement, on the grass-roots level where, in the relationship of one man with another, the real heart of the problem lies.

It is also a new dimension of doctrine: its approach is that of Christian love which the Third Order recognizes as the basic social force necessary to reform society. The goal of this love is to unite man and man with the bond of recognition of the tremendous dignity of each man. And this goal can be totally achieved only through personal responsibility and individual action, as the Bishops pointed out in their statement last year.

In this new interracial movement, the emphasis is on understanding and action. It emphasizes understanding, first of all, because it seems clear from past experience that legislation and pressure <u>without preparation</u> often tends to accelerate racial tensions. Preparation through understanding will not only aid the fulfilment of the law, it will in reality anticipate the law.

It emphasizes action, on the other hand, because interracial understanding can be achieved only through the concerted effort of ordinary citizens appealing to the minds and hearts of their fellow

citizens in their neighborhoods, schools, churches and places of employment.

How exactly will ACTION FOR INTERRACIAL UNDERSTANDING work? I am very privileged this morning to announce, that after a period of some months of experimentation with various "pilot projects," the Third Order has now completely formulated the general program for all of the 1,200 fraternities in the U.S.

Each fraternity is expected to form a hardcore group of members who will direct its educational and action programs. Under a priest-moderator, there will be a director, secretary, public relations officer, and discussion and action committees. This hardcore group will meet once a month to discuss one aspect of the race problem and then formulate an action project for the whole fraternity either as individuals or as a group.

The type of action each fraternity is urged to take may be summarized in the following goals of ACTION FOR INTERRACIAL UNDERSTANDING, which are made public for the first time today:

"1. To train lay leaders capable of counteracting the leadership of racists and agitators who are implicitly undermining the principles of Christianity and American democracy;

"2. To formulate an educational and action program for each parish, school and community in which the Third Order exists;

"3. To impregnate the civic community with Christian life and spirit in order to prevent racial tensions and strife;

"4. To urge Catholic cooperation with and participation in those civic groups, especially fair housing practises committees, which are already active in the interracial field;

"5. To sponsor periodic interracial gatherings where Negroes and whites can meet and frankly discuss the problems of human relations."

There is no mistaking the dynamism of social movement which is so thoroughly entrenched and emersed in the gospel, a social movement whose principles go far beyond the fondest dreams of sociologists

and lawmakers, a social movement which presents a complete spirituality as its motivating force.

The Third Order's interracial movement, as I said before, brings a new dimension; its role is to open up a new frontier in race relations in which the quest for interracial justice and charity finally comes to rest in the homes, offices and backyards of American citizens where, and only where, the race problem can truly be solved.

The time has come, and will not wait, for Catholic organizations to expand this new dimension. And the time could not be more appropriate.

On May 15 of this year, we will commemorate the anniversaries of two great and revolutionary social encyclicals, Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno. In those encyclicals, Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI outlined the necessary conditions of a just society, the right to private property, the right to a decent wage, the right to proper housing and education, and the duty each man has to insure those rights both for himself and others. As far as the race problem is concerned, the implications are obvious.

In Rerum Novarum, Leo XIII said:

> In this respect all men are equal....No man may with impunity outrage that human dignity which God himself treats with great reverence.....

And in Quadragesimo Anno, Pius XI concluded:

> Let all men of good will stand united, all who under the Shepherds of the Church wish to fight this good and peaceful battle of Christ; and under the leadership and teaching guidance of the Church, let all strive according to the talent powers and position of each to contribute something to the reconstruction of human society.....

That was the call and challenge of Leo XIII 70 years ago and Pius XI 30 years ago. The call and challenge is the same today. May our celebrations this year of the great enunciations of Catholic

social principles in Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno be an imperative challenge to all Catholics.

It is hoped that the Holy Name Societies, the Knights of Columbus, the Sodalities, the Newman Clubs as national organizations will dedicate themselves to formulate nationwide programs similar to that of the Third Order and the C.I.Cs. promoting interracial understanding and bringing about the unity of the human family which Leo XIII and Pius XI so movingly appealed for.

The Third Order of St. Francis hails these two great encyclicals with the words of its own Constitutions: "Tertiaries shall be thoroughly familiar with the encyclicals Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno and with the other papal documents dealing with social and political matters; and they shall make every effort to put into practice in their own lives the principles found therein." (Art. 75).

And these are no empty words, for the Third Order has founded an interracial movement!

Arch Street Group To Help End Racial Discrimination

Last Thursday night, a group of Greater Boston members of the Third Order of St. Francis met at St. Anthony's Shrine in the heart of the shopping district.

For nearly two weeks individual members had prepped themselves for the meeting by pondering such questions as:

Could a Negro buy a home in your town?

What would happen in your neighborhood if a Negro family moved in next door?

Would you welcome Negro neighbors?

Would a mixed neighborhood lead to inter-racial marriages?

More than this, the group had also been reading the verses in St. Matthew that include "I was a stranger and you took me in."

By relating the two—the practical and the scriptural—the tertiaries hoped to become strong arms in the nation's growing battle against racial discrimination.

In miniature, Thursday's session in Boston was the reflection of a movement founded 13 years ago in Washington, D.C. Known as the St. Benedict the Moor Apostolate, it was adopted in 1959 as a nationwide apostolate by the Third Order of St. Francis.

Locally, the movement has the title "Council for Interracial Understanding" and is under the direction of Rev. Roy M. Gasnick, O.F.M., a priest of the Shrine staff. Father Roy's booklet, "Interracial Charity and St. Benedict the Moor," is used as a handbook of the movement.

The Apostolate's patron is "the holy Moor," son of African slaves in 16th century Sicily. Benedict is a particularly apt patron, having been named patron of North American Negroes. A Franciscan, he died in 1589 and was canonized in 1807; his feast is celebrated April 4.

Among aims of the Council is to put the Negro in his place—that is, like St. Benedict, alongside Peter and Paul, Augustine and Aquinas, Francis, Louis, and St. Pius X.

In Boston as elsewhere, the Apostolate is a vigorous Catholic Action program battling what Fr. Roy has called "the greatest internal problem disturbing our country today."

It was agreed upon after a series of meetings in which the lay Franciscans discussed the challenge of the Bishop's statement in 1958 on racial discrimination, along with an analysis of the new interracial program adopted by the national office of the Third Order in Chicago.

Forty-one communities in the Greater Boston area are represented in the two fraternities at the Arch St. Shrine.

SAINT BENEDICT THE MOOR

The adult and youth groups have a combined membership of 700.

Afer consultation with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, the Boston Catholic Interracial Council, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Third Order decided to concentrate on two goals in the Boston area.

First, to improve personal relations among Negroes and white people and, second, to promote those neighborhood associations which seek to prevent discrimination in the field of housing as well as to keep bi-racial neighborhoods stable.

The youth fraternity adopted as its platform for interracial activity the "Notre Dame Resolutions" passed by the national Third Order Youth Congress held at Notre Dame University last August.

These resolutions, after experimentation in the Boston area, will ultimately become the basis for the interracial program of each of the 1,200 Third Order fraternities in the U.S.

Basically, the resolutions pledge Third Order members to assume a position of leadership in the fight against discrimination. Members have promised to seek an end to racial injustice by applying Catholic principles to a program of positive action.

Equal Under Law

"No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or the property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

(14th Amendment, U. S. Constitution)

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

THE PILOT BOSTON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1961

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L
PHONE: Rector 2-5417 20 Vesey St., NYC

NEWS SERVICE

(The following news story was sent this week by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service to all Catholic newspapers and magazines.)

PATIENCE, BUT NO WAVERING NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE RACIAL INTEGRATION, DELEGATE SAYS

5/8/61

(N.C.W.C. NEWS SERVICE)

NEW ORLEANS, May 9--The Apostolic Delegate to the U.S. said here that patience is necessary for progress in racial integration but there should be no backpedaling in working to achieve integration.

Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi commented on the racial question (May 5) during a visit to the residence of Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans. The day before he had ordained seven Divine Word missionaries, including five Negroes, to the priesthood. This was the largest group of Negroes ever ordained together in the U.S. The ordinations took place in St. Augustine Seminary, Bay St. Louis, Mississippi.

Archbishop Vagnozzi said during his visit with Archbishop Rummel that he had ordained the group in Bay St. Louis specifically "to show the concern of the Holy See and the Church for the welfare of all people, regardless of color or race."

"Within the walls of the Church," the Apostolic Delegate stated, "it is the soul that counts...and the soul has no color. The only important difference among souls is whether one is with the grace of God or without His grace."

"It is gratifying to realize," Archbishop Vagnozzi continued, "that in the United States, which had only seven Negro priests 20 years ago, there are now 112. There should be many more, but this increase shows the proper trend.

"On the question of integration, the Bishops of the United States in 1958 issued a statement, 'Discrimination and the Christian Conscience,' that is the position of the Church, a position to which every good, right-thinking Catholic must subscribe.

"Of course, changes cannot be made too suddenly," Archbishop Vagnozzi cautioned, "and if patience is a virtue on every occasion, it is particularly important on this question. However, it is essential to progress in the line of integration without every going back."

He asserted that "The Holy See has full confidence in the American Bishops, and each bishop in his own diocese will have to decide what measures to take and what changes [are] to be adopted."

The Archbishop also said "it is the desire of the Holy See that all Catholics, clergy and faithful alike, faithfully and willingly follow the directions of their bishops."

Archbishop Vagnozzi pointed out that four of the missionaries he had ordained are going to Africa, "which today needs priests probably more than any other continent.

"Although the southern United States needs priests badly," he added, "the best way to obtain many vocations is to offer missioners from the South to mission fields in other parts of the world."

The Archbishop lauded the "good progress" of the Church in the United States, and said he is "gratified at the great interest Catholics have shown in their own schools and the cause of Catholic education.

"In this lies the real strength of the Church in the United States," he declared.

Four of the newly ordained Divine Word priests are from Louisiana: Father Wilbert White, Baton Rouge; Reynold J. Schnyder, Reserve; Joseph D. Simon, Nachitoches; and Raymond Cesar, Eunice. The fifth Negro priest is Father Malcolm O'Leary.

10¢

THERE IS NO "WHITE" RACE

■ No matter how much they avoid saying it, the thinking of many Americans is infected with the egoistic error that the "white race is superior." Science shows there is a biological basis for classifying racial groups as Negro, Mongol, and European. But science knows of no special white race. Dr. George F. Carter, an anthropologist of national standing, takes up this challenging question in the following interview. Professor of geography at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Dr. Carter (Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley) was formerly Curator of Anthropology at the San Diego Museum of Man. He is the author of "Pleistocene Man at San Diego" (Johns Hopkins Press, 1957). Dr. Carter's scientific views on race are in harmony with the Catholic Church's teaching on the basic unity of mankind: that every man originates with the same Creator, is descended from common parents, and is called to a common destiny in life everlasting with God.

Reprinted from THE **SIGN** NATIONAL CATHOLIC MAGAZINE

Sign Bldg., Union City, New Jersey, U.S.A.

Through the ages, a process of

Dr. Carter, many people speak of the races of mankind. Do they deny the basic unity of the human race?

Some people, through ignorance or bigotry, deny this basic unity. But the expression "races of mankind" is also used by scientists who have no intention of denying the biological unity of the human race. They make general classifications of groups and speak of them as distinct "races," for example, the Negro, the European, and the Mongolian. Biologically, these races are all variations of the same human species, the human race.

Are you saying that, as a scientist, you are convinced that all these different groups of people had a common, human ancestry?

Yes.

Have scientists been able, geographically, to pinpoint the origin of that common ancestry?

Scientists are quite generally agreed that all men have had a common place of origin. It had to be in the Old World. It is clear that this had to take place somewhere in the warm belt from Southeast Asia across to Africa. For some decades now, the earliest stone tools and earliest manlike skeletons have been found there. Recently, parts of a skeleton have been found in Kenya, in East Africa. And right with the skeleton parts, stone tools were found.

How long ago do scientists figure that men lived there?

About 700,000 years ago.

How are scientists sure that the skeleton remains belonged to a man?

Because, whatever you call him, he made and used tools. This particular creature, tiny in size but with a brain capacity equal to that of the huge gorilla, was importing stone from miles away and breaking it up to get sharp pieces to work with. This is tool-making, and only man does such things.

Do you find any conflict between the theory of evolution and the creation of man by God?

Not in the least. Scripture tells us that God formed man out of the earth. The theory of evolution seeks to explain how that formation took place over a period of time. The important thing about a man, the main thing that sets him off from the animals, is his possession of a spiritual soul. Since the physical sciences are concerned with material things, you can hardly expect them to explain the *creation* of the soul—and the *nature* of the soul. The soul is an immaterial substance.

But even scientists must be concerned with the spiritual nature of man?

I readily admit that. But for knowledge of a man's spiritual nature, a scientist must get beyond the limitations of physical science and rely on philosophy, theology, and divine revelation. Sound theology and science should not contradict but supplement each other.

As a scientist, how do you tell the difference between man and an animal?

That's easy. Scientists study the way creatures act. When we find a man making and using tools, we have found the products of a *mind* that was at work. It is because of his *power of mind* that man is mentally very different from his nearest relatives in the animal kingdom. Moreover, when a scientist finds a man worshiping, he rightly suspects the presence of a soul. So, when skeletal remains are on the borderline between an animal and a man, the scientist will seek further evidence of how the creature acted when alive in order to tell which he was, man or animal.

Granting man originated long ago, and possibly in East Africa, how did men today come to be so different? What about these "races of men"?

Races are biologically different groups of men. There is a Negro race, a European race, and a Mongol race. These are clear-cut cases of kinds of men with differing skin colors, body proportions, hair forms, and so forth.

On the other hand, there is no Jewish race. Negroes, Europeans, or Mongols may be Jews—that is, belong to the Jewish religion. There is no Irish race. That is a national group. There is no Germanic race. That is either a national group or a speech group; but in either case, it includes a number of biologically different groups.

You do not mention a white race? Why?

White skins mark only a minor group of the European or Mediterranean race. This kind of man is distributed all around the Mediterranean Sea. In color, it varies from the fair skin of the northwest Europeans, through the olive brown skins of the Mediterraneans, to the dark brown skins of the Ethiopians. Yet all people have characteristics that show that, under this variable coloring, they belong to one race. So there just isn't a white race.

How did the different races come about?

First, let's notice that there was plenty of time, if current

"selection" created racial types

scientific thinking is correct. Second, let's recognize that no two individuals are exactly alike. This is variation. It goes on all the time, among all peoples. Given hundreds of thousands of years, there was plenty of time for a significant amount of change. Finally, every land is different and puts different kinds of strain on human beings. This tends to favor some variations over others. This process we call selection. *Selection* acting over an immense amount of *time* on the constant *variation* found among any group of human beings can create, biologically, permanent, notable differences. These are racial differences.

That sounds reasonable. But why should Negroes be dark-skinned, frizzly-haired, flat-nosed, and thick-lipped?

Negroes are tropical people, historically. They are found close to the equator in Africa and in southeast Asia, including the island world north of Australia. They apparently have been there for a very long time. They have, in a sense, developed a permanent tan. Tropical sun is a terrific burden for fair-skinned people.

The short, curly hair of Negroes is fun to think of in the reverse. I notice around the office that in summer our long-haired girls pause in their typing to lift the hair off the back of their necks. The Negro girl, with a naturally "cool" hairdo, never has to do this. Her race lived in hot lands a long time. Her type of skin and hair, best suited to such lands, is unlikely to be an accident.

There are even more such traits. Negroes are short-trunked and long-limbed. This type of body construction gives the maximum of surface in proportion to body bulk. This is advantageous for losing heat—and in warm climates this is a great help. As for the flat noses and thick lips, we lack adequate explanation.

It is easy enough to see that for the Negro, but let's see you apply the influence of environment to the Mongols.

No difficulty. Let's start with body form. The Negro's relatively lean body form is at one extreme and the Mongols are at the other. Mongols tend to have short, thick bodies and relatively short limbs. The classic Mongol homeland is Inner Asia, a land of great winter cold. The body build of Mongols is good for heat conservation.

Europeans live in a variety of climates—from the hot areas of North Africa, to the mild areas of the Mediterranean, to the cold areas of northern Europe. As you might expect, Europeans are variable in body form.

Hair form is also interesting. Negroes have the shortest hair, and the more northerly races have the longer hair. The Mongols are beardless, as are the Negroes, while the Europeans are bearded.

How come the Mongols don't have beards? In a very cold climate, it seems such a home-grown muff would be very useful.

In a really cold climate, your breath freezes in your beard, and you are soon wearing an ice mask. Even north Europeans live in areas that are only moderately cold. Mongols live in lands of extreme cold. Most of Europe is between 30 and 50 degrees in January, while the Inner Asian homeland of the Mongols is between minus 20 and plus 10 in January. This makes the difference between having your breath freeze in your whiskers and having your whiskers protect your face.

That a beard and long hair are snug features in breezy, damp, cold weather is a fact well known to those that ride motorcycles. However, since beards and long hair are out of style, except in some rather odd social circles, we don helmets, neckerchiefs, and other equipment to achieve the same protection.

That sounds good for beards. How do you explain a white skin?

Interestingly enough, the white skin really *is* something to be explained. All of mankind is brown-skinned and dark-haired and brown-eyed, except for one odd group. Only the northwest Europeans are light-skinned, light-eyed, and odd in hair color. When you consider what a handicap it is to be fair-skinned, you can guess that there would have to be some very good reason for being light-skinned. Light-skinned people are found in one of the dampest, cloudiest, and most sunless regions of the world. Besides northwest Europe, there are other such regions: the northwest coast of America, the southwest coast of South America, the South Island of New Zealand, and the island of Tasmania. Of all these areas, only the European was reached by man at a very early time. Access to the others was blocked by seas or by arctic cold. Is it an accident that we have light-skinned people in the cloudiest part of the earth that man could reach in the earliest time? It hardly seems likely.

But what selective factor was at work? It would have to be a strong one to overcome the unhappy effects of sunburn.

We have found the clue to this in the slums of London. There, light- and dark-skinned races live side by side in similar economic circumstances. The dark-skinned children have a much greater amount of rickets than do the light-skinned children. Rickets is related to poor diet, with a lack of needed vitamins, the kind of vitamin that can be created by irradiating the fats of the skin with sunlight. Dark skins block off the deep penetration of the sun's rays. Light skins let it in to do its beneficial work.

For a very long time, food supplies were often short, especially in winter. Malnutrition would then be common. Vitamin deficiencies would exist. Those individuals that could get a boost even in the dim winter sun of northwest Europe, most of which is in the latitude of Newfoundland, had a valuable asset. The lighter skinned had a better chance to survive in the sunless winters of the northwest. The effect of this kind of selection, over a great period of time, has been the emergence of fair-skinned, northwest European types out of an originally olive or brown-skinned type of man.

Does this variation go more than skin-deep? Are there physiological differences?

Yes. Negroes apparently have been exposed to malaria longer than the rest of mankind. We find they have a blood specialty called sickle cell anemia that is linked with resistance to malaria. Then, too, we are belatedly learning that there are some differences in basal metabolism between most of mankind and some of the people who lived virtually unclothed and unhoused in cold climates. The natives of Southern Australia and those of Tierra del Fuego at the extreme southern tip of South America had apparently changed slightly to be able to withstand those conditions. We know of racial differences in blood types and in reaction to specific drugs.

Does this mean that the races are mentally different?

We suspect that they are, but it is interesting that we cannot prove it. This suggests that the differences are rather small.

If you think that there may be some differences, why don't you use intelligence tests to determine the mental rank of each of the races?

We would, if we knew how. As those who use tests are first to state, however, it is very hard to know when you are testing *native ability* and when you are testing *social and economic background,* as well as motivation. We know these to be powerful influences.

There certainly have been European, Mongol, and American Indian civilizations. How do you account for the lack of a distinct Negro civilization?

This is perhaps the most difficult problem to answer. It is, however, accessible to reasoning. First, there has been only one origin of civilization. This came in the Near East. All the rest of the world that came to the level of civilization can be shown to have gotten their basic start from that one center. This is true even for the American Indians, who seemed to have gotten their ideas via India and China, who in turn had gotten them from the Near East.

All the people who were out of the line of this flow of ideas remained backward. There were also laggards in all races. Even northwest Europeans were laggards for a very long time.

The Negro parts of the world were all far from the center of ideas. Negro Africa is blocked off by great deserts. The Negro world of the Pacific is remote from the Near East. Once developments moved at a quickened pace, men with advanced ideas simply went around areas held by peoples with greatly retarded cultures. The Spanish took one look at the wonders of California and went back to Mexico. There were settled, tractable, and taxable Indians there. The California Indians were too retarded culturally to yield any harvest to anyone except a missionary. A most interesting case of such lagging is found among the Ainu of Japan. They are a white race. The Japanese found them in possession of the islands. They treated them just as we did the Indians, and today the remnants of the Ainu live on reservations.

But aren't great opportunities now opening up to the Negro?

Yes. The real test of the Negro people is now before them. The spread of ideas around the world is moving at an ever quickening pace. We cannot expect to see instant results. The Negroes' opportunity in this country began one hundred years ago, when they were freed. We are just beginning to see what the relatively few number of Negroes who have had the good fortune and ability to get an education can do. Perhaps the number of Negro doctors and professors and business men is quite a good response to the limited opportunity they have had.

What about the future? Will we go on becoming more and more different?

No. The process of the past is now

reversing. In the past, men lived in tiny groups, each traveling exceedingly little. This is a condition ideal for allowing the local variations to become fixed and for great differences to arise. Today, we have great masses of mankind with ever-increasing mobility. All of mankind seems to be on the move. In the recent past, we have been more and more rapidly moving toward convergence, through the mixing of races.

Are we still "varying" and being "selected"?

Certainly. Look at your own children. No two are alike, and none is exactly like his parents. Selection is still going on, but it is a different set of things that are now being selected for. I suppose that we in America are being selected for resistance to heart failure, ulcers, and ability to live in large communities. Where selection in the past was mostly for resistance to physical forces, we now have adequate housing and clothing for countering heat and cold and can take vitamin pills if we need them—which we seldom do. But social forces have grown more complex. We are probably already pointed toward a more sociable type of man.

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April 18, 1962

Rt. Rev. John LaFarge, S. J.
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

My dear Father LaFarge:

On the occasion of your retirement as Chaplain of the New York Catholic Interracial Council I would like to send you, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, our good wishes for your continued happiness and Christian service. Your life and your work have been a spur and a comfort to many.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Father Alexander O. Sigur
Mr. John P. Nelson
Bishop Joseph B. Brunini
Mr. Paul Williams
Mr. Benjamin Muse

April 18, 1962

Mr. George K. Hunton
Executive Director
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Hunton:

I regret that in the short while I have been in my present position I have not had the opportunity of meeting you. Now on the occasion of your retirement I would like to extend to you, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, our best wishes and our grateful recognition of your service to the cause of better relations among American peoples.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD;mmj

Relig-Org.

August 29, 1962

Mr. Dennis Clark
Executive Secretary
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Clark:

I look forward to being with you on October 28. I am sorry that Ben will not himself be on hand to accept the Hoey Award; I know that it means a great deal to him (and to us) to be thus honored. In his absence I shall derive considerable satisfaction from accepting the award in his behalf.

Thank you for enclosing the report of the Conference on Interracial Understanding at the College of New Rochelle.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
CC: Ben Muse

Catholic Interracial Council
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RE. 2-5417

August 28, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are delighted that you will be able to be with us on October 28th to receive the Hoey Award on behalf of Mr. Benjamin Muse. At this point we have almost completed arrangements to have the gathering at twelve noon at the new Americana Hotel in Manhattan.

The remarks of the speaker on this occasion are usually 30 to 45 minutes in length. I should think that some such title as "Churchmen and Racial Change" would cover any subject matter to which you would want to address yourself.

I will be in touch with you shortly about more explicit details of our October 28th event. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions.

Yours very truly,

Dennis Clark

Dennis Clark
Executive Secretary

DC:RD

Enclosure
Conf re interracial
understanding
at the
College

Catholic Interracial Council

of New York, Inc.

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RE. 2-5417

212

October 2, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Can I trouble you for some excerpts from your remarks that you will deliver on October 28th, so that we can use them for publicity purposes? If you could send me the title of your talk this would be useful, too. I am looking forward to meeting you soon.

Sincerely,

Dennis Clark

Dennis Clark
Executive Secretary

DC:RD

Called 10-16-62
Title: "Civil Rights & Civil ~~Liberties~~ ~~Responsibilities~~ Duties (changed)"
arrive Idlewild 11:19 a.m.; (- Americana by 12:15.
Will this be satisfactory? Yes
(dictate couple of ph's by Friday or even 2nd to his secretary?)

Me 4-0182

October 15, 1962

Mr. Dennis Clark
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Clark:

Mr. Muse's daughter will send you, probably today and certainly by tomorrow, a photograph to use for publicity concerning his receiption of the 1962 Hoey Award on October 28th.

I am sorry this is delayed and hope that it will be in time.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar

October 12, 1962

Mr. Dennis Clark
Executive Secretary
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Clark:

Enclosed is a biographical sketch of Leslie W. Dunbar and a photograph, as you requested. We do not have any photographs of Mr. Muse, and have not, to date, been able to get one.

Sincerely,

Montez G. Albright
secretary to Mr. Dunbar

Enclosures

Houteg -

Catholic Interracial Council

of New York, Inc.

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RE. 2-5417

September 5, 1962

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me one or several suitable photographs of Mr. Benjamin Muse for use in publicity concerning his reception of the 1962 Hoey Award of the New York Catholic Interracial Council. Please send me also copies of biographical material and one or several pictures of Mr. Leslie Dunbar who will be present to receive the award for Mr. Muse on October 28th.

Yours very truly,

Dennis Clark

Dennis Clark
Executive Secretary

DC:RD

Catholic Interracial Council

of New York, Inc.

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RE. 2-5417

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Civic Leader

THE HONORABLE ROBERT F. WAGNER
Mayor of the City of New York

DR. JOHN B. KING
Associate Supt. of Schools, New York City

Partial List

Dear Friend of the CIC:

On Sunday, October 28th - The Feast of Christ the King - the Catholic Interracial Council of New York will honor the recipients of the James J. Hoey Award for 1962. The distinguished Catholics who will be saluted for their role in promoting interracial justice this year will be Mr. Benjamin Muse of Virginia and Dr. Eugene T. Reed of Long Island.

Both of these men have had remarkable careers in behalf of the improvement of interracial understanding.

Mr. Muse is the author of a study of Virginia's massive resistance to desegregation and has developed guiding principles for the desegregation of Catholic schools in the South. Dr. Reed is a veteran civil rights figure whose notable work on problems of racial change in suburban areas has won high praise.

We have been fortunate in securing as a speaker for this event, Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director of the Southern Regional Council, who will discuss the fast-breaking events in the South's movement toward interracial justice.

The gathering will be in the form of a breakfast-luncheon and will be held at the new Americana Hotel, 52nd Street and Seventh Avenue at 1 P.M. We would like everyone to attend the 11:45 Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral preceding the event.

The cost of the breakfast-luncheon will be $6.00 per person, with tables seating ten for $60.00.

Please let us know if you wish to reserve places now by returning the enclosed form to the Council office.

Sincerely yours,

Dennis Clark

Dennis Clark
Executive Secretary

enc.

P.S. Please make your check or money order payable to the Catholic Interracial Council of New York.

November 2, 1962

Mr. Dennis Clark
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Dennis:

I am enclosing a typescript of my talk.

I thoroughly enjoyed being with you and the kindly reception which your members gave me. The dinner conversation was excellent and all in all it was a most pleasant occasion for me.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Yes I will be happy to join the Honorary Committee for the Tribute Dinner to Mayor Robert F.
No Wagner on Monday evening, May 20th, at the Hotel Americana, for the benefit of the Catholic Interracial Council.

NAME.....
(please print)

ADDRESS.....

TELEPHONE.....

WILLIAM A. SHEA

April 22, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It gives me great pleasure to inform you that Mayor Robert F. Wagner has been selected as the Honored Guest at this year's annual dinner of the Catholic Interracial Council. The Dinner will be held at the Hotel Americana on Monday evening, May 20th.

It is indeed fitting that Mayor Wagner, who has done so much for the cause of racial equality, should be accorded this honor. Both as Head of our City Government and as a private citizen, Mayor Wagner has missed no opportunity to strike at the spurious barriers of racial prejudice and revealing them as they truly are ... meaningless shadows composed of ignorance and fear.

Now more than ever in this troubled land of ours, the struggle against racial hate must be pressed. Through this Dinner the Catholic Interracial Council will be able to continue and expand their vital work and at the same time pay tribute to a man who has done so much to further their ideals.

As Chairman, I urge you to support this cause by joining the Honorary Committee to sponsor this Dinner. For your convenience a card has been enclosed which I hope you will fill out and return to me at Committee Headquarters at the address below at the earliest possible moment.

Sincerely,

William A. Shea

William A. Shea
Chairman

SUITE 1533 - 15 WEST 48TH STREET - NEW YORK 20, N.Y. - COLUMBUS 5-7252

File Religious Orgs
Catholic International Council

November 27, 1963

Mr. George K. Hunton
233 Broadway
Suite 901 - 903
New York, New York

Dear George:

I am saddened by the death of Father LaFarge. I know how much he meant to you, and how deep must be your grief.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

Dear Friend,

Our annual membership meeting March 1st was a huge success! Miss Charlayne Hunter, one of the first two Negro students integrated into the University of Georgia was honored with a citation "in recognition of her highly exemplary demonstration of quiet dignity and christian forebearance in the accomplishment of a great thrust forward in the struggle for equal opportunities in education." Nearly two hundred members, and friends as well as delegates of a dozen Catholic and public colleges throughout the city were on hand to join the Council in congratulating Miss Hunter.

After the citation and reports of the Council's activities, the president outlined ways in which the Council hopes to actively involve members in its program. Not only does the Catholic Interracial Council need help in the Vesey Street Center, but in its member's active participation in committees and special groups. Fr. LaFarge delivered the closing summation in which he cited the practical mode of action in this field as "looking always to the positive benefit of the community."

Won't you take advantage of this God-given opportunity and join our active membership role? In view of your part interest in the work of the Catholic Interracial Council we wish especially to extend to you an invitation again to become a member. For your convenience we are enclosing our new brochure and membership blank. As you will note there are four different grades of membership.

PLEASE DON'T WAIT ANY LONGER, BUT CHECK THAT CLASSIFICATION IN WHICH YOU ARE INTERESTED AND SEND IT BACK TO US BY RETURN MAIL!

Sincerely in the Cause of Interracial Justice

Rawson L. Wood

RLW:ge

Rawson L. Wood
President

CIC

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

OF NEW YORK

PURPOSE

To combat race prejudice and to secure social justice for all regardless of race by expressing and implementing the teachings of the Catholic Church in the field of human rights.

History

The first Council in America was founded in New York City in 1934 and was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as a joint cooperative venture by which white and colored leaders could promote a consistently Christian attitude in race relations.

PUBLICATIONS

Interracial Review

A Monthly magazine devoted to expounding the Catholic theory and practice of interracial justice and recording the progress of racial understanding on the national and international scene. $2.00 a year for non-members. Free to members.

Asia, Africa and Pacific News Letter

A monthly review of interracial news distributed without charge by airmail to editors and lay news agencies throughout Asia and Africa.

News Service

Pamphlets, reprints, and news releases are prepared and distributed to the major editorial offices and agencies of the religious press, here and abroad; to the Negro press of the United States; to officials and staff officers of organized groups concerned with interracial problems and programs.

Pamphlets, leaflets and reprints are available in reasonable quantities for free distribution to individual inquirers.

ACTIVITIES

Speakers Bureau and Forums

A speaker's bureau provides white and Negro Catholic speakers for Parish organizations, schools, business groups, radio broadcasts, interracial conferences and breakfasts.

Weekly forums are conducted for the public throughout the Archdiocese or at the Center. Outstanding authorities on all phases of race relations and social action bring a constant supply of information to members and guests. Announcements are mailed to members.

Bi-Monthly Communion Breakfast

Bi-monthly communion breakfasts, addressed by representative Negro and white speakers on pertinent aspects of the race question, are preceded by a Dialogue Mass in St. Peter's Church, Barclay Street.

Educational Work

Auxiliary groups such as the Alumni Race Relations Council — an interracial group composed of Catholic college graduates — are assisted in inaugurating training programs, workshops and essay contests on interracial justice for high school students.

A course on interracial justice is held annually at the Summer School of Catholic Action at Fordham University.

The Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. Scholarship Program in Race Relations, established under the joint operation of the New York Council and the graduate School of Fordham University, with the Council providing the field work, offers advanced degrees in sociology and government to prepare executives in the field of race relations.

Program Service

Staff members are available to conduct group discussions on interracial justice and help plan race relations programs in other organizations, at Council headquarters or other locations.

James J. Hoey Award

The annual James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice honors a white and Negro layman who have made outstanding contributions to the cause of interracial justice.

MEMBERSHIP

As a member of the Catholic Interracial Council, you can help carry on this work in these ways:

1. Inform yourself, through reading the Review and other publications, and attending Council Forums, so that you may be a spokesman for interracial justice in your community.

2. Assemble a group of your friends, or get an invitation from your parish or social organization, to hear one of the Council speakers. We can arrange a panel session for free discussion—can you provide the setting and participants?

3. Enroll another member—we need numbers of friends who can help us enlighten all Catholics on the Church's teaching on race relations.

4. Volunteer work. Have you a few hours a week to spare for help at the Center, addressing letters or helping our devoted but hard-pressed office staff?

5. Financial. Your $5 dues, or any additional amount you can spare, is urgently needed to expand our educational and promotion work. Each $5 pays for 500 pamphlet reprints, or the expenses of a speaker for an evening's talk.

PLEASE HELP US TO CARRY ON THIS DIVINE WORK OF CHARITY AND GOOD WILL TO ALL MEN – SIGN THE MEMBERSHIP BLANK OF THE OPPOSITE SIDE.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

FOR YEAR JANUARY 1 – DECEMBER 31

TO: CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
20 Vesey Street (Room 1010)
New York 7, New York

I wish to enroll as:

- ☐ Contributing Member – $5.00 a year
- ☐ Associate Contributing Member – $10.00 a year
- ☐ Sponsoring Contributing Member – $25.00 a year
- ☐ Life Contributing Member – $100.00

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Bill me

(All membership includes a subscription to the *INTERRACIAL REVIEW*)

NAME .....

ADDRESS ..... Street and number

..... City Zone State

All contributions are tax deductible.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

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George K. Hunton .....*Executive Secretary*
Ivis J. Calvet.....*Administrator and Managing Editor*

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Name _____

Address _____

Phone (home) _____ (business) _____

PLEASE CHECK BELOW ONE OR MORE SPACES DESIGNATING YOUR DESIRED PARTICIPATION IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF NEW YORK.

___ WORK AT THE CENTER'S OFFICE (Typing, Clerical, etc.)

___ WORK IN YOUR OWN PARISH (Contact work for forums and INTERRACIAL REVIEW)

___ PROGRAM COMMITTEE OF THE C.I.C

___ MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE OF THE C.I.C.

SPECIAL GROUP INVOLVEMENT

___ Alumni Race Relations Council

___ Young People's Activities

___ C.I.C. branches in Metropolitan Area

An interview with Father John LaFarge S. J.

by James O'Gara

Few persons are as qualified as Father LaFarge, one of the founders of the Catholic Interracial movement, to discuss Catholic teaching on interracial justice. Here are vital statements

INTEGRATION

Why?

Men of moderation have been intimidated into silence. They must make themselves heard

Reprinted from *The* SIGN *National Catholic Magazine*
Sign Bldg., Union City, New Jersey, U.S.A.

Father LaFarge, what was accomplished by the delegates who recently met in Chicago for the first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice?

I stated the purpose of the Conference in the address I made there: "to make a great affirmation, drawn from our Christian faith." We met as Catholics and as Americans, and we reaffirmed by our meeting the God-given principles of justice and charity.

As far as we can measure, the three-day conference was successful far beyond our expectations. We thought we could count on 200 delegates; we had 450 from forty states, a dozen of them Southern. At the banquet on the final evening, where Auxiliary Bishop Raymond Hillinger of Chicago conveyed the blessing of Pope Pius for the work of the Catholic Interracial Councils, all 650 seats were sold and we had to turn away scores of people.

Reporting the conference,* Time *Magazine said it took place at a time when Catholic efforts for interracial justice were weakening. Would you comment?

This report by *Time* is highly misleading, as the great success of the conference itself indicated. The truth is quite the contrary. There are inevitably isolated setbacks here and there, such as those noted by *Time,* but one has to look at the whole picture. Catholic advances on this question have been steady and most encouraging in religious orders, in our colleges and universities, in hospitals—in fact, in Catholic institutions and organizations of all kinds all over the country.

How would you sum up Catholic teaching on race?

The Catholic teaching on race is twofold. Firstly, regarding the Natural Law, we insist that the human race enjoys a natural unity and that the rights of the individual person are universal, regardless of race distinction. Secondly, there is the Catholic teaching on the supernatural unity of the Mystical Body. The Church teaches that all members of the Mystical Body are one in Christ, regardless of race. The doctrine of racism, on the other hand, involves a denial of this unity of the Mystical Body and cannot be reconciled with Catholic teaching.

What would you say about Catholic organizations or institutions that would as a matter of policy reject applications for admission from Negroes?

Any Catholic organization or institution that would do such a thing is acting entirely contrary to the spirit of the Church and contrary to its own profession of true Catholicity. Its denial of admission to persons because of their race or color would be a denial of its own basic principles as a Catholic body. But such denials are rapidly becoming an exception, and I am happy that there is a steady improvement even among organizations that have been setting a poor example.

Is racial segregation, then, immoral?

Racial segregation is a grievous wrong. It is both an effect of injustice and a cause of further injustice. Of course, segregation is a social thing, so it is hard to pin down the guilt of any individual, but as a system it is immoral.

Father LaFarge, some Catholics complain that over the years they have never heard a sermon on race and then suddenly are told that racial discrimination and segregation are wrong. What would you say about this?

Unfortunately, there has been too little instruction from the pulpit and in the schools on the Catholic teaching on race. However, neglect has been due largely to accidental causes. Interracial justice involves questions of fundamental social morality, and such questions are complex and difficult. Handling them adequately in a relatively short time is not easy, yet it needs to be done. More and more priests are becoming convinced that in teaching and preaching more stress must be placed on our duties as members of a community. It is simply not enough to pay our personal debts or refrain from drinking to excess. We have positive obligations as members of a community.

We should have a sermon on interracial justice in every parish at least once or twice a year. I know that many priests agree with me. In fact, a couple of years ago I selected some thirty sermon outlines on interracial justice for distribution around the country, and these received a very cordial reception from many members of the hierarchy.

Does government have a proper role to play in interracial questions?

I think the major work has to be performed by the joint action of the people themselves, white and Negro. But government also has an important role to play in protecting people's rights and in encouraging and assisting the initiative of citizens. There are some situations in which citizens are helpless without the aid of government. Thus, in certain cases, unless government gives positive aid, the people themselves are prevented from working out their own solution.

I would regard current efforts by the Justice Department to see that Negroes are not denied their right to vote in certain parts of the South as eminently proper and necessary.

What about the claim that Negroes possessed separate but equal facilities and that these should have been enough?

The "separate but equal" formula is and has always been completely misleading. Despite all the talk, there have never been separate but equal facilities for Negroes. First of all, as a point of principle, compulsory segregation is in itself a denial of equality. Secondly, as a point of fact, the phrase itself is misleading because under what was called a separate but equal system Negroes had to suffer and still do suffer from gross inequality. For example, in certain places an honest attempt has been made to provide equal school facilities, (buildings, equipment, teachers, curricula) but even these attempts are the exception, not the rule, and do not disprove the general principle. The cry of "separate but equal" is a snare and a delusion.

What is the difference between the race question in the North and the South?

I do not think the difference is essential, for this is a national problem. In the South, the Negro is caught in a network of rigid restrictions which affect every phase of his public life. These restrictions are not survivals of ancient customs but are a legal construct created in the last fifty years. In the North, the Negro is free from this network of segregation laws, but he is subjected to vexations which, if they are more subtle, are still very real, such as those due to racial prejudice in matters of employment or, more particularly, of residence. Years ago, the arrival of the Irish in a neighborhood was considered a calamity, and

the coming of the Italian aroused the same fears. Today it is the Negro's turn to be regarded in this unfriendly and shortsighted way. The most crucial question in the North today is that of the Negro's chance to escape from the racial ghetto and obtain a decent place to live.

What about the claim that Negroes were happy with segregation until "outsiders" came along and stirred them up?

This is simply not true. There has long been dissatisfaction among Negroes throughout the country about their segregated status, and they have always been subjected to a tremendous temptation to resort to extreme measures. The remarkable part of all this has been the patience of the Negro people under serious provocation. Today the conditions of modern life, the problem of making a living, of acquiring a decent home, of educating one's children, and of advancing one's economic and social conditions make segregation and discrimination completely intolerable.

Do you share the belief that the Little Rock "incidents" hurt the American cause around the world?

On a recent trip abroad I saw for myself that these things do hurt the American cause, and very seriously. Everywhere I went, people fired questions at me about Little Rock. Events like these are a cause of deep misunderstanding about America. They provide the Communists with a convenient weapon for anti-American propaganda.

What about the charge that Communists are behind many or most efforts for racial integration in this country?

It is absolutely untrue that the demand for Negro equality is Communist-inspired. American Negroes have been seek-

ing equal rights for the past eighty or 100 years, and the inspiration for these efforts has come primarily from their own leaders, religious and civic. The Communists have always been active in civil rights propaganda, of course, and in the past some worthy Negro leaders were duped by them for a while. But today civil rights leaders among Negroes—the officers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for example—are totally anti-Communist; they repudiate completely any help from or association with the Communists.

Father, is there any validity in the claim that efforts to secure interracial justice must slow down, that the Negro is trying to go too fast?

My answer is that we have had too much slow-down already. We have had sixty years of delay and confusion. Today a slow-down would only give the forces of violence and prejudice the opportunity to build up their strength, as we have seen all too well in recent months. There is, of course, the need for reasonable deliberation in the way we act. If "slow-down" merely means that we take a little more time to formulate our plans and to work out our differences, that is all right. But the phrase is usually a cover for inaction, and we have had too much of that.

Opponents of integration in the schools say that association of Negroes and whites will inevitably lead to interracial marriages. Thus a recent issue of* U.S. News & World Report *indicated this fear is a major reason for opposition to integration in the South. How do you feel about this?

Fears can be aroused about interracial marriage just as excitement can be stirred up over Jews, over Catholics and the power of Rome, over anything that touches intimately

upon human emotions. The existence of a certain degree of fear is, of course, simply an objective fact which any intelligent person will take into account. But the systematic exploiting and national broadcasting of such fear is a standard device of demagogues. Russian revolutionary propaganda, for instance, has never ceased to harp upon the Soviet people's dread of "capitalist encirclement" and their "undying memories" of White Russian armed intervention after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. For a person or national publication to capitalize, financially or politically, upon a popular fear of interracial marriage is, in my mind, a wholly irresponsible procedure.

Interracial marriage itself is a matter of personal choice. The Catholic Church has placed no canonical impediment against such marriages; the decision to expose oneself or one's children to the social pressures that such a marriage can involve is left to the individual and his or her sense of ordinary prudence. But I think those who raise a great cry over interracial marriages are again trying to create a false issue. There is no evidence to indicate any general movement toward or desire for interracial marriage in this country. To the extent that this issue can frighten people, it is a reflection of the belief that the Negro belongs to a subordinate place in society and should be perpetually relegated to the role of second-class citizen. Thus the idea of interracial marriage becomes a symbol of a threat to the entire pattern of white supremacy.

Well, then, what of the argument that law cannot force people of widely different cultural, educational, and economic backgrounds to associate?

This argument misstates the issue. As a matter of fact, right now laws in many states *prevent* people from associating. The issue is simply that of keeping inviolate for all

Americans their ordinary rights as citizens. In what manner and to what extent they wish to exercise these basic rights on behalf of themselves, their families, and their children is a matter for each individual's personal choice, keeping in mind the common interests of all the community.

Desegregation itself is not a cure for racial problems but only a necessary condition for such a cure. The solution must come through a free and honest dialogue among the people most concerned. Such a dialogue will frankly recognize the background differences that you speak of, but it will also seek for the points of common interest.

Various steps are being taken in the courts and elsewhere to deal with the segregation-integration crisis. What steps are not being taken which you would recommend?

One of the great problems of the present moment is that the country is hearing chiefly from the extremists. These are people who will not listen; there is no point in trying to reason with them, and only the courts can handle the problem they pose. The sad thing, however, is that these extremists have succeeded in intimidating many men of moderation into silence. There are many people in the South today, Negro and white, who have splendid ideas about the present situation, but their voices are not being heard. I would favor any method by which their voices can find utterance without danger of intimidation, vilification, or reprisals, and I would also like to see some intelligent and effective counteraction to the mass of hate-literature that is now being distributed around the country.

I would favor a national conference, under the sponsorship of the White House, at which leaders of both races would be brought together to speak freely with each other and to work for a solution to our present problems. On the local level I would favor a whole series of such conferences, again

under the sponsorship of the White House, at which regional leaders would be brought together for free dialogue.

At this stage, joint efforts by religious and civic leaders on both the local and national level are vitally needed. If the racist extremists are not to dominate all public discussion, it is essential that men of moderation make themselves heard by entering into some kind of continuing dialogue on racial issues at every level, for it is at the local level that the problem will ultimately be solved.

What does the New York Catholic Interracial Council do?

The work is primarily educational. One might almost call it public relations work, for it strives to spread Catholic principles of interracial justice through every possible medium. The Council provides material for different publications, Catholic and secular; it sponsors public forums and lectures; it uses whatever means are available to spread Catholic teaching on the race question.

Here, I want to stress how much can be accomplished in this field by clergy and laity working together and also emphasize the great contribution to the work of interracial justice that has been made by the Catholic press.

Finally, Father, what is the duty of the individual Catholic regarding interracial justice?

His most immediate duty is to inform himself. Many people still believe all kinds of untruths and old wives' tales about race; they need to unlearn what is not true. Catholics should know what the Church's position is and what has been done by Catholics in this field. After that is done, there is no one answer that can be given to cover everybody. Different action will be called for by different circumstances. But the main thing is to make a beginning by

getting information and by getting in touch with those who are working in this field.

The New York Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York, 7, N. Y., will be happy to supply information to those who are interested in the work of the Catholic Interracial Councils.

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DISCRIMINATION AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE-

From *Statement issued by Catholic Bishops of the United States*

The heart of the race question is moral and religious. It concerns the rights of man and our attitude toward our fellow man. If our attitude is governed by the great Christian law of love of neighbor and respect for his rights, then we can work out harmoniously the techniques for making legal, educational, economic, and social adjustments. But if our hearts are poisoned by hatred, or even by indifference toward the welfare and rights of our fellow men, then our nation faces a grave internal crisis.

For the welfare of our nation we call upon all to root out from their hearts bitterness and hatred. The tasks we face are indeed difficult. But hearts inspired by Christian love will surmount these difficulties.

Reprinted from NOVEMBER, 1958 ISSUE

The SIGN *National Catholic Magazine*

Sign Bldg., Union City, New Jersey, U.S.A.

35c A Copy - $4.00 A Year - Two Years $7.00

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF NEW YORK

Catholic Interracial Center
20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.
REctor 2-5417

The Catholic Interracial Council of New York offers the following program for your interest and participation.

WEEKLY FORUMS: Every Thursday evening throughout the year, except holydays and holidays from 6 to 7 o'clock. Speakers on all phases of race relations and social action. All welcome. Announcements mailed weekly to interested persons.

INTERRACIAL REVIEW: Monthly journal of Christian democracy. Authoritative news and comment on race relations at home and abroad.

SPEAKERS' BUREAU: Well-informed speakers on interracial topics for meetings, breakfasts, etc.

CONFERENCES: Staff members are available to conduct group discussions on interracial justice at Council headquarters or other locations.

RESEARCH FACILITIES: Available 9:30 to 5:30 weekdays. Evenings and Saturdays by special arrangement.

CLAVER INDEX: Bibliography of 40,000 entries on race relations.

LIBRARY: Current and standard works on race relations. Reports, statistics, pamphlets.

LITERATURE: Pamphlets, leaflets, reprints are available in reasonable quantities for free distribution.

CONSULTATION: With staff members on various aspects of race relations. Information to religious and secular press. Assistance in the preparation of theses, articles, talks etc.

We invite inquiries on the establishment of Interracial Councils

Contributions to the Catholic Interracial Council are tax exempt.

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L
PHONE: REctor 2-5417 20 Vesey St.,NY

NEWS SERVICE

(The following is a copy of a news release issued by the Catholic Council on Human Relations, New Orleans.)

NEW ORLEANS CATHOLIC LAYMEN
TO PROMOTE INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

New Orleans, March 23 - A group of Catholic laymen have established an organization designed to promote interracial justice and charity in the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

At a meeting March 23, at Notre Dame Seminary, approximately 300 laymen and lay women voted to establish the Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

They elected C. Ellis Henican, New Orleans, their president. Other officers elected were: First Vice-President, Dr. Paul Hebert, Baton Rouge; Second Vice-President, Dr. Leonard Burns, New Orleans; Secretary, John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans; Treasurer, Mrs. Thompson B. Burk, New Orleans.

The Rt.Rev.Msgr. Charles J. Plauche stated that the Council was formed with the approval and blessing of the Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans.

Mr. Henican said the purpose of the organization is to improve relationships among peoples of all races and national origins in the Archdiocese. He added that it will promote the teachings of the Catholic Church on interracial justice and charity and will work to correct the mistaken image that some persons have of the Church's official position on these matters.

"While this is a Catholic laymen's organization," he said, " we invite all citizens of good will to consider the approval of the objects of the newly created Council and to join with the Council in this community wide undertaking."

It is the Council's hope, he said, that attitudes of Christian charity will permeate all phases of community life. Its aims are fourfold:

(a) To promote good relationships among peoples of all races in the Archdiocese of New Orleans;

(b) To make known the teachings of the Catholic church on matters of interracial justice and charity, particularly as summarized by all of the cardinals, archbishops and bishops throughout the United States in their statement issued in 1958 and entitled "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience"; and the application of these principles to everyday living experiences;

(c) To work in cooperation with public and responsible private agencies, in strengthening the fabric of America's democratic way of life through the promotion of good human relations; and

(d) To exhort all of the clergy, religious and laity to offer their daily prayers, good works and sacrifices for the peaceful and charitable solution of all problems of human relations.

Msgr. Plauche said the responsibility for these aims lies with the Catholic layman as well as with the clergy.

Mr. Henican reported that Council members will conduct a program of education within the Catholic parishes and will promote the Council's ideals in all phases of community life.

Mr. Henican stated that anyone interested in further information, please call 866-4455, or write P.O. Box 4366, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Membership for Year Jan. 1 - Dec. 31

PR ✓
MET
JC

To: CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
20 Vesey Street (Room 1010)
New York 7, N.Y.

I wish to enroll as:

Contributing Member -	$5.00 a year
Associate Contributing Member -	$10.00 a year
Sponsoring Contributing Member -	$25.00 a year
Life Contributing Member -	$100.00

____Check Enclosed ____Bill Me

(All memberships include a subscription to Interracial Review)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____
Street snd Number

_____
City Zone State

All contributions tax deductible

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
RE. 2-5417

Dear Friend:

The world picture of race relations is one to appall and dismay. Nevertheless, we of the Catholic Interracial Council are encouraged by the response to our efforts towards civil rights. We plan not only to continue, but to redouble our striving.

But progress is not automatic. We need your help - the help only you can give. Below are listed a few of the ways in which you can help us in the work and participate as a member of our organization, now in its 27th year:

1. Inform yourself through reading the INTERRACIAL REVIEW, our monthly publication which is included in membership, and attending Council Forums, so that you can be a spokesman for interracial justice in your community.

2. Assemble a group of your friends, or get an invitation from your parish or social organization, to hear one of the Council speakers. We can arrange a panel session for free discussion - can you provide the setting and the participants?

3. Enroll another member - we need members of friends who can help us enlighten all Catholics on the Church's teachings on race relations.

4. Volunteer work. Have you a few hours a week to spare for help at the Center, addressing letters or helping our devoted but hard-pressed office staff?

5. Financial. Your $5.00 dues, or any additional amount you can spare, is urgently needed to expand our educational and promotion work. Each $5.00 pays for 500 pamphlet reprints, or the expenses of a speaker for an evening's talk.

PLEASE HELP US TO CARRY ON THIS DIVINE WORK OF CHARITY AND GOOD WILL TO ALL MEN - FILL IN THE ENCLOSED MEMBERSHIP BLANK.

Yours in the Cause of Interracial Justice,

Rawson L. Wood

RLW:ge
enc.

Rawson L. Wood
President

P.S. Why not attend our annual membership dinner meeting March 1st and learn first-hand of our activities!

We shall gather for supper at Miller's Restaurant, 140 Fulton Street, Manhattan (I.R.T. Lexington Avenue Subway line stops almost next door) at 5:30 P.M. Supper will be served beginning at 6:30 - Donation $3.50.

On this occasion you will have an opportunity to meet and join the members of the C.I.C., and become acquainted with the Officers and Board of Directors, the Chaplains - Fr. LaFarge and Fr. Hurley, as well as the Council Staff.

At the conclusion of dinner, we shall have a year-end report on Council activities, and there will be an opportunity for your questions and participation in planning the work of the Council for the coming year. We shall have a special speaker, and concluding remarks will be made by our beloved Chaplain, Fr. LaFarge.

We sincerely hope that you will be able to join us and that you will feel free to bring a guest or guests.

Please fill in the attached form and return it to us by February 22nd.

Please reserve___places at the Catholic Interracial Council Annual Membership Dinner, Miller's Restaurant, 140 Fulton Street, March 1, 1961.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

$3.50 per person - Please make check payable to the Catholic Interracial Council.

Please list guest's names and addresses on reverse side.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey St., NYC

INTERRACIAL GAINS CITED AT CONFERRING OF BOY SCOUTS' AWARD

New York, May 27 - Preceding a conferring of the Golden Jubilee Award of the National Boy Scouts of America to the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, at a forum here last night, George K. Hunton, secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council, summarized some of the gains made in race relations since January 1st.

"First in importance" Mr. Hunton said, "is the decision on the part of the leadership of the Third Order of St. Francis in the U.S. to launch the Apostolate of St. Benedict the Moor. This huge body of Catholic laymen and laywomen is dedicated to a role of life in which its memberhsip exemplifies humility, obedience and the uniting of all groups in a common bond with the resolve to live the gospel in daily life. The new project of the Third Order is known as the Apostolate of St. Benedict the Moor under which the Third Order members are engaged in a crusade for the advancement of the cause of interracial justice and interracial charity."

Raymond Sweazey, National Director of Intergroup Relations of the Boy Scouts of America, presented the Boy Scouts award as part of their organization's 50th anniversary celebration, in honor of the intergroup activities and achievements of the Catholic Interracial Council "in helping to foster its work of human relations".

Mr. Rawson Wood, newly elected President of the Catholic Interracial Council, accepted the award on behalf of the Council.

Mr. Sweazey explained that "part of our job is to help our local councils to be sure their program is geared to serve every child". The New York Catholic Interracial Council and other

Catholic Interracial Councils throughout the country, he said, have helped greatly in this task.

Mr. Hunton pointed out in his talk that the officers and directors of the CIC were highly encouraged on receiving the news story, with pictures, of the recent consecration at St. Peter's by His Holiness Pope John XXIII of 8 native African B ishops, as another indication of "the universality of the Church".

The speaker referred to the nationally syndicated articles by Harry Ashmore on the subject of the status of the Negro in American Life. Mr. Hunton critized the Ashmore series of articles which seem to belittle the achievements and the role of the NAACP in the movement for seeking equal social justice for the Negro minority in America. "Unhappily", Mr. Hunton said, "many of the criticisms of the National Association came from leaders whose devotion to the cause was too often limited in effectivaness and was hardly representative of Negro leadership. Too many of these groups enlisted for the battle, but members of the NAACP have enlisted for the duration of the fight for equal social justice".

"As a member of the national Board of Directors for several years," Mr. Hunton said, "I am in a position to state that there has never been any division between white and Negro members of our national board. We have reason to be proud of the officers and leaders of the Association both white and colored who are working together for a common objective. We must remember that the so-called "Negro problem" is a mis-nomer. Our problem is interracial; interracial in its origin, and interracial in its disastrous consequences to both groups. We recognize that the solution can only come about by representative white and Negro leaders working together for the solution of America's number one problem and fulfilling the promises of American democracy."

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L

NEWS SERVICE

(The following news story was sent out this week by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service to all Catholic papers and magazines throughout the country,)

NCEA CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

The following are the resolutions adopted by the National Catholic Educational Association at its 57th annual convention in Chicago's International Amphitheater (April 19 to 22).

I. Internal Organization:

1. Whereas there exist conditions of national, racial, and religious discrimination which violate seriously the rights of certain minority groups;

Whereas the statements of the hierarchy in America have indicated clearly the sacred obligation to overcome injustice which flows from such discrimination, be it

RESOLVED, that the association express its concern regarding the plight of those who suffer because of national racial and religious discrimination, and encourage those efforts within the principles of justice and charity made by such persons to overcome the effects of such discrimination; that Catholic colleges and universities, as well as other levels of Catholic education take positive measures to communicate to those within and outside the Church their support of the position taken by the American hierarchy regarding racial discrimination and segregation.

2. Whereas, the Christian principles of justice and charity must be operative if man is to live a truly human life as a child of God;

Whereas, these principles require renewed application in each succeeding generation, and in the many concrete conditions in which men find themselves;

Whereas, Catholics, because of the special advantages which are theirs have heavy responsibilities to see to it that the principles of justice and charity are brought to bear upon the problems of the present day world, be it

RESOLVED, that schools continue their efforts to find increasingly effective ways of developing within their students a deep sense of social responsibility, and particularly of their responsibilities as Catholic within a pluralistic society.

The annual convention was attended by over 17,000 delegates. [redacted]

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L
REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey St.

(The following news story was sent out this week to all Catholic newspapers and magazines in the U.S. by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service.)

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
IS FORMED IN LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., June 20 (NC)-A Catholic Interracial Council has been formed in Little Rock, recent hotbed of disturbances stemming from racial integration in the schools.

The Little Rock council, which will join the National Conference for Interracial Justice, was organized to conduct fact-finding and education on interracial problems. The council already has assisted in a statewide educational program on segregation. It was conducted through the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine groups in the Little Rock diocese.

The council was formed after Bishop Albert L. Fletcher of Little Rock issued a pastoral letter stating that silence on interracial matters is harmful to the solution of interracial problems.

The Bishops called upon the CCD to use "An Elementary Catholic Catechism on the Morality of Segregation and Racial Discrimination", which was prepared for discussion groups. The catechism states that racial segregation "as we know it in Arkansas is immoral."

The Little Rock council will join with 40 other councils at the founding meeting of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in St. Louis from August 25 to 28.

There are now 45 Catholic Interracial Councils in the U.S. Ed.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 38

RECEIVED
AUG 3
Southern Regional Council

July 30, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Conference
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Hdf.

I am sending you herewith extended excerpts from the news story issued by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service about the historic stand taken by Bishop Vincent S. Waters of Raleigh, N.C. We are collecting comments from a number of leaders in the interracial field which we feel would be of interest and value and also furnish the basis of a commendatory news story.

We would appreciate it very much if you would send your comment (about 100 words) with respect to the forthright position taken by Bishop Waters.

We have also been collecting comments that have appeared in Negro publications as well as editorials from Catholic papers.

With every good wish for a pleasant summer,

I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:ml

George K. Hunton
International Ferrier
20 Vesey Street
New York 7

~~Hunton~~

January 12, '54

Dear George,

I am under an old promise to let you know ahead of time if I am going to spend any number of days in NY.

Jan 22 c/o Dan Dodson, N.Y.U.
Jan.25-29 c/o Art Elder, I.L.G.W.U.

If i can do you any good in the course of this trip get hold of the appropriate c/o and subtract me for the time needed!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

January 18, 1954

Mr. George K. Hunton
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear George:

Thursday, January 28, at 6 o'clock, sounds all right; and I don't know of anything that ILGWU has planned that will conflict.

You had best clear it, however, with Art Elder of ILGWU. Assuming that clears, I will show up on Thursday evening, January 28, a few minutes before 6 p.m. to take a minor part in Roy Wilkins' program.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:hh

INTERRACIAL REVIEW
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED
JAN 18
Southern Regional Council

Jan. 15, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I hasten to acknowledge and thank you for your welcome letter which brings the good news that you will be in New York this month. As you know, our forums are held each Thursday in the month, from 6 to 7 p.m. Therefore I am going to ask you to plan to attend and participate our forum on Thursday, Jan. 28. The regular speaker for this date is our good friend Roy Wilkins and it would be wonderful if you both could be here - a perfect interracial panel discussion.

I feel you will be interested to know that the two newest Councils to be formed are the Catholic Interracial Councils of Richmond (where the chaplain is Bishop Hodges himself) and Pittsburgh (where our friend Frank Shane is to be named chairman).

I will phone you through the office of I.L.G.W.U. the week of Jan. 25 to conclude final arrangements.

With every good wish for the new year, I am

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

George K. Hunton

GKH:ml

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED
JAN 23
Southern Regional Council

Jan. 21, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your welcome letter of the 18th.

We will be very glad ~~to have~~ that you can be present and participate in the forum on the 28th.

By the way, I expect to see you at the Thursday luncheon sponsored by the National Committee for Rural Schools. I have just dropped a note to Ben McLaurin accepting his cordial invitation.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

P. S. Will contact Art Elder as you suggest.

G.K.H.

GKH:ml

George Hunton

February 26, '54

Dear George,

The Councils are still new hereabouts, and though I have some direct experience of Washington and Rock Hill, and of similar things in New Orleans, I really haven't a lot to go on in the South. But I know the method, and think it exactly the best one. Here's a screed:

> The transition from dreaking about interracial cooperation and getting it begins with meetings. People who already feel a link, across the lines of race, will find many ways to work usefully together. From my own participations in Catholic Interracial Councils I have found them proceeding naturally and smoothly into ever-widening fields of helpfulness. The South greatly needs more examples of this kind: 'tis a queer thing, but even a little calm, everyday doing things together makes a spreading habit. This is how to launch the new society which will deserve the name of religious.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1954
Southern Regional Council

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

February 23, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for having your office send us copies of the pamphlet about "Crime in the Headlines".

A Catholic Sister from Indiana is working on her doctorate thesis, the subject of which is "The Program and Achievements of the Catholic Interracial Councils", and she has asked us to get "objective evaluations" from leaders in the interracial field who are not connected with the Interracial Councils. I wonder if you would be willing to send us a 100-150 word statement about what you regard as the contributions made by our Councils in the last twenty years? The enclosed might be helpful as reference material. Already we have secured statements from people like Jim Carey of CIO; President Russell of Teachers College; Msgr. Voight, Superintendent of Catholic High Schools, New York; Elmer Carter; George Gregory, et al.

Thanking you for your consideration of this request, and with every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a
encls

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED
MAR 5 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 3, 1954

Dear George:

It was very kind of you to send us your fine evaluation of the Catholic Interracial Councils. It is just what we had in mind, and we are very grateful to you.

You will be glad to know that another important campaign is being launched, namely, to persuade more of the K. of C. Councils to admit Catholic Negroes to membership. I thought you would like the enclosed news items that will give you some of the particulars.

Again thanking you and with every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GKH:a
encls

The Catholic News

PUBLISHED IN THE INTEREST OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK

June 15, 1946

K. of C. State Council Reasserts Opposition To Racial Intolerance

Reasserting its "unalterable opposition to all practices of intolerance and discrimination," New York State Council, Knights of Columbus, at its recent convention at Saranac Lake unanimously adopted a resolution which stated that "in a world seething with hatreds, recognition of these principles is of paramount concern to mankind."

"Members of the Knights of Columbus have been drawn from qualified Catholics of every race, class and color," the resolution stated. "The Knights of Columbus stand firm upon the teachings and principles of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and His Holy Church, and as followers of Jesus Christ the Knights of Columbus have never compromised in any of these principles; we have among these peoples the teaching of the unity of the human race so clearly explained by our present Holy Father Pope Pius XII, in his first Encyclical 'Summi Pontificatus,' and his Encyclical on 'The Mystical Body of Christ.'"

Commenting upon the resolution, State Deputy Joseph M. Foley said: "One of our most illustrious and distinguished Knights in the City of New York is Dr. Hudson Oliver of St. Patrick's Council. He has been a tower of strength through the years and is at present a member of the Hospital Association of New York Chapter."

Brooklyn
Catholic Interracial Council
191 Joralemon St Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey St. New York 7, N. Y.

The CATHOLIC UNIVERSE BULLETIN
Cleveland, Ohio
Feb. 26, 1954

Bishop Begin to Quit 'White' KC Council. Join Interracial

Auxiliary Bishop Floyd L. Begin this week demanded that the Knights of Columbus supreme board stop dragging its feet and grant a charter to an interracial council here.

Bishop Begin announced that he himself is planning to transfer to the interracial council from Cleveland Council 733, which last year refused to accept three Negro Catholics as members.

Bishop Begin blew the lid off the long-simmering dispute with a speech Sunday night in Hotel Hollenden to 1,200 persons attending a KC Fourth Degree initiation, at which he was specially honored.

He called for and got a unanimous standing vote in favor of his decision to prepare a petition asking the supreme board to reconsider its action of two weeks ago, when it turned down the interracial council's application for a charter.

Bishop Begin was honored at the initiation by having the Fourth Degree class named for him. Rising to acknowledge the compliment, he spoke out sharply against the supreme board and local "traitors" who have blackballed Catholic Negroes who applied for membership in existing councils.

The next day, in an interview, Bishop Begin told the Universe Bulletin of his intention to transfer to the new council. He said:

"Either the supreme board has forgotten the first lesson of the Third Degree—the elimination of racial prejudice—or this new council has been misrepresented to the board. They should grant a charter and be done with it and not inquire about the color of the members' skins."

Though official notice hasn't been received here yet, Supreme Knight Luke Hart, New Haven, Conn., told the Universe Bulletin by phone that the supreme board had rejected the charter appeal at its meeting in St. Louis Feb. 12-14.

The reason, he said, was that the projected council had been organized "on a racial basis."

Hart also pointed out that two of the three Negro Catholics refused by Cleveland Council 733 last year had signed applications for the new council. This, Hart said, was an apparent attempt to "evade the ballot box."

Bishop Begin, however, called it "evading a stuffed ballot box" and said the supreme board has no business questioning the group's racial makeup as long as it is not entirely Negro and therefore is not violating policy against racial or ethnic councils. He added:

"I would have nothing to do with an all-Negro council. But this would not be such a council: It is a group of white men who want to start a council to which Negroes would be admitted right from the beginning, so that there would never be any question of prejudice in admitting new members."

On that score, Bishop Begin said flatly that race prejudice is responsible for the exclusion of the three Negroes from Cleveland Council and for similar rejections in the past. He said:

"The only reason they're keeping them out is their color. Anybody who denies that is a pussyfooting liar."

The bishop said he tried to persuade Cleveland Council members to accept the Negroes last year. But, he pointed out, as few as five "blackballs" can bar an applicant from membership. These, he said, are the five (or more) "traitors" to whom he referred in his Sunday night talk. Of them he told the Universe Bulletin.

"As Americans they're wrong, as Catholics they're wrong and as Knights they're wrong.

"The K of C should either identify itself with the Catholic Church and the lay apostolate or cease to call itself a Catholic organization and use instead the term 'fraternal organization for Catholics'.

"I want to remain a Knight. I hope I can. But I'm afraid the real Knights aren't running the order any more."

Bishop Begin said KC treatment of Negro applicants has become a scandal among Negro Catholics, many of whom are members of his St. Agnes Parish. He said he decided Sunday noon that his being honored at a K of C function demanded a public statement on the matter. He added:

"Either I have to say Negroes are second-rate Catholics or I must say the Knights are not acting as Catholics. The decision is obvious."

Supreme Knight Hart, meanwhile, argued that Negroes should apply for membership in existing councils "like anyone else" and said that Negroes have become Knights in various parts of the country.

Hart said that official notice of the charter's rejection would probably arrive here about the end of this week.

District Deputy Stephen Suhajcik, Second Ward Cleveland councilman, was responsible for organizing the new KC group. It had accepted 138 applications and was withholding action on 80 others. Its membership was about 2-1 Negro. Many of the whites were transfers, and more were expected after the group got a charter.

SOME NEGROES, who had feared that the new council might become a Jim Crow organization were pleased with the supreme board's decision. They fear that an interracial council would become a convenient "dumping ground" for any council which wanted to avoid voting on Negro applicants.

Organization of the rejected council was begun after the three Negroes concluded that they didn't have much chance of being treated "like anyone else."

The three are Frank Petite, a hardware dealer; William Ware, a plumbing contractor, and M. C. Clarke, president of an insurance company and member of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

Almost three years ago they applied for membership in Cleveland Council, 3443 Euclid Ave. After a wait of almost two years, all three were rejected.

AS BISHOP BEGIN NOTED, under the K of C system of picking members, as few as five of Cleveland Council's 2,350 members could have kept the Negroes out by blackball votes. Officials say the matter did come to a vote.

Though not formally notified of their rejection, the three Negroes got their initiation fees back on March 19, 1953. (The fees had been held 10 months.) A short time later, two members of Cleveland Council started work toward organizing an interracial council.

In June, organizational meetings began. Prospective Knights were told that New Haven had given the go-ahead and that with a minimum of 100 members, including at least 60 insurance members, a council could be formed.

They were also told that since K of C application blanks don't ask about race, it would make no difference how many whites or Negroes applied.

TWO OF THE ORIGINAL Negro applicants stayed with the new group, but Clarke raised the Jim Crow question and withdrew his application.

Meetings continued through the fall and winter in Hough-area parish halls. Finally, Suhajcik (who became district deputy July 1) applied for a charter. On Jan. 31 he called a meeting and announced that the application had been rejected by the national charter committee. The subsequent appeal was rejected in St. Louis.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
20 Vesey St., New York 7, N.Y.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED
MAR 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 17, 1954

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

We would appreciate it very much if you will send us 4 copies of the January issue of the NEW SOUTH.

Enclosed please find stamps to cover cost of same. Thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:1
enc.

sent 3/19/54

RECEIVED
MAR 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 15, '54

Mr. George K. Hunton
Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear George,

Here's the dope on our mighty helpful grant.

We would never have got it unless our friends had stuck with us, and we are grateful, deeply, for the support and faith that has been given us.

Appreciate the helping note on Libraries in the March issue.

We will be about the business of getting State program reorganized and strengthened with paid personnel.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

May 31, 1954

Dictated May 28

Mr. G. K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

Many thanks for your letter of May 20. I am uneasy about the matter you mention, and have arranged for Marion Wright, the President of the Council, to meet me early in June and I will see if we can plan suitable steps.

Congratulations on the Twentieth Anniversary! I greatly wish I could be in New York for the occasion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

do date
send copy
to M.W.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

of New York, Inc.

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 20, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

First I want to tell you how pleased all of your friends were to learn ~~of the~~ that the wonderful work of the Southern Regional Council ~~which~~ is recognized and helped by the Fund For The Republic. We note that your Council deserves twice as much the next time.

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed letter from our friends, The Southerners For Civil Rights". Of course I haven't been near them for a year, but I am still on their mailing list. As I mentioned when we talked before, I have no confidence in their leaders or leadership and doubt very much that their cooperation would be helpful to your Council. However you would know best.

We are going to observe the 20th Anniversary of the founding of the New York CIC, on the afternoon of Pentecost Sunday, June 6th. An invitation is being mailed to you today. It would be wonderful if were going to be in New York at the time and could be with us that day.

Will you please send us a copy of statement I am sure you must have issued in connection with the historic decision of the Supreme Court.

With every good,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD
ENC.

Southerners For Civil Rights

121 WAVERLY PLACE - NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
TELEPHONE OREGON 4-7750

May 19, 1954

Mr. Hunton
In Care of Catholic Interracial
20 Vesey Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hunton:

First, we want to thank you for your support of the theatre benefit and to report that we cleared enough to cover mailing and mimeographing costs for the season and to pay the deficit from our two public meetings - the reception last fall to the Negro candidates in the municipal elections and the very successful choral program on the subject of school segregation in February.

Now, an exceptional opportunity has come up for Southerners For Civil Rights to make a contribution of inestimable value in laying the foundation for more equitable treatment of Negroes in courts of law.

For many years it has been recognized that a definitive study is needed, to back up with facts, the general feeling that in the meting out of punishment for the same offenses there is discrimination against the Negro. Without the actual facts no progress can be made toward real equality.

The Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, has undertaken to sponsor such a study. It was estimated that a minimum of $8000 would be needed for research and evaluation. The Council succeeded in raising half of the necessary funds and has enlisted the help of sociologists of high standing to plan and direct the project. Our cooperation and financial support was requested some time ago. While we recognized the importance of getting this study done, we did not feel in a position to raise any large sums of money.

Recently, however, one of the National Foundations has offered $2000 toward the completion of the project provided an equal amount can be raised in the South. One of our members, Miss Ella Baker, has offered to go South under the sponsorship of Southerners For Civil Rights to raise the required $2000. Miss Baker is donating her services, so we have only the expense of her trip -- about $500 -- to consider. A committee headed by Dr. Broadus Mitchell has investigated this project and feels that it offers an opportunity that must not be missed.

Several members of the executive committee have pledged $50 each toward Miss Baker's travelling expenses and we are writing to ask you to share in raising the remainder. The $500 we give will mean $4000 for this work. On the other hand, if we fail to raise the smaller sum, none of the money will be made available.

Will you send whatever you can spare or can get interested friends to contribute, to our treasurer, Mr. Mogulescu, in the enclosed addressed envelope? If each member or friend of Southerners for Civil Rights would contribute even a small amount, the success of the fund will be ensured.

Sincerely,

Emma Gelders Sterne

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED
JUN 11 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 9, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of good wishes. Thought you might like to have the enclosed news story about our Sunday program.

I think that America is very fortunate that we have the Southern Regional Council, which has a wonderful record of achievement and which will undoubtedly do even more in the days ahead. I think you and I are agreed that the solution in the long run must come from community level - that is by organizing local community councils made up of all the representatives local leadership.

By the way, the Interracial Review would like to have another article from the pen of George S. Mitchell. Would it be possible for you to do this without over-crowding your schedule?

Every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

June 29, 1954

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Hunton:

Marion Wright went up to New York last week and saw one or two people connected with Southerners for Civil Rights. He asked that the fund-raising effort and the proposed trip to the South by them on behalf of our project for a Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law be suspended.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 19, 1954

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
of New York, Inc.
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

Marion Wright tells me that Judge Waring has resigned from the Board of Southerners for Civil Rights.

I do think you have all along had the right idea of what they ought to be working it. I wish they would be active in that.

I did see Ted Poston's story. It much exaggerates my out-reach.

I hope to see you next time I am in New York.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

July 14, 1954

RECEIVED
JUL 16 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

On my return from a short vacation, I have your letter advising me that Mr. Wright has talked with the representative of the Southerners for Civil Rights and persuaded them to suspend their money raising campaign and the proposed trip to the South in an effort to set up a commission on equal penalities in the courts of law.

I think this has been a very definite achievement and I certainly congratulate the leaders of your Council for having brought it about.

I think after I return from my trip to New England, I will talk to some of the leaders (whom I met about a year ago) and renew the suggestion that the organization encourage its members to become active right here in the metropolitan area of New York - in their own local communities. I think you would agree that this might be worthwhile. However, if you feel that I shouldn't do so, let me know and I will be guided by your advice.

I read with great interest the story in the "New York Post" about "The Man Whom Talmadge Fears" - George Mitchell. I have no doubt that you received clippings, if not we will be glad to get them for you.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

The following news story was sent to all Catholic magazines and newspapers by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service. Additional copies are available from the above address.

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9/13/54

SOUTHERN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS
IN LEAD IN PUTTING COURT
SEGREGATION BAN IN EFFECT

SURVEY SHOWS RACE BARS
REMAIN IN PARISH SCHOOLS
IN PARTS OF REGION, THOUGH

(N.C.W.C. NEWS SERVICE)

Children traipsing back to classes south of the Mason-Dixon Line last week found it was the Catholic schools that were straightening the path toward racial integration.

The list of States where White and Negro youngsters were sitting side by side in Catholic schools read almost like a rollcall of a Southern political caucus: Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia....

Not all of the Catholic schools in all those states were integrated, to be sure--in some areas it was only an initial step. But an N.C.W.C. News Service survey showed that in virtually every case, the Catholic school systems were well ahead of the civil educators in the integration picture. The Supreme Court in a historic decision last May 17, ruled that race segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional. The survey found that in many instances where the public schools were just beginning to move toward desegregation, or were even dragging their heels, the parochial schools had been successfully integrated for years.

In almost all of the South except the border States and the District of Columbia, public school children still had to go their own way--Whites to their schools, Negroes to separate ones. Meanwhile, state and local education authorities for the most part were waiting for the court to hand down its instructions as to just how and when the segregation ban must be put into effect. The decree probably won't come until next Spring. Public officials in at least four States, moreover, have been airing plans to try to disregard the tribunal's decision.

The NC canvas showed there were some areas in the deep South where the pressure of long-standing social custom cautioned those responsible for Catholic education to withhold action until the high court outlined its program and public opinion has become more

used to the idea.

But even in the "wait-and-see" dioceses, the general pattern was for the Church to press for calm and quick acceptance of the fact that school segregation is now unconstitutional. And in some, it was understood, race barriers were actually being swept away, but without any public announcement--the idea being that the less fanfare, the more effective the change would be.

The Supreme Court decision is legally binding only on the public schools. The general reaction of the Church has been that it is at least morally binding on Catholic schools, and that it clears the way legally for the Church to make her benefits equally available to all races.

For this reason, the survey of the Catholic position on integration involved only the areas where segregation had previously been enforced by law--17 States and the District of Columbia--and the four States where segregation was provided by local option. It was made by means of a questionnaire sent to Catholic school superintendents in each of 39 ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the 22 civil jurisdictions. Of the 39, replies were received from 24 superintendents; some information pertinent to the canvas was available from other sources, however.

Here are some of the highlights of the survey findings:

While public school children of both races in the nation's capital were attending classes together for the first time--and on a limited basis, at that--integration was no novelty to the Catholic school pupils. Under the leadership of Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle of Washington, the parochial and archdiocesan schools of the capital and its Maryland suburbs had been enrolling youngsters without regard to race since 1949.

St. Louis, Mo., followed a similar policy of integrating its facilities on a gradual approach, with completion slated for next September, and a good number of other Missouri school districts are following suit. But the Catholic schools were completely integrated by Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis in 1947 after mixed groups had been attending parochial grammar schools for years. Catholic schools in the Diocese of St. Joseph made a similar policy effective in 1948, and the Kansas City diocese rounded out integration of Catholic education in the whole State the following year.

If the picture in the District of Columbia and Missouri was old hat, in many areas of the old South it was virtually revolutionary. In Virginia, colored students were attending three previously "white" Catholic high schools in Richmond and one in Roanoke, as well as grammar schools in Roanoke, the tidewater area, and the northern counties near Washington. Bishop Peter L. Ireton of Richmond had announced prior to the Supreme Court ruling that Negroes would be welcomed in the Richmond Catholic high schools.

In North Carolina, another bastion of the old Confederacy, the five diocesan and parochial high schools were instructed by Bishop Vincent S. Waters of Raleigh to accept all Catholic high school students "no matter to what race they belong." In a letter published as the schools were reopening, the Bishop reiterated his public statement of a year and a half ago that "there is no segregation of races to be tolerated." The letter also asked that Negro Catholics be admitted to the elementary schools and the hospitals.

Within two days after Bishop Waters' announcement, it was made known that Belmont Abbey College, the only Catholic college in the state, had also ended racial segregation. Its sister institution, Sacred Heart Academy--a junior college for girls--has admitted three Negro students. Both are under the jurisdiction of Abbot Vincent G. Taylor, O.S.B., of Belmont Abbey. The Belmont Abbey Nullius includes all of North Carolina's Gaston County.

Bishop Albert L. Fletcher of Little Rock set forth the goal for the Church in Arkansas a month ago in a pastoral letter: "No Catholic student is refused admission to a Catholic school on account of race or color." He said that while it was practically impossible to complete the change immediately in all places, it was urgently necessary for Catholic Negro children to be admitted to any Catholic school available in places where there was no Catholic school especially for them.

In Oklahoma, Bishop Eugene J. McGuinness of Oklahoma City and Tulsa ordered last month that all Catholic schools in the State were to admit qualified Negro students--no discrimination, no favoritism. Thus when Oklahoma City Catholic High enrolled ten colored students the secular press noted that it "shattered all Oklahoma precedent." The public schools stood pat with separate facilities.

The public schools of Texas also stuck to segregation. But in the San Antonio area, there had been some mixed schools for several years. Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio announced last April that complete integration was mandatory on all educational levels. In some other Texas dioceses--including Amarillo, Dallas-Fort Worth and Corpus Christi--there was at least partial integration.

The school superintendent in one diocese which is officially maintaining dual facilities said that children known to be Negroes had been attending so-called white parochial schools "for years." He said, however, that there were not many such instances.

In the deep South, the general feeling on the part of the Catholic superintendents is that the transition to integrated schools will pose many problems and take some time before it can be fully accomplished. Those in other areas on the whole see no major obstacles, although many indicate that the program can be made to work best if there is little or no publicity.

The paucity of Negroes who are members of the Church is noted in a number of responses. Actually, there are well under half a million Catholic Negroes in the whole country--about 270,000 of them living in the South, Southwest and border States. The heaviest concentrations are located in the Gulf Coast States and in the large metropolitan areas of the Southeast. Thus the percentages range from less than one per cent in such dioceses as Covington, Ky., to 23 per cent in Lafayette, La. It follows that the relatively small number of Negro Catholics in proportion to the total Negro population, as well as the moral force of the Church and its 1900-year anti-racist tradition--including the record of three African Popes--the transition to integrated facilities is easier for Catholic institutions than for civil ones.

Following the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision, the Catholic Committee of the South reprinted a portion of the statement made by the Bishops of the South at the 1953 CCS meeting. "There is no denying that there are certain practices and behavior patterns in the South, as in other parts of the country, which are alien to Christian principles and ideals," the Bishops said. "The eradication of these practices and patterns was, and is to be, the task that must be undertaken before it is too late...

"We sincerely hope that the day will come when the ideal of Christian brotherhood will displace from our southern scene all traces of the blight of racism. Let us Catholics, true to our convictions, set the pattern."

In the following state-by-state listing, since not all the diocesan school superintendents replied to the NC questionnaire, some of the data are based on other sources--primarily a survey conducted by Dr. John J. O'Connor of the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford Foundation) prior to the Supreme Court ruling. Presumably these are still valid in places for which no later reports are available. But there is a possibility that some dioceses listed as having segregated schools are actually proceeding toward integration, but without making their plans public.

Here, then, is what Catholic institutions are doing to "set the pattern":

Washington, D.C.: "system here is integrated" on all levels. Public schools to complete integration by next Fall.

Alabama: Listed by Dr. O'Connor as having no educational integration, but with Negro nuns admitted to summer school sessions at Spring Hill College. Public schools segregated.

Arizona: One of the "local option" States. O'Connor survey found there had "always been Catholic educational integration." Public high school faculties in Phoenix now integrated.

Arkansas: Bishop Fletcher announced in August that Catholic Negroes were to be admitted to "white" schools where there were no schools for them. There had previously been integration in one girls' school, and the diocesan seminary "has always been ready to accept any qualified candidate." Public schools reported integrating this fall in city of Fayetteville. Announced goal of diocese: "No Catholic student is refused admission to a Catholic school on account of race or color."

Delaware: All Catholic schools now accepting Negro students. Breakdown of segregation was initiated in 1950 when Salesianum High in Wilmington enrolled five colored boys. Sole remaining all-colored school to be closed. Public schools now following Catholic example on gradual basis.

Florida: Dr. O'Connor found "no integration in either the public or Catholic school systems."

Georgia: Educational segregation, according to O'Connor survey. State officials adamant against allowing Court decision to go into effect.

Kansas: State law permits segregation in 12 cities. Catholic schools now all open. The last major change came in 1945 when admission of Negroes to a previously all-white Catholic high school in the Archdiocese of Kansas City was made mandatory. In 1953 the last all-Negro parish school in the Diocese of Wichita was discontinued. Public schools in Topeka abandoned segregation principle prior to Court ruling; others presumably are in the process.

Kentucky: Law prohibiting integration on primary and secondary levels--even in private schools--still on books. School superintendent for Archdiocese of Louisville notes five Catholic elementary and high schools integrated now and says "each school is now acting quietly and naturally on its own." All Catholic colleges and nursing schools in state previously eliminated race bars. No data on primary and secondary schools available for Dioceses of Covington and Owensboro.

Louisiana: Loyola University integrated; Negroes accepted at both New Orleans archdiocesan seminaries since 1950. College of the Sacred Heart (for women), at Grand Coteau in the Diocese of Lafayette, began admitting Negroes last year. Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans led a heated but unsuccessful fight against the effort of the Louisiana Legislature to Circumvent the Supreme Court decision last July. Archdiocesan school board lauded the high court decision, but announced it would await the tribunal's implementing directive before going ahead with integration in the grade and high schools. Dioceses of Lafayette and Alexandria presumably following same course.

Maryland: Prince Georges and Montgomery County Catholic schools, in Washington archdiocese, integrated, as are Eastern Shore schools in the Diocese of Wilmington. The Washington See's southern Maryland counties rely on counties for school bus transportation--which is still segregated; "efforts are being made to make change as quickly as can feasibly be done." No announcement from Archdiocese of Baltimore, although recurrent reports in the secular press hold that Catholic schools in the city of Baltimore are being integrated. Prior to the Court ruling, all the Maryland Catholic colleges and seminaries had accepted Negro students. Baltimore city ended segregation in the public schools this fall; the rest of the State is holding out until the Court hands down its instructions.

Mississippi: Dr. O'Connor lists educational segregation, although St. Augustine's Seminary at Bay St. Louis is integrated on the faculty and student levels. The State Governor has been drawing up plans to try to circumvent the Supreme Court's decree of unconstitutionality.

Missouri: Integration on all Catholic educational levels. A small but organized group of laymen threatened to bring civil suit against Archbishop Ritter when he ordered integration of the Catholic high schools in 1947, but submitted peaceably when he reminded them of the Canon Law provision for excommunication in such cases.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reports that Missouri public school systems are "out front" in the march toward desegregation. According to the Catholic school superintendent in the Diocese of St. Joseph, "the acceptance of Negro children in Catholic schools during the past seven or eight years definitely helped to influence public opinion in favor of integration in the public school system."

New Mexico: One of the four local option states. The Archdiocese of Santa Fe and the Diocese of Gallup have "always accepted the few Negroes applying." Public schools taking steps toward integration with little fuss, except in the town of Hobbs, where a non-conformist Baptist pastor led an unsuccessful move to have segregation enforced.

North Carolina: Integration mandatory in the five parochial high schools of the Diocese of Raleigh, and asked, but not ordered, in the elementary schools. Two colleges--one of them having a 12-year preparatory school--in the Belmont Abbacy Nullius (Gaston County) accepting Negroes, while no statement released concerning racial policies in the jurisdiction's three parochial and one private elementary schools and the other private secondary school. North Carolina public schools maintaining segregated system.

Oklahoma: Negroes admitted to all Catholic Schools this Fall, with the five schools already in operation for the colored remaining open. Public schools keeping separate facilities.

South Carolina: Separate Catholic institutions on all educational levels. "No changes in public or parochial schools for the 1954-55 session."

Tennessee: Catholic schools in Nashville integrated this Fall. Those in other parts of the state, like the public schools, are maintaining segregated facilities this year.

Texas: Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio, culminating a decade-long drive against the "sin of racial segregation," made integration mandatory on all levels of Catholic education. In the Diocese of Dallas-Fort Worth, the Catholic "white" schools are enrolling colored children "when requested to do so," although the existing Negro parish schools are being maintained. At least one Negro registered in a previously all-white high school, while the See's only college registered one Negro woman. The Diocese of Corpus Christi has had several integrated schools for some time, and intends to continue "gradually, without forcing the issue." At least some high school integration in Austin diocese. Dr. O'Connor reports high school integration in the Diocese of Amarillo, while no data are available for the diocese of El Paso. The Galveston diocese plans to follow the public school law of the state, continuing segregation for the 1954-55 year.

Virginia: Integration in the Catholic high schools of Richmond announced two weeks prior to the Supreme Court ruling. With the opening of the school year, six to eight elementary schools in the northern counties near Washington were integrated, as were two elementary and one high school in Roanoke, four high schools in the Richmond area and one elementary school in the peninsula between the York and James Rivers. The public school pattern of segregation was continued throughout the state.

West Virginia: The Diocese of Wheeling began integrating on all levels several years ago, and the policy has proved "completely successful." Two elementary and one high school just for Negroes remain, however, and it will be left "to the Negro parents themselves to decide whether they shall be continued." Full integration was put into effect in public schools in a half dozen counties, and desegregation was started in some other parts of the state this Fall.

Wyoming: One of the local option states. Actually, no locality ever invoked segregation. The school superintendent of the Diocese of Cheyenne noted that all Catholic schools were integrated and that he'd "never heard of the (segregation) issue being raised."

* * * *

February 24, 1955

Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Thank you so much for sending the generous supply of "Southern Catholic Schools in Lead in Putting Court Segregation Ban in Effect" (News release of Sept. 13, 1954). We find it a most useful summary.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Information Assistant

April 7, 1955

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 38, New York

Dear George:

Here's Marion Wright's speech, entirely available for any re-use you will make of it. We thought it excellent, and I hear it went well in New Orleans.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - March, 1955 New South

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 38

APR 7 1955

April 5, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

The March 27 issue of CATHOLIC ACTION IN THE SOUTH carries a newstory about the recent talk given by Mr. Marion A. Wright at the New York meeting of the New Orleans District, Louisiana Council of Human Relations.

We would appreciate it very much, George, if you would send us the complete text of Mr. Wright's address, which seemed to cover all aspects of the problems involved in integration.

to AH
4/15/55

I am enclosing herewith some reprints of the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE's story on the recent visit here of the African Negro Bishop of Leribe. We will be only too glad to send you a couple of hundred, or more, if you could use them in any of your mailings. Up to now we have put in orders for about 12,000 copies. So, whatever you could use we will be glad to send with our compliments.

Trusting you are well and hoping that you will be visiting New York in the near future and will drop in and see us, I am, with every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a
encls

October 24, 1955

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

You prop me at a weak corner. The Attorney General of Georgia is mopping up the floor with me and my Southern Regional Council. He said, in his speech the other day, that the NAACP was riddled with communist-fronters and that the Southern Regional Council was a sinister influence fronting for something -- I was never sure whether it was the NAACP or the Communist Party. It is dangerous business in Georgia to be in favor of doing what the Supreme Court said!

All over the South it is a source of encouragement and stimulus to us all to find the clergy and the bishops and so many lay people standing up stoutly for what is right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

OCT 24 1955

October 20, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auborn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Mitchell~~ George:

I read with great interest the announcement in the "Times" that your council has been given a substantial grant by the Fund for the Republic. The Fund could not have given its aid to a more worthwhile endeavor, and I want to extend congratulations and best wishes for continued progress under your direction.

I think we will soon have the full text of the editorial which appeared in the official Vatican City newspaper, commending Archbishop Rummel for his forthright stand at Jesuit Bend. Will be glad to send you a copy when we have it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George

GKH:a

George K. Hunton

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey Street,
New York 7, N.Y.

SEES PAST GAINS POINTING
TO MORE SOCIAL JUSTICE PROGRESS

New York, Oct. 21 -- "A great deal of unhappiness and dissatisfaction in aspects of social justice in the United States" gives way to "some hope and inspiration" when viewed against improvements in American social consciousness during the past 40 years.

This is the opinion of Henry K. Craft, a Negro leader in interracial work who retired recently from the staff of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

Interracial justice has "moved forward as the result of the continual calling to the attention and conscience of the American people of the basic principles on which the country was founded," Mr. Craft told the Catholic Interracial Forum here.

Recalling subterfuges resorted to in preventing Negroes from voting forty years ago, Mr. Craft said: "These evasions are increasingly frowned upon. They're still getting away with it in some places, but I believe they're getting away with it with increasing difficulty derived from wider and more sincere acceptance of basic principles of human rights and increasing sensitiveness in our social conscience."

"One of the things we have to get out of our social consciousness is the idea that there is some common denominator of ability and of conduct to be found among people on the basis of color or race or religion," Mr. Craft stated.

Many people are still carrying this idea in their minds, even if they do not act upon it, he said. ###

NOV 7 1955

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

The following news story was sent to all Catholic magazines and newspapers by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service. Additional copies are available from the above address.

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October 27, 1955

EDITORS:

The following is a translation of the editorial entitled "Touches of Color" in Osservatore Romano, Vatican City daily, praising Archbishop Joseph Rummel of New Orleans for suspending religious functions at a church in Louisiana where some of the parishioners refused to accept a Negro priest. A story on the editorial, headed VATICAN CITY DAILY PRAISES ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL'S ACTION, etc., was sent to you on page 14 (Foreign) of Monday's release for week of 10/17/55.

N.C.W.C. NEWS SERVICE

A.N.S.A. (the Italian news agency) sent out the following story from New Orleans, Louisiana, dated October 15:

"The Archbishop of New Orleans, Most Reverend Joseph Francis Rummel, has suspended religious functions at St. Cecilia's Mission in Jesuit Bend because the congregation there prevented a Negro priest from celebrating Mass in the mission chapel. This, he said, 'is a clear violation of the obligation of respect and devotion which Catholics owe to all priests, whatever their race, color or nationality.'

"The prelate also reduced religious services at one church in Belle Chasse and at another in Myrtle Grove, where 'only one Mass will be celebrated until such time as the members of the congregation declare themselves ready to accept whatever priest is available for religious functions in these churches.'"

This news cannot but strike all Catholics with sad astonishment, although they feel Christian pride in their hearts for the prompt, admirable, pastoral and Catholic intervention of Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel.

We say Catholic because the Church is universal, has no territorial limits and excludes no creature from believing and saving himself or from suffering, fighting and praying with her.

Racial exclusiveness is a sin against the nature of Catholicism. It is a negation of it and a blasphemy against it. It is a sacrilege to show racial animosity against a priest by preventing him from ascending the altar to say the words of consecration taught and commanded by Christ for all His people of every race and nation at all times, provided they are marked as Christians with that water and Chrism--the blood shed upon the cross--which makes them forever sons of a single eternal country and a single race.

To prevent a priest from repeating that sacrifice, the inalienable gift of the Saviour to all men throughout the centuries and throughout the world, is a sacrilege concerning which we can only pray with the prayer of the crucified Christ for His crucifiers, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

The only reason for consolation is the recollection that the condemnation and castigation of the Archbishop of New Orleans concern only a few foolish people, while the Hierarchy and the Catholics of the United States are setting a most noble example.

It is enough to recall the energetic and effective effort of Cardinal Gibbons, who contributed to the failure of two bills in the Maryland legislature which, had they been passed, would have seriously harmed the situation of Negro citizens.

The first proposed the segregation of whites and Negroes in streetcars. The second tried to deprive Negroes of their right to vote.

This is an example of an activity and line of conduct that is coherent and fruitful.

There exists in the United States the Catholic Interracial Council, founded and directed by Father La Farge, S.J., which safeguards and defends Negroes against all racial discrimination.

On April 10, 1954, our own newspaper reported that conversions among Negroes are increasing, thanks to the charitable zeal of the special committee set up for just this purpose by the Bishops' Conference of the United States. On June 20 of last year it was learned from the N.C.W.C. NEWS SERVICE that "although public schools continue to follow discriminatory practices even after the decision of the (United States) Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, Catholic Schools receive Negroes."

Our thoughts go back to our Ethiopian College in the shadow of St. Peter's, whose origin dates back to the ancient traditions at the height of the Middle Ages when a community was organized in 1525.

Then--according to a solemn declaration of Paul III against the racial murmurings of the times, in which he recalled and confirmed the Catholic truth that all peoples are called to the faith, to grace and to the priesthood--the college was canonically instituted in 1555, exactly four centuries ago.

Therefore the memory of its founding under such circumstances emerges today providentially and gloriously as an admonition.

Our thoughts also go back to Benedict XV who reorganized and protected it, restoring it to its original site next to the Church of St. Stephen, which bears the name of the Abyssinians.

We think of Pius XI who erected the present building on the old foundations and who, when at the time of the establishment of the state of Vatican City he provided a new home for the Roman Minor Seminary, whose old home had been in St. Martha's Square, did not permit the departure of the Ethiopians.

"It is the touch of color in the Vatican panorama," he used to say.

We think of Pius XII who on each of the college's memorable occasions, particularly on the 25th anniversary of its foundation as a Pontifical institute, has shown in such a memorable way how much the ancient sympathy of the Popes continues to flourish generously.

We think of the Romans who reflect the solicitude of the Popes, who daily see the "Moors" pass through the streets and among the lines of students at the College of the Propagation of the Faith.

These "Moors," along with the Asians, arouse in everyone a great feeling for the worldwide motherhood of the Eternal City.

We think of the Negro priests who frequently celebrate Mass in St. Peter's, attended with the usual devotion by crowds of the faithful of all nations.

We think of the solemn consecration in 1939 at the Confessional of the Prince of the Apostles of Bishop Joseph Kiwanuka (of Masaka, Uganda) and other natives of many different countries.

It is easy to think that, although in America the problem may be a question of whether the white or colored people have a higher civilization, the Romans must be given credit for a civilization which has a single racial standard and is second to none, because of its antiquities, its monuments and its customs.

"All are made in the likeness of God; all are children of a single redemption," sings the Poet of the Sacred Hymns, though inserting this thought into a secular poem, for civilization is either Christian or it is not.

If we were to believe that likeness to God were not in every human creature, it would follow that redemption was not for everyone. Worse, there would be a reasonable doubt that one's own likeness might not be to God.

These absurdities mortify the mind and heart of democracy and also the right to social and political equality.

In the United States the struggle against such inhuman and barbarous prejudice, which unfortunately includes so many crimes--one was recently committed against an adolescent victim and has remained unpunished--must be aided by all citizens who wish to remove from the world reputation of the kind and generous civilization of that great nation--and from fact--this "touch of color," which acquires here a very different meaning, a color which more than black is so often that of blood.

Catholics are obliged by their religion and patriotism to aid and cooperate in this struggle by all available means.

The said exception of Jesuit Bend has already been repaired by the representative of Christ and the Church in such a way that it is equal to a new and most solemn document in the noble efforts of the Catholic hierarchy for the triumph of this Christian and civil movement.

* * * * * *

November 23, 1955

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Versey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Dear George Hunton:

I have just read with considerable interest the reprint Helping the Panic Neighborhood put out by the Catholic Interracial Council of New York. I found it to be an excellent article and would like very much to provide our state officers with some copies thereof.

As you know the Southern Regional Council now has twelve affiliated state organizations for the most part called Councils on Human Relations (see the NAIRO Reporter for September 55). If it is possible we would like 150 copies of the reprint. If there is cost involved, please let us know.

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

Nov. 21, 1955

NOV 23 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I am sending you herewith a news story about our successful Communion Breakfast held here Sunday. We are also enclosing clipping from the NEW YORK TIMES. Mr. McDermott was one of the authors of the enclosed reprint. We could send you additional copies if you can use them.

Trusting you are well, and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:Ml
enc.

Fred - what about this "Paris" report for our State people? Do as you please. Tom.

Helping the Panic Neighborhood

A PHILADELPHIA APPROACH

By
JOHN MCDERMOTT
and DENNIS CLARK

Reprinted from *Interracial Review*—August 1955
Published by the Catholic Interracial Council of New York

ADDITIONAL COPIES AVAILABLE FROM

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
35 West 32nd Street,
New York 1, N.Y.

Catholic Interracial Council of New York
20 Vesey Street,
New York 7, N.Y.

HELPING THE PANIC NEIGHBORHOOD:

A Philadelphia Approach

by JOHN MCDERMOTT *and* DENNIS CLARK

HOUSING has become the central issue in race relations today. This is true for most of the United States and, in particular, for the big cities of the North. The priority of housing has become almost an operating principle among groups currently dealing with interracial matters in these areas. Why is this?

Although the elements of the problem are complex and numerous, three primary causes may be discerned: (1) a greatly increased demand for housing among Negroes resulting from population movements and social advances; (2) the persistent rigidity of racial barriers in housing and the high tension and relative lack of progress in this area of race relations; and (3) the deep implications of racial integregation in housing and its finality with respect to the whole race relations problem.

The great Negro migrations from the land to the city and from the South to the North really began in the production boom of World War I. They continue at a brisk rate through the 20's only to drop off sharply with the advent of the depression. World War II revived these movements and greatly accelerated them as the nation's industrial machine strained every muscle to meet military needs. The migrating Negro was indispensable to the alleviation of a serious labor famine during those critical days.

Between 1940 and 1947 no less than 2,729,000 non-whites migrated from their homes, over half of them to distant states. For the most part, they swarmed into the big northern cities and, by necessity, into the already old, overcrowded and dilapidated Negro ghettoes. The urban white population also increased during the 40's. With the wartime close-down of the private housing industry, the total result was a fantastic housing shortage which was particularly cruel to Negroes.

The emergency conditions also accelerated a great social and economic growth on the part of Negroes. Sheer wartime necessity opened up many types of jobs previously closed to them. It also spawned the first effective governmental efforts to combat employment discrimination and set the stage for the spread of Fair Employment Practice laws and agencies through many states.

Aided by a prosperous post-war economy, Negroes have generally held fast to their wartime gains and have continued to improve their lot. Significant advances against discrimination have been made in many fields. A new and much larger middle class has grown up. Able, ambitious and confident, these families are keenly sensitive to the grievous inadequacy and the social symbolism of the old, densely-packed, segregated neighborhoods. More meaningful, however, is the fact that they are economically able to realize their desires. They have the money to buy their way out of the slums.

These two great growths in population and social position have combined to create a tremendous demand among Negroes for more and better housing. Progress toward satisfying this demand, however, has been seriously thwarted by the counter pressures of racial intolerance. The amount of new post-war housing built by private enterprise and available to Negroes has been ridiculously small in relation to the need and the ability to buy.

More dramatic and revealing, however, has been the serious social tension that not uncommonly occurs when a Negro family moves out of the old ghetto. Everyone by now has heard about such incidents as those of Cicero, Illinois and Chicago's Trumbull Park project. In no

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A founder of the Philadelphia Catholic Housing Council, Mr. McDermott is a representative of the Philadelphia Human Relations Commission. Mr. Clark, housing representative of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, was formerly with the city's Housing Authority. Both are members of the Catholic Interracial Council.

other field has prejudice remained so virulent and common as in that of housing. It seems to be the only remaining interracial problem producing fairly regular violence. As barriers to equality are overcome in employment, public accomodations and education, the housing field becomes conspicuous by virtue of its widespread, rigid and persistent discriminatory patterns.

When we seek the reason for this condition, we find that discriminatory barriers in housing seem to be almost the "sine qua non" of prejudice. Men reflect their *true* values, ideas and attitudes most directly in the intimate primary realm of living that surrounds the home. Discriminatory barriers in housing are strong because they are probably the last citadel for those basic attitudes of racial antipathy which, we must admit, still exist in the minds of the majority of white people. The idea of integration in housing directly challenges this citadel and the attitudes it represents. Integration in housing, therefore, has much deeper implication than integration in any other area of social intercourse. Acceptance of the Negro as an equal in employment, education or community facilities is a good sign, but it is not nearly as significant as acceptance of the Negro as an equal in the neighborhood and the home, these areas are relatively impersonal. It is commonly observed how people can participate in impersonal situations where racial justice prevails and still hold the most unjust racial attitudes. It is almost impossible, however, to conceive of practicing racial justice in the intimate institutions of home and neighborhood and at the same time harboring unjust racial attitudes.

All of these reasons explain why there is a certain finality about integration in housing in relation to the whole race relations problem. Many believe that when integration in housing is common, the race relations problem will have been dealt its death blow. From this point of view, housing has always been the central issue in race relations, the final acid test which race relations progress must meet.

In the City of Philadelphia, which has a rather fortunate tradition in race relations, there is considerable concern about these neighborhoods. The city has some strong leadership, a Commission on Human Relations and patterns of community life have modified some of the worst of big city evils. Many of its neighborhoods are integrated. Many others are in transition. Yet, it is not unusual for Negro families entering homes in all-white areas to be harassed, intimidated or subjected to vandalism. The Commission on Human Relations staff, a special police detail and intergroup relations agencies like the privately supported Philadelphia Fellowship Commission have fairly efficient programs for concentration in trouble spots. Telephone threats, broken windows, thrown paint, slashed auto tires and other displays of marginal violence are all dealt with effectively and action is taken to prevent the spread of agitation or conspiracy. Occasionally, a larger incident occurs, but the overall record is one of slow steady progress.

The abiding problem in the city is not violence, but the frigid withdrawal of whites from the presence of Negro neighbors. Anyone who knows Philadelphia's population trends knows that movements by Negro home buyers have meant a gradual exodus of white residents. In some places the process has not been gradual A certain type of real estate sale will break the usual "unwritten agreement" not to sell to Negroes. Sometimes "block busting" real estate dealers may consciously plan a panic by suddenly introducing a non-white family into a block of homes, but this is relatively rare, however. Public auction of a house that is in tax arrears or simple economic pressure more commonly causes a transaction that is beyond the control of the local real estate fraternity. Through a "spite sale" an angry neighbor may seek to revenge himself on the community. This is how a panic begins.

Time and again rashes of "For Sale" signs have appeared along whole blocks of homes in Germantown or among the rows of West Philadelphia. Within a year, it will be a foregone conclusion that the block will soon be all Negro. The white owners lose confidence in their homes and their neighborhoods, and sell as quickly as

possible. There are no really rational reasons why this process takes place, for the mentalities behind it are dominated by fear, pride, exasperation and even hysteria. The whites fall prey to the folklore of intolerance and the stubborn perversity of this type of marrow-deep exasperation is something that must be witnessed to be appreciated.

The city's Commission on Human Relations made a broad survey of non-white housing in Philadelphia and decided to try to do something in areas where much needed Negro housing expansion was taking place. It was felt that the city has a definite stake in the "changing neighborhood" situation. Rapid population turnover disrupts organization patterns and institutions and undermines community stability. White residents or move-outs may blame the newcomers for this phenomenon. The newcomers usually feel resented and rebuffed. Civil Cooperation and morale suffer. With these conditions prevailing in many areas and more and more white citizens leaving the legal boundaries of the city for the suburbs, the case for municipal concern can be easily seen. Bit by bit an experimental approach to the problem was worked out by the Commission on Human Relations. The technique developed may not be an adequate answer to the problem of racially changing neighborhoods, but it is certainly fitting some of the needs on various levels even as an experiment.

It is evident to those experienced in interracial work that the impulse peculiar to prejudice gives it something of an advantage over organized counter measures. Racial bias has ready made for it operating channels of ignorance and accepted modes of unreasonable and stereotyped thinking. In a sense, this evil force is ready for action in our communities. Since the action it causes is in most cases thoughtless and anarchic, sudden and rapid flights of white neighbors are easily brought about. With this fact in mind an informal "warning system" was developed throughout Philadelphia under the Fellowship Commission and the Commission on Human Relations. This is composed of persons and groups that are sensitive to racial (as well as religious) tensions at the neighborhood level. Through it and by other means, the agencies can know of Negro move-ins, often before they occur, thus gaining time in which to work against panic. If the neighborhood has had incidents or difficulties concerning racial matters before special precautions can be taken.

If there are signs of tension in an area, such as frightened phone calls, appeals to clergymen or ward leaders to "do something", etc., a field representative of the Commission on Human Relations briefs himself and investigates the situation, contacting citizens of both positive and negative views. It has been found repeatedly that neighbors, anxious over the prospect of Negro newcomers, are often desperate to have something concrete done to meet what to them is a burning issue vexed with uncertainty and dire significance. This need for concrete action is filled when the Commission's representative proposes concrete action in the form of a "block meeting" in the parlor or cellar recreation room of one of the neighbors. Care is taken to focus the plans around some neighbor who is well respected but who is not known to have strong feelings on the subject one way or the other. Sometimes the meeting is held in a nearby community center. In one case a convenient parish auditorium was the gathering place.

Generally, the smaller the meeting the more easily the Commission representative can make his presentation. On as informal a basis as possible the speaker makes a concise and clear talk. The object of his talk is to make the neighbors examine their position and, in effect, examine their consciences and the attitudes they have adopted. The field representative does not preach. He merely states that he is present because many people have been asking questions; the City has an agency that studies the facts about "changing neighborhoods"; he is there to present these facts and to try to help the local citizens. The presentation then usually follows this outline:

A—*The reason for the City's interest in the problem*: It is pointed out that the Commission on Human Relations is an agency supported by taxpayers, and hence can render citizens the service of presenting facts that the City authorities feel will be helpful. The City is interested in keeping its neighborhoods stable. It is obliged to see that all citizens are treated fairly. The city's Housing Coordinator has already stated that equal opportunities in housing are part of the city's housing program.

B—*Reason why Negroes are moving into all-white areas*: The growth of the Negro population due to wartime migration is mentioned. The desire of Negroes for better housing is traced to the improvements they have experienced in employment and education. The audience readily affirms that these latter have been commendable advances. The fact is then emphasized that Negroes are moving into *many* areas, and this helps to break down objections that one locale is being victimized or "worked over". Needless to say, the speaker throughout fairly bristles with examples and factual illustrations.

C—*How neighborhoods react to Negro newcomers*: Three reactions are described. The first is the one of violent assault on the newcomers. Nobody in the audience openly defends this aggressive course. The second reaction is that of running away from the situation. This is discussed further. Why do white people run away from interracial residence? The speaker gives six reasons, which he calls the "Six Fears." These are:

1—Fear of Property Loss (Financial Loss)
2—Fear of Loss of Social Status
3—Fear of Intermarriage (Intimacy)
4—Fear of Crime
5—Fear of Neighborhood Decline
6—Fear of Being in the Minority

When these fears combine, they form a pattern of panic. The speaker then refutes these fears with facts drawn from the local scene. Good well-cared for interracial neighborhoods are mentioned. Facts and figures are presented that disprove the property loss theory. The idea of social status is explained and it is shown that many Negroes have moved into professional and middle class status and beyond. What scant knowledge that is available on intermarriage rates is presented. Reducing apprehension about the high crime rate among Negroes seems to be the hardest point on which to satisfy listeners. That the condition of the neighborhood is dependent on all the neighbors and not on a few newcomers can be effectively shown. The fear of being in the minority is treated in a humorous fashion that appeals to the common sense of most people.

The group is then told that the six fears can cause extreme disrupting difficulties for families and the neighborhood. Unscrupulous real estate dealers playing on these fears can turn over the property of an area, making good commissions on every sale. The residents are cautioned to be very careful of solicitation and to be wary of tempting offers held out by persons interested only in how much they can get out of the neighborhood in cash.

The "antidote" to all of the fears listed above is gradually applied. Carefully prepared statements of facts that are applicable to the local scene are emphasized. Examples of sale prices or neighborhood conditions drawn from other cities are not considered to be relevant in the least by Philadelphians who are intensely involved in an intimate and proximate emotional siege. Fortunately, Philadelphia has enough areas integrated on a stable and healthy basis to provide good illustrations of successful democratic living with steady property values.

The Commission representative has some sound advice on which to end his talk. The points form an action program for neighbors who feel that something "must be done". They may be summed up as follows:

1—*Stay put*—Don't sell your house and run away to a heavier mortgage. You will probably have to sell at a loss if all the area properties are dumped on the market in a panic.

2—Organize—Form a block or neighborhood group, open to *all* citizens and races.

3—*See your realty dealers* and ask them to assist in keeping the area stable. Make clear that families of all races who are good neighbors in the civic sense of the term are welcome. Point out that in view of present trends, no "exclusive" wall can be built around any area.

4—*Squelch rumors*—Try to calm excited talk and dispel any untrue or half-true statements about the neighborhood or racial matters in general.

5—*Guard the neighborhood's housing standards.* Have your group or civic organization watch closely all zoning changes, conversions, overcrowding or signs of dilapidation. Housing regulations should be well known and city officials should be promptly notified if services begin declining.

6—*Form a welcoming committee* that will visit newcomers of all races, tell them of the civic group and invite them to participate in the work of building a better community.

After the talk, which lasts about twenty minutes, the floor is open for questions. At this point the air is often charged with statements of outrage, of scathing cynicism or open contempt. The people attending, having just been given the facts about racial change in an urban community, many times show a ferocious ability for denouncing these facts. Seldom does the positive element predominate. Those opposed to racial contact or integration are quick to activate all of the stereotypes and excuses in the most vocal and agitated manner. They are in rebellion against logic and fact and hold with a rather pathetic determination to their confused and contradictory opinions. At times, the Commissions representative is insulted and reproached in the hot folk language of the big city. The city representative who has been trained and is skilled has been through this many times. The keynote of his work are gentleness and persistence. He answers questions again and again. His plan gives the people something definite to act upon and think about. He asks that neighbors be estimated first as persons, and then on any other sensible basis desired. He remains calm and waits for the group to discover that he is the one person who cared enough about their problems to discuss it at length with them. The group goes through several phases of catharsis before it begins seriously to think about the action plan proposed by the speaker and the cited weaknesses of the alternatives.

Field work with this program has been limited. In the majority of the test locations, the work has apparently stabilized situations that could have meant almost total neighborhood turnovers. Time has been gained for understanding to grow. In one particular area, feeling has remained strongly anti-Negro, but this is in a locale where a "neighborhood improvement" group has tried to exclude Negroes by veiled threats and intimidations. The technique of meeting with citizens of changing blocks cannot be carried out on a large scale by a city agency simply because neighborhood changes are too rapid and too extensive for a small staff to cope with. A city agency can, however, test the effectiveness of such techniques in places where they are badly needed.

This "Philadelphia Approach" has valuable merits. It approaches the people on an important civic, social and moral issue when the people are ready to think about it. It is worked out on a scale where exchange is most meaningful, i.e., in the small, face-to-face group. It seems to show that something *can* be done about a distressing community problem if only some initiative is shown. It is certainly not a "cure" for it merely deals with "changing neighborhoods" and these are really only a symptom of the greater malady of nation-wide housing restrictions against Negroes and other groups. It deals with the most ascendant and visible aspect of a spiritual problem that affects housing market practices, financing, suburban conditions and the entire residential field.

Surely pastors who administer parishes that can be gravely affected by neighborhood changes should be alert to techniques such as this one. The method presumes a command of well formulated factual material, but it comes close to the practical measures needed to meet a difficult and recurring community challenge.

LAYMAN ASKS END TO BIAS IN HOUSING

Philadelphia Housing Council Aide Asserts Catholics Can Lead in Solving Problem

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1955

Segregation in housing is becoming the last frontier in race relations and is a problem Roman Catholics can take the lead in solving, a gathering of interracial groups was told yesterday.

John A. McDermott, a housing specialist with the Commission on Human Relations in Philadelphia, advanced that opinion at a communion breakfast at Fordham University's downtown campus, 302 Broadway at Duane Street.

"Housing has always been a great challenge in race relations, because the area of the home and the neighborhood is the most intimate," he said. "The roots and causes of this problem are the irresistible force of the greatly increased demand for moving on the part of the Negro meeting the immovable object of the rigid, persistent and widespread application of racial restrictions in housing."

Mr. McDermott, who is secretary of the Catholic Housing Council in Philadelphia, cited the great social change taking place among Negroes.

"Today, in Philadelphia, there are over 30,000 Negro families earning $4,000 or more per year out of a total of 125,000 Negro families," he said. "Before the war there was only a handful. Thus, they can buy their way out of densely packed, segregated neighborhoods. But most of the existing neighborhoods have been closed except where economic pressure and overwhelming need make it necessary to break the pattern of discrimination."

Segregation in housing has led to five problems, he said: Restrictions in financing terms for new homes for Negroes; panic and anxiety on the part of white residents when Negroes enter the neighborhood; the hampering of slum - clearance programs by halting the urban renewal program; the hindering of solutions of problems cutting across municipal boundaries, and political complications and overtones such as the selection of local candidates for their racial characteristics.

The Rev. John LaFarge was honored on his double golden jubilee as priest and Jesuit. Father LaFarge, founder of the Catholic Interracial Council, received a scroll here from the Columbus, Ohio, branch of the organization "for his Christlike, untiring devotion in the field of humanities and his unwavering interest in the work of Catholic Interracial Councils throughout America."

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey Street,
New York 7, N.Y.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL FORUM HEARS CHAIRMAN
OF N. Y. STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

New York, Nov. 11 -- Ward Arbury, chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, finds that after ten years of the Commission's operations "prejudice because of color, racial or religious background has very considerably broken down."

The Commission's interest, previously centered in enforcement of fair practice legislation in the areas of employment and public accomodations has been extended into the housing field by recent action of the State Legislature.

Mr. Arbury told the Catholic Interracial Forum here last night: "The core of racial and, to some degree, religious prejudice lies in the field of housing."

Legislation giving the Commission a "broad general mandate" without enforcement powers is the first step toward the prevention of discrimination in housing financed by government-insured mortgages in New York. The Commission has recommended that Governor Averell Harriman ask the legislature in its next session to extend enforcement powers to it.

In educational activity seeking solutions to problems of discrimination and prejudice the Commission endeavors to promote cooperative action by representatives of all groups in the community.

"Racial and religious prejudice is not lodged in the hearts of any particular group. All of us can find in our own hearts a degree of prejudice," Mr. Arbury stated. Prejudice, he said, is "not beyond the realm of human solution with God's help."

Outlining the successful operation of the State Commission Against Discrimination during the past decade, Mr. Arbury said "everything we are doing at the Commission could be wasted" if organizations such as the Catholic Interracial Council should fail in their efforts "to bring to all people a realization that there are certain fundamental moral principles that all must live up to, all must subscribe to, all must teach our children to observe."

Mr. George K. Hunton,
Interracial Review,
20, Vesey Street,
New York 7,
NEW YORK.

December 8th, 1955.

Dear George,

Here's a scribble; 'tisn't more. But it is well-intended. Scratch, straighten, to suit you. Or send back with comment and suggestions, and I'll do again, better.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell.
Executive Director.)

GSM:EL.
Encl.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

December 13, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 22 1955

[redacted]

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I hasten to acknowledge and thank you for your welcome letter enclosing the excellent article which we are proud to publish in the next issue of INTERRACIAL REVIEW. Of course we will send out a newsstory about this when it appears and will be only too happy to send you a number of copies when it comes off the press.

With best wishes for Christmas and the New Year and again expressing our thanks, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N.Y.

TECHNOLOGY AND SPIRITUALITY NEEDED
ON GOLD COAST, AFRICAN PRIEST SAYS

New York, Dec. 2 -- "Give us more than your technology, give us of your spirituality, too." This plea on behalf of African students in the United States was made by Father Richard Pwamang, a native of the Gold Coast, in a talk here last night.

Estimating that there are 150 students from the Gold Coast in American universities and colleges, Fr. Pwamang said: "They are the backbone of the Gold Coast of tomorrow, but some will return home with a technological education with the religious side left out."

"Communists are always ready to help them," Fr. Pwamang told the Catholic Interracial Forum. He asked that Americans make an effort to show students from abroad the spiritual side of life in the U.S.

A student himself, Fr. Pwamang is at Fordham University studying educational methods to use in the assault being made on illiteracy in his homeland. Seventy five per cent of the population of the remote northern area where he is stationed is illiterate.

Since 1950 when the first general election was held, the Gold Coast has been moving toward complete self rule. The legislative and fiscal affairs of the nation are now in the hands of the people, although the British governor still retains a veto power. The country hopes to achieve full freedom next year.

Self government has brouhgt some new conditions to the Gold Coast. Among those enumerated by Fr. Pwamang were: corruption in the lower levels of politics; and the danger of moving ahead with reforms too fast for the financial stability of the country.

The new government of the Gold Coast is making efforts to introduce agricultural diversity and industry into a country whose economy has been based mainly on its cocoa crop, thus creating an urgent need for citizens with administrative and technical skills.

Promising young people who are being sent abroad to attain these skills will be the future leaders of the Gold Coast. "If you train our boys to be religious you will be sure that the future of the Gold Coast will be a really happy one," Fr. Pwamang said.

# # #

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey Street,
New York 7, N.Y.

(The following news story was sent to Catholic publications by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service)

ARCHBISHOP ASKS THAT 'JUSTICE
AND CHARITY' BE ALLOWED TO
RULE IN JESUIT BEND EPISODE 12/12/55

NEW ORLEANS, Dec. 10 (NC)-- An appeal "to let justice and charity take the place of hatred and prejudice" was made by Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans to the parishioners of Our Lady of Perpetual Help of Belle Chasse, La., and its two missions, Jesuit Bend and Myrtle Grove. The appeal was read in the churches at Belle Chasse and Myrtle Grove.

The next evening, some members of the congregations of the main church and its two missions met in a civic hall in Belle Chasse and drew up a resolution tentatively scheduled for presentation to the church's pastor. The resolution supported "the principle of segregation."

The Archbishop's appeal came after parishioners of St. Cecilia's Church in Jesuit Bend, a mission of the Belle Chasse church, on October 2 turned away a Negro priest who had come as a temporary replacement to offer Mass on Sunday. As a result of this action, services were suspended in the church until such time as the parishioners would agree to accept any priest the Archbishop was able to send them.

In his letter read in the two churches, Archbishop Rummel asked from the leaders of those who had opposed the Negro priest "an expression of sincere sorrow over the grievous offense which they committed..."

MORE

He called upon them "to consider prayerfully the teaching of our Holy Catholic Church about the dignity of every true priest of God and the respect and confidence which we owe to his person and services."

The day following the reading of the Archbishop's letter, the parish pastor, Father Clement Meyer, S.V.D., sent members of his congregation a card and asked that they sign it. The card said the offense was regretted and henceforth the parishioners would accept any priest sent to them.

"This letter is not intended to antagonize," Father Meyer wrote. "We are facing a very serious danger of losing the privilege of receiving the sacraments ... We are in danger of excommunication. This is a matter of our Holy Faith. It is a doctrine to which all must submit, else we become liable to the penalty of excommunication."

A spokesman for the congregation made a public broadcast over a New Orleans television station in which he said: "The overwhelming majority of the white Catholic parishioners of Jesuit Bend and Myrtle Grove areas feel that the Archbishop should not demand, under the penalty of excommunication, that an entire parish should give lip service to a dogma or a doctrine, order or request, that is contrary to their sincere beliefs and convictions"

Archbishop Rummel in a second letter to Father Meyer said that "such a statement is definitely subversive and contrary to the obligation which every faithful Catholic has to accept the teachings of our Holy Church especially in matters of "dogma or doctrine," not to speak of 'orders or requests' that are issued by the legitimate authority of the Church."

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February 10, 1956

Mr. George K. Hunton
Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Hunton:

In anticipation of Wednesday's meeting, I am sending the enclosed material which you may pass on to Judge McGohey at your discretion. I dare say it's more than the Judge would care to read in detail, but I thought it better to include too much rather than too little.

We have reached Paul Williams and Marion Wright and are assured of their presence; Rufus Clement will be back in Atlanta Sunday, at which time I hope to get a similar commitment from him.

We greatly appreciate your assistance and I will look forward to seeing you next Wednesday at 4:00 p. m.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Enc.

February 25, 1956

Mr. George Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hunton:

This is the first chance I have had to express our deep appreciation for your kindness in arranging the conference of February 15 and for your sound advice.

Will you please convey to Judge McGohey our warmest thanks for giving so generously of his time and wise counsel. We came away not only practically benefitted but full of admiration for the Judge himself.

The next steps in this difficult matter have not yet been determined, but it is encouraging to know that we may call on you further for advice and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

March 13, 1956

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

We have misfiled the one and only copy of Interracial Review for December 1955 with in it "How To Be Helpful Though Northern."

I don't want to put the girls to four thousand dollars worth of looking for the one million dollar item.

Would you be so kind as to send one more.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

March 26, 1956

Mr. George K. Hunton
Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

It is a little hard for me to advise you. Generally speaking, I would be in favor of speaking out when anybody's rights are taken away, either by violence or chicanery. But I recognize the extra difficulty in the interest of this or that Diocese to be allowed to make its own protests.

A point to be emphasized is that the present crisis in the South is mainly synthetic. It is an effort to frighten the North into letting the South alone. I hope the North won't scare.

I will be in New York Sunday, April 8, and Monday and Tuesday, April 9 and 10, and back for the mid-part of April 13. April 8, 9 and 10, shall stay at the Abbey Hotel on 51st Street. I will do my best so to plan my chores so as to get me to 20 Vesey Street.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

RECEIVED MAR 23 1956

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

March 21, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Immediately upon receipt of your letter, we sent you a number of copies of the issue of the Review which contains your excellent article. You will be glad to know that we have had a number of favorable comments from our readers; in fact, the editor of one Catholic magazine has requested permission to reprint your article in toto. Needless to say, we were prompt in giving him our okeh to do so.

Sometimes, George, I feel that our Catholic Interracial Council here, or perhaps the Interracial Review, might alter its long-held policy of refraining from "criticising the South from the long distance vantage point of the North". It seems to me that when fundamental rights of citizenship are denied American citizens in any part of the country and that when they are subject to "violence - with-impunity" - we would be justified in speaking out in protest.

I would be very glad to get your views on this last matter, and I am certain that our Board would be guided very much by your advice.

It seems to me that up here we hear a great deal of criticism directed at the travesty going on in Montgomery where responsible and respected Negro citizens are on trial for the offense of refusing to ride on the segregated buses; in fact, I am inclined to believe that papers in other parts of the country should give great publicity to this judicial farce. It will, in my judgment, arouse public opinion in protest against what is being done in the courts in Montgomery.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey Street,
New York 7, N.Y.

MENACE OF SOVIET COLONIALISM
EXPOSED AT INTERRACIAL BREAKFAST

New York, March 19 -- Soviet indictments of Western colonialism apply with even greater force to the Russians themselves, Robert F. Kennedy told an interracial communion breakfast here yesterday.

Describing his visit to five Central Asiatic Soviet Republics last year, with Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Mr. Kennedy said that this area of a million-and-a-half square miles with a population of over 18 million is "a most glaring example of Soviet colonialism."

The chief counsel of the Senate Permanent Sub-committee on Investigations spoke at the joint communion breakfast of the Catholic Interracial Council, the Catholic Laymen's Union, and the John Boyle O'Reilly Committee for Interracial Justice.

Mr. Kennedy recalled that Marshal Bulganin and Nikita S. Khrushchev, during their recent tour of Asia, constantly inveighed against racial segregation, loss of local autonomy, broken promises, the police state and mass executions as evils of colonialism.

The Russians, themselves, are guilty of all these crimes and many others against the subjugated Mongolian people of the five "republics" of Soviet Central Asia, Mr. Kennedy declared. "Soviet control of these areas qualifies as colonialism of a peculiarly harsh and intractable kind," he said.

MORE

In every city that he and Justice Douglas visited in Soviet Central Asia, they found segregation and discrimination on racial lines with housing, educational and wage differentials favoring European Russians over the darker local inhabitants.

"There is absolutely no independence in any Soviet Central Republic. All means of livelihood, all social and political activity are controlled from Moscow," Mr. Kennedy said.

Communists broke their promise of religious freedom in the area, he said. In the city of Bukara which once had 300 mosques and religious schools there now exist "one mosque in a bad state of disrepair and a single school that must serve the more than ten million Moslems of the whole of Central Asia."

"The Communists have systematically eliminated one-third of the local Kazak population who desire to maintain their ancient ways," Mr. Kennedy stated.

While the Soviets are directing all their agencies of propaganda toward the exploitation of the evils of Western colonialism, they, themselves, have "wiped out the freedom of millions of people occupying an area larger than that of Western Europe," he said.

"It is, I believe, high time that we in the West understood and spotlighted in the United Nations and in our own propaganda throughout the world this aggression against freedom," Mr. Kennedy said.

# # #

RECEIVED APR 5 1956

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

April 4, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

A thousand pardons for my delay in acknowledging your welcome letter of the 26th. We have been terrifically busy taking care of an exhibit booth in the EXPOSITION OF NEGRO PROGRESS all last week and then the floors were scraped and shellaced - to say nothing of the fact that it was Holy Week.

I am delighted to learn that you hope to be in New York next Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, the 8th, 9th and 10th. Suppose I phone you at the Abbey Hotel Sunday evening and see what your oppointments are. I certainly would like to have a get-to-gether to go over many many things and to get your advice and counsel.

I am enclosing some recent newsstories we are sending out which I think will do a great deal of good in persuading a great many Catholics to do the right thing.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD
Enc.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey Street,
New York 7, N.Y.

RACIAL PREJUDICE CONDEMNED
IN BISHOP'S EASTER MESSAGE

Providence R.I. -- "We shall not find the Mystical Christ in the garden of glorious triumph while we crucify Him on a cross of prejudice," Bishop Russell J. McVinney declared in his Easter message to the Catholic clergy and laity of this city.

Condemning the "abomination of racial segregation which stains the escutcheon of our democratic society," Bishop McVinney called for prayer "that social justice be established in our land without any reservations."

"Regretable and untenable as it is, it is not the defiance of the law in the South or the supine straddling of a sacrosanct principle by the proponents of gradualism which should disturb the good Christian, but rather the callous indifference to the Divine Law. How can we (in right conscience) proclaim that 'all men are created equal...endowed by the Creator with inalienable rights' and in the same breath defend the desolate deceptions of the 'Jim Crow'?" Bishop McVinney wrote.

* * *

'SEE CHRIST IN EVERY FACE,'
ARCHBISHOP'S HOLY WEEK APPEAL

Boston -- "The Christian must see Christ in every face," Archbishop Richard J. Cushing declared in a special Holy Week statement, scoring "unworthy acts of discrimination" which "set at naught the full meaning of Christ's redemption."

"Whenever racial intolerance shows itself in any part of our nation, whenever human hearts are turned in bitterness against their neighbors, whenever discrimination touches another with its acid sting - then is Christ crucified again and for some, at that moment He has died in vain," the statement said.

"North and south, east and west, men reject in varying degrees the just claims of their brothers to justice and equality. Whenever we thus cast aside the love of a brother, by that same gesture we have flung from ourselves the protecting claims of the fatherhood of God," Archbishop Cushing stated.

"Prudent concern for the general welfare of the community does not suggest temporizing or delay," he declared. ###

AIRMAIL

April 30, 1956

Mr. George K. Hunton
Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

I finally reached Arthur Miller today. He was pleased to know of your interest in his letter to the New York Times, and he is perfectly willing to develop his thesis more fully for you and for us. He is doing a full dress treatment for the Emory Law Review, but assumes that you would like something briefer and more popular.

He asks that you drop him a note telling him about what length article you would like, giving him any suggestions you wish about the sort of article that would be most helpful, and perhaps enclosing a copy of your publication for his guidance.

Let me make it clear that he is most agreeable to doing the job. I thought it best to give you a chance to write him what would serve your purposes best. We will be beneficiaries of whatever comes out.

Best regards from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

May 1, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just a line to acknowledge and thank you for your welcome letter and for advising us that you have already contacted Professor Miller of Emory University. It is good to know that he will contribute an article which can be used both in the NEW SOUTH and in the INTERRACIAL REVIEW. I am glad to follow your suggestion and accordingly am writing Professor Miller, stating that what we would particularly like to have is an article treating on the subject of Interposition in such a way as to make it understandable to our readers, the overwhelming majority of whom are not members of the legal profession. I am going to point out that we would prefer an article of about 1500-1600 words in length. I believe it would be possible for him to cover the subject within that limitation. Also, I am sending him a couple of copies of our magazine.

Again thanking you and with best wishes to George and yourself, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

GKH:a

George K. Hunton

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

June 21, 1956

RECEIVED JUN 23 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I presume you have already received copies of the enclosed pamphlet gotten out by the NAACP - if not, I thought you would like to have them.

We have a had a number of favorable comments from our lawyer readers praising the article on interposition.

Had a nice visit yesterday from our good friend Fr. Harold Cooper of Loyola University, New Orleans. I think he has a wonderful grasp of the problem in the South - particularly about the conditions in the New Orleans archdiocese.

Trusting you are well, I am with best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD
ENCS.

New York World-Telegram
The Sun

WHAT'S BEHIND THE NAACP?

NAACP
Fight For Freedom

Here's the Story of an Organization That Since 1909 Has Stood Guard Over Negro Rights in the Nation — It Now Claims 310,000 Members

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN,
Staff Writer.

ONE YEAR SHORT of a century after the birth of Abraham Lincoln, a race riot erupted in the city made famous by The Great Emancipator. The year was 1908 and the city was Springfield, Ill. Dozens of Negroes were killed or wounded; thousands driven from town.

Out of this bloody event was born the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

The year before, William English Walling, a millionaire Southern social reformer, and his wife were arrested while traveling in Russia and were quickly released. Comparing notes later, he concluded that the Negro in the United States was treated less humanly than the Jew in Czarist Russia. He wrote a magazine article, "Race War in the North."

Mary White Ovington, a Brooklyn settlement worker, read it. She phoned Dr. Henry Moskowitz, a prominent New Yorkers and an intimate friend of Alfred E. Smith. (His wife, Belle Moskowitz, became the Governor's chief adviser and political strategist.)

The Walling-Ovington-Moskowitz trio got together in a tiny Manhattan apartment. They talked over the Springfield affair and decided to try to rally together "a large and powerful body of citizens" to fight for political and civil rights for the Negro.

Oswald Garrison Villard, the noted editor, drafted a "call," timed to coincide with Lincoln's birthday centennary. It said, among other things, "If Mr. Lincoln could revisit this country in the flesh, he would be disheartened and discouraged."

The call went out Feb. 12, 1909. It was signed by 53 educators, writers, social workers, clergymen and publicists. Among them, Jane Addams, Prof. John Dewey, William Lloyd Garrison, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Lincoln Steffens, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and William Dean Howells. With a few exceptions, all were white.

There followed a conference at Cooper Union and the NAACP was in business. Its basic philosophy was that a racial injustice to one Negro affected all Negroes and blighted the health of American civilization. Its objective from the start was to secure for the Negro the rights and privileges accorded other citizens. And do it within the framework of the American constitutional system.

For the next couple of decades, the NAACP was struggling, ill-financed but persistent. It was uphill going.

Today, after 47 years, it has become the largest —and oldest—civil rights organization in the country. Its national office, two floors of Freedom House, 20 W. 40th St., serves as a watchdog over Negro rights throughout the nation.

It has 310,000 members, who pay dues from $2 for straight membership to $500 for life membership. There are 1300 branches—at least one in every state but New' Hampshire, Vermont, North Dakota, Wyoming and Maine.

Although no color records are kept, 10 to 15 percent of the 310,000 are white. Sixty percent of the total live in the South.

Since 1909, there have been three presidents, all whites. The first, Moorfield Storey, had been secretary to Massachusetts' abolitionist Senator, Charles Sumner. Later he became president of the American Bar Assn. A Columbia University literature professor, Joel E. Spingarn, was second. The third is his brother, Arthur B. Spingarn, a New York lawyer.

NAACP's operating heads, on the other hand, have mostly been Negroes. Such as James Weldon Johnson; Walter White, who until his death on March 21, 1955 had for years been its moving spirit; and Roy Wilkins, its present executive secretary.

Its top executive board is strictly interracial, with the 48 directors divided about 50-50 between Negroes and whites.

The directors today include Eric Johnston, Oscar Hammerstein II, Sens. Herbert H. Lehman and Wayne Morse, Walter Reuther, Dr. Ralph C. Bunche, Judge William H. Hastie, Rabbi Judah Cahn and George K. Hunton, secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council.

RECENTLY, Alabama's legislature ordered an investigation into whether the NAACP is Communist-dominated. And Georgia's attorney general charged it with "subversion" in the NAACP's anti-segregation crusade.

But J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, had this to say about it:

"Equality, freedom and tolerance are essential in a democratic government. The NAACP has done much to preserve these principles and to perpetuate the desires of our founding fathers."

And Francis Cardinal Spellman declared:

"Despite many misunderstandings and difficulties and much opposition, the NAACP has made

Negro and white students mingling on the University of North Carolina campus, symbolizing the gradual trend toward racial integration in the schools of the South—one of the NAACP's major victories in its fight against color bias.

tremendous progress in the struggle to secure for the colored citizens of the United States that place in our civic life to which they are entitled in accordance with the rights that proceed from our common Creator and are proclaimed in the American Constitution."

Militant and highly-articulate, the NAACP registers as a lobby, hence is non-tax exempt. It frankly tries to influence civil rights legislation in Washington as well as the state capitals. It works hard at it.

Indeed, it doesn't even stop to keep a scrapbook of newspaper or magazine clippings. "We'd be swamped if we did," says Henry Lee Moon, NAACP's public relations director. "We're too busy. We're not a research outfit."

Publicity and education are its principal tools. Besides a monthly magazine, The Crisis (50,000 circulation), and the NAACP Bulletin, its national office got out 14 pamphlets and brochures last year —altogether about a million and a half pieces of literature.

One pamphlet by Roy Wilkins takes up the Southern states which are defying the Supreme Court order to integrate white and Negro pupils in the public schools. Its title: "The War Against the United States." While challenging and provocative in tone, NAACP's printed output is generally held to be scrupulously accurate as to facts.

Headquarters also supplies posters, factual ammunition, advice and speakers to its local branches. Holding Mississippi to be the worst offender of all the Southern states, it recently sent out a poster headed: "STAMP OUT MISSISSIPPI-ISM!"

Inscribed on a tombstone beneath was this: "George W. Lee, Killed May 7, 1955; Lamar Smith,

Killed August 13, 1955; Emmett Till, Killed August 28, 1955; Clinton Melton, Killed December 3, 1955."

All told, the NAACP has poured millions into its educational program over the years. Last year's national budget came to over $600,000, with but a handful of the gifts falling into the $1000 category. The total income, including branches and other activities, reached $1.2 million.

Included was $311,000 for NAACP's Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., a separate unit, which is tax exempt. These contributions ranged from $1 to $50,000.

Headed by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP's chief counsel, the Fund has a staff of six full-time paid attorneys; and a reservoir of at least 40 volunteer lawyers around the country, many of them eminent members of the bar.

About 500 requests for legal support passed through the Fund's office for screening in 1955. A large percentage originated locally, either from branches or from individuals and Negro groups with no NAACP affiliation. One such was the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott.

Often, in the South, the NAACP is accused of moving into an otherwise contented Negro community and stirring up trouble. Often, according to Mr. Moon, the discontent is indigenous as in Montgomery where the NAACP was unaware of the brewing resentment—and it had no hand whatsoever in the boycott which was as peaceful at it was successful.

Only after the city indicted 100 of the Negro leaders on a conspiracy charge, did the Fund step in with legal defense.

"Great progress" has been made in breaking down racial barriers since NAACP was founded in 1909, its leaders say. That year, for instance, 75 Negroes were lynched. The public almost overwhelmingly took lynchings as a matter of course; as punishment for the rape of white women. The NAACP made a survey and found that less than one-sixth of 5000 lynchings over a 30-year period involved sex crime accusations even by the lynch mobs themselves. It hammered away at the national conscience. Gradually opinion turned.

In 1955 the nation had three lynchings, all in Mississippi, according to the NAACP's own count. (NAACP excludes "race-hate" killings unless three or more persons act in concert.) Progress came in other directions, too.

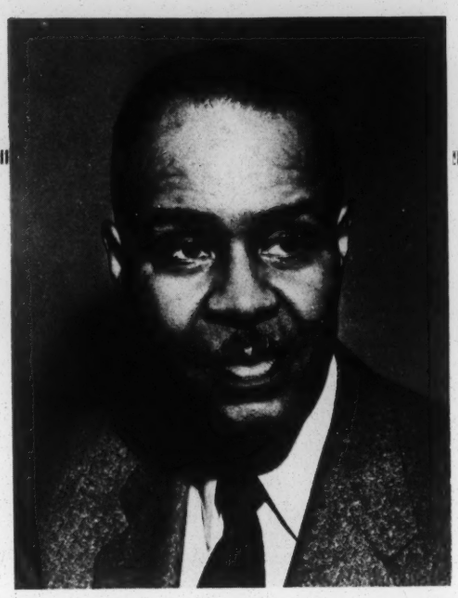
"Segregation in public places and recreation has been banned," the NAACP says. "Negroes are voting freely in most states except Mississippi. The Jim Crow car in interstate travel has been derailed."

OVER 2000 Negro students now attend a score or more of Southern colleges which excluded them as recently as 1950. A quarter of a million colored boys and girls attend public schools with white boys and girls in states that separated them less than two years ago. Fifteen states have job equality laws. Segregation in the armed services has been eliminated.

For all of this, the NAACP takes a large share of the credit. The fact is that since 1909 it has pressed literally hundreds of cases in the courts as well as the law-making bodies to help establish equal treatment under the law.

Its greatest victory came on May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court unanimously declared public school segregation to be a violation of the Constitution. No court since the famous Dred Scott decisin of 1857 had ruled on so vital an issue in the field of racial relations.

More than any other person, Thurgood Marshall was responsible for pushing the historic school-segregation case through to a final triumph for the NAACP. Now 47, Mr. Marshall joined its legal staff in 1938 as a special counsel. His salary was $2400.



Roy Wilkins (above) is executive secretary of the NAACP whose board of directors is about equally divided Negro and white. Below, Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel, who has won 14 of 16 cases he has argued before the Supreme Court.

Since then, he has spent much of his time pleading civil rights cases before the higher courts and is now regarded in his profession as one of the finest constitutional lawyers in the country. Out of 16 cases he has argued before the United States Supreme Court, Mr. Marshall has won 14.

This is a remarkable score in itself. It becomes considerably more so in light of the fact that all 16 were appeals from lower court decisions, the toughest of all to win. In private practice, he could easily quadruple his present salary of $14,000.

So formidable an opponent had he become, in fact, that when the segregation case landed finally before the highest court of the land, South Carolina brought in as its chief counsel the dean of constitutional law of our time, the late John W. Davis, former Democratic candidate for President. Mr.

Autherine Lucy's efforts to enroll at the University of Alabama sparked a bitter racial battle there a few weeks ago. She's pictured denying via the Voice of America that she wrote a letter ascribed to her for propaganda purposes by the Communist radio of North Vietnam.

Davis presented the state's case and lost.

Before May 17, 1954, the law of the land with respect to minority rights was based on the separate-but-equal doctrine, laid down by the Supreme Court in 1896. In other words, in the use of public facilities, including the schools, Negroes could be segregated provided their facilities were "equal" to those of the whites.

The hitch here was that it didn't work. There was no way to enforce the "equal" proviso.

In many Southern communities, colored children attended school in shacks; white children in modern structures.

In 1940, 44 years after the separate-but-equal doctrine became law, Mississippi's per capita school expenditures were $7.24 per year for colored pupils and $41.71 for whites. Even by 1952, the ratio was still $35.27 to $117.43. And in 1952, Mississippi paid its Negro teachers $776 a year; its white teachers, $1191.

In no small measure due to NAACP agitation, many segregated states made a great deal of progress equalizing school facilities. But, on a voluntary basis, it seemed impossible. For the Federal Office of Education estimated it would cost $1.5 billion to bring Negro school plants up to the level of the whites'.

The holdouts, says the NAACP, were those states which are now attempting to circumvent the desegregation order. The NAACP lists them as Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

Communist propaganda abroad, of course, has always harped on a favorite theme—that Negroes are universally abused as inferiors in America.

Within an hour after Chief Justice Earl Warren handed down the integration opinion, the Voice of America was broadcasting it all over Eastern Europe in the languages of Albania, Yugoslavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Latvia, the Ukraine and the Georgian Republic; later to Red China in Mandarin, Cantonese and the Amoy dialect.

It was the Autherine Lucy case—of the Negro coed who unsuccessfully sought to force the issue at the University of Alabama—that further projected the NAACP into the forefront. Mr. Marshall was her counsel.

Its Southern critics' attacks are running the gamut. One of the mildest is that NAACP is pushing too fast. Another, that it's trying to ram equaliy down the throats of the Southerners. And that it is "masterminding" all Negro unrest.

Louisiana, reviving a 1924 statute directed against the Ku Klux Klan, has moved to oust the NAACP from the state.

Meanwhile, the NAACP is standing pat on the Supreme Court's decision. And determined to do everything in its power to implement it.

THE NAACP: WHAT IS ITS ULTIMATE GOAL?

Holding a poster against racial bias in the South are four of the most active leaders in the NAACP movement, from left; Henry L. Moon, director of public relations; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary; Herbert Hill, labor secretary, and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel.

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN,

Staff Writer.

TO MANY Americans both above and below the Mason-Dixon Line who are deeply concerned over the desegregation crisis in the South, "gradualism" would seem to be the answer. The word to them has become the keynote of their thinking. By dictionary definition, it means "changing or moving by degrees."

To the foremost spokesmen of America's 16 million Negroes, the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, "gradualism" is a tricky word and a tricky concept. As a formula, the leaders of the NAACP mistrust it thoroughly.

Too long, they say, it has been used as a subterfuge for inaction. And, the highest law of the land notwithstanding, they add, for the diehard Southern white segregationist it will always mean "never."

To whatever the definition of "gradualism," however, the NAACP has this reply:

"We've been trying to achieve equal rights for the Negro under the law for 93 years—since the Emancipation Proclamation! If this isn't a gradual process, what is? But must it be prolonged indefinitely?"

That's the official position of the NAACP since it emerged on the national scene as a symbol to some and a target to others after May 17, 1954. That was the date the NAACP won the historic Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation.

Since then, its most militant enemies in the South have thrown every accusation in the book at the association. They've charged it with masterminding discontent among otherwise happy Negroes and stirring up racial tensions. And at the far extreme, with communism, subversion and trying to force racial intermarriage on the South.

"Even some of our best friends and well-wishers," the NAACP concedes, "are charging us with immoderate and unreasonable haste, with intransigence and extremism." Of "going too fast" and "pushing too hard" to bring together white and Negro children in the same schools.

It's this reaction that makes the NAACP's leaders suspicious, to put it mildly, of the gradualists.

So when Adlai Stevenson endorsed gradualism recently, their response was instantaneous. After further briefing, the Democratic White House hopeful backed away fast from the formula. His earlier stand was put down as an error in semantics.

"Actually," says Roy Wilkins, the NAACP's executive secretary, "the NAACP has been going slow for 47 years, since it was born. Our entire history will show that the NAACP has always worked laboriously and strictly within the law. And the law moves just about as fast as a snail."

He cited the NAACP's fight on the exclusion of Negroes from Southern Democratic primaries, which meant their disenfranchisement.

"We started it in 1923, won partial victories between, but it wasn't outlawed finally until 1944. There were no riots, no eggs thrown. Nobody was cussed out. Was 20 years going too fast?"

"Or take housing segregation," Mr. Wilkins went on. "Our first court victory against the Negro ghetto came in 1917. In 1949—32 years later—the Supreme Court outlawed the restrictive covenant. Again, the NAACP and the Negroes were patient, relying on the orderly processes of the courts."

HE BROUGHT up "our 30-year fight to be allowed to purchase Pullman accommodations in the South and to eat in dining cars without being hidden, like lepers, behind curtains. Only last November did the Interstate Commerce Commission ban segregation on interstate rail and bus travel and in waiting rooms."

From the gradualist viewpoint, the NAACP probably got its strongest criticism over the widely-publicized attempt of Autherine Lucy, the Negro student, to enter the University of Alabama and the mob scenes that resulted on the campus.

The Lucy case, said Mr. Wilkins, dated back 25 years, to 1931, when the NAACP started a long-range program to have Negroes admitted in Southern graduate and professional schools. Its initial victory came in 1935 when the University of Maryland law school took in the first Negro.

Miss Lucy's application was based on a 1950 Supreme Court ruling, he said. She didn't file it until two years later. The subsequent years she spent in the courts. It was not until six years afterwards, when the Supreme Court directed her acceptance on Oct. 10, 1955, that the Negro library student showed up in person on the campus.

"Was that acting precipitously?" Mr. Wilkins asked. "Or trying to force Autherine Lucy on the university?"

He disputed accusations that Miss Lucy arrived ostentatiously, in a Cadillac, and pushed herself to the head of the registration line, thereby inviting antagonism. There was no Cadillac, he said. And it was a university official who ushered her to the head of the line, anxious to speed her off the campus.

The NAACP head defended her application for immediate admission to the school dormitory and mess. Except for this new issue, defenders of the university have insisted, she'd have been accepted as a student. The request was in line with the original 1950 court decision.

How does the NAACP stand, he was asked, on the big problem of the future—public school integration? How fast should it be, particularly in light of the Supreme Court order that "a prompt and reasonable start" be made "in good faith . . . toward full compliance?"

"We don't regard that as a fixed, overall formula," he declared. We recognize many difficulties are involved. Where they can desegregate next month, they ought to; if by next fall, they should then.

"Where honestly, for legitimate, discernable factors, they can't until a year from now, it ought to be a year from now. We believe this has to be worked out on the local level. But we have no patience with those who say it's never going to happen and they won't start it; or with those who stall."

The trouble now, the NAACP feels, is that Southern whites have no way of communicating with Negro groups to learn their areas of disagreement. Throughout the South, the NAACP says, its local branches have offered to sit down with local school boards to resolve their differences. The NAACP itself would like to send speakers to talk with local Chambers of Commerce and Rotary Clubs.

"But all of that's impossible," according to its executive secretary, "so long as the Negroes are still considered wards of the white people."

As a model solution, he mentioned St. Louis. "Everything but transportation was segregated there —schools, theaters, hotels and restaurants," he went on. "Several years before the public school decision, the community itself mapped out a program of education.

"Committees were formed, including Negroes. There were many discussions and public forums. As a result, the public was educated and today the St. Louis school system is completely desegregated."

In contrast, he pointed to the White Citizens Councils, which claim 50,000 members in Mississippi and are spreading in the South.

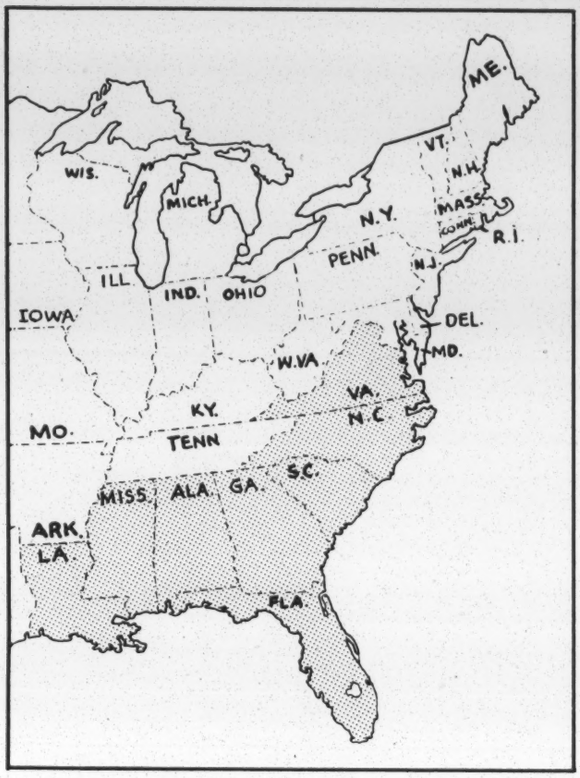
"They—and the ideas they stand for—are the extremists," said Mr. Wilkins. "They're the ones who give the green light to the hoodlums. While they claim to use non-violent methods, they say openly any Negro who seeks his civil rights will find it impossible to get a job, get credit, maintain a business or have a home. It was in this reign-of-terror atmosphere that three Negroes were murdered in cold blood last year in Mississippi. Yet, in the Montgomery, Ala., bus protest, not a rock was thrown by a Negro. It was restrained, orderly and reasonable throughout. Who are the moderates now?"

Meanwhile, ghosts of the Ku Klux Klan have materialized here and there in the South to capitalize on the segregation issue. From Waco, Tex., recently, a rabble-rousing leaflet went through the mails to Southern states.

"Wouldn't you join the KKK," it said, "to protect your home and womanhood from the disease-ridden NAACP Mau Mau hordes? The National Assn. for the Advancement of Communist People Mau Mau are the tool of Talmudic Communism. The Aryan Knights of the Ku Klux Kreed shall never exchange their birthright for a mess of mixed-up, diseased, Talmudic Communism or Romish Popedom. Because that's the Semitic way of Mau Mau life."

Such wild incitements the NAACP properly attributes to isolated crackpots. But they raise two accusations used widely in the South by the Citizens Councils and its more respectable enemies to stigmatize NAACP activities against segregation. And these accusations do carry weight. Namely, that the NAACP is communistic. And that it, basically, wants to force intermarriage on the South. Both, of course, the NAACP stoutly denies. In the states that do not outlaw intermarriage, Mr. Wilkins points out, its incidence is "infinitesimally small."

"Our accusers make a basic assumption that's



fantastically wrong and insulting," he says. "They assume that white people are ready and waiting to marry Negroes; that Negroes are ready and waiting to marry whites; that only the law restrains them.

"The NAACP regards marriage as an intimate personal affair between two people who should have freedom of choice. We are neither for nor against intermarriage. One basic reason we oppose laws against intermarriage is that in the South they deprive Negro women of protection in maternity cases. We seek social equality only in its broadest sense. Freedom includes the right to individual prejudices. Our sole program is against making individual prejudices into law."

ON THE charge of communism, this writer, who was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in journalism for exposing Red infiltration in this country during 1946, has first-hand knowledge. It goes back more than a decade and a half.

Over those years, the NAACP was one of hundreds of church, labor, civic and other groups the Communist party tried desperately to infiltrate. Of them all, the NAACP was one of the least receptive.

The eight shaded states in the map (left) are regarded as "holdouts" in the fight against desegregation and that's where the NAACP is striking its heaviest blows with literature of all sorts such as that pictured below.

Negroes make notoriously unreliable Communists. At no one time could the party claim more than a few thousand members. The turnover is enormous.

Yet, as a permanent tactic, the Communist party always makes a heavy pitch for the support of Negroes. And, in order to exploit their grievances, it tries to latch on to individual civil rights causes of the NAACP.

Just as persistently, the NAACP's top leaders have sternly resisted Communist inroads. Not only are they opposed to the philosophy and strategy of communism, but they realize the Communists' first allegiance goes to Russia and world revolution. And that the Red tag could mean the kiss of death to their entire movement.

Consequently, the Communists have waged intermittent war on Roy Wilkins, the late Walter White and other NAACP officers. As the NAACP says, "We have been smeared and vilified as much in the Communist Daily Worker as in the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News."

Politically, the NAACP insists it's strictly nonpartisan. "Our business is civil rights," says Mr. Wilkins. "Our aim is civil rights legislation and we don't care whether we get it from the Republicans or the Democrats. We seek friends in both parties."

Although it criticized the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt in specific instances, the NAACP generally backed the New Deal.

It was FDR's successor, Harry Truman, the NAACP believes, who did more to restore the Negro to the status of a first-class citizen than any other President—and showed greater courage in doing it.

President Eisenhower, the NAACP's leaders would probably agree, is sympathetic to its objectives and, as one of them put it, "has done some very good things." There is a feeling, however, that the President might have exerted a more positive influence in the segregation crisis.

On the question of Negro rights, Adlai Stevenson, Gov. Averell Harriman and Sen. Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) would seem to be equally acceptable, as things now stand. The NAACP leaders regard all three as friends of their cause. Vice President Richard Nixon also rates high, according to Mr. Wilkins.

"The Vice President has made many forthright statements on our question," Mr. Wilkins said. "Although opposed to the FEPC bill and public housing, he came out strongly for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision. He's much better than average and has many friends among colored voters."

The NAACP has set Jan. 1, 1963, as its "target" for "the complete elimination of all vestiges of second-class citizenship under which Negro Americans still suffer." That will be the 100th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

By then, the NAACP hopes to achieve equal rights in employment, housing, voting, education, transportation and public accommodations.

"Segregation, 'the Southern way of life,' is doomed," said the April issue of The Crisis, the NAACP's official publication. "It is doomed legally; it is doomed morally. The Negro masses are in revolt against it.

"No time is gained by settling a great question wrong. And the NAACP and Southern Negroes are resolved to settle it right—by legal and constitutional means."

WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN SATURDAY MAGAZINE MAY 19, 1956

NAACP
Fight For Freedom

Reprinted with the permission of the author and the New York World Telegram and Sun by:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

20 West 40th Street • NEW YORK 18 • NEW YORK

June 27, 1956

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

No, I had not seen the nice red, white, and blue NAACP pamphlet. I am grateful for it. I am so glad they did it.

I am coming to New York Wednesday, July 25th. The people that run Time-Life are paying for me to come up and make the map speech to their editorial staff.

I expect having achieved New York at somebody else's expense, I will stay around a couple of days.

I remind myself of Paul's caution that I should let you know of possible Thursdays in New York. I do now so let you know, though, as you know I am diffident about pushing myself off as a speechmaker.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 2, 1956

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

Delighted to be your man Thursday, July 26th, 6-7 p.m. "The South and the Supreme Court Decision." I will try to get there fifteen minutes or so before 6:00.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

June 30, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

RECEIVED JUL 1 1956

Dear George:

Many thanks for your welcome letter. We are delighted that you are coming to New York on Wednesday, July 25th and that you will accept our 'open' invitation to speak at our forum on July 26, at 6-7 pm. on the subject "The South and the Supreme Court Decision". I will leave it to you to choose a particular aspect of the subject that you think would be most timely.

Would appreciate it very much if you could come down early so that we could have a visit and, of course, we want you to have dinner with us, following the forum.

I am also sending you herewith another fine N.A.A.C.P. reprint. It is written, as you will observe, by Frederick Woltman and I think he did an excellent job - a very objective evaluation.

Under separate cover, I am sending you a few extra copies I think you might like to have. Of course, the N.A.A.C.P. would undoubtedly send you any number of additional copies.

Thanking you and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:ml

July 27, 1956

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

Very many thanks for that wonderful picture. I had a grand time last night, and I am deeply grateful to you and all your friends for a pleasant occasion and a mighty good dinner. Would there were many more such occasions ahead!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

July 20, 1956.

Mr. George Mitchell
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I am sending you herewith a picture of an integrated class in a Catholic school in Belgian Congo. I have already sent it out yesterday to the Negro press, Catholic press, and, of course, to Father Shean of the Catholic Commission of the South.

You can use this picture. You need not give any credit line, the only restriction is that it cannot be copied and sent out on post cards.

It occurred to me that you might like to have a cut made and sent out with some of your literature.

I am sure you will agree with me that it is a wonderful picture.

Looking forward to your talk here at our forum, Thursday, the 26th, from 6 to 7 p.m., I am, with every good wish

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:ml
enc.

RECEIVED JUL 26 1956

RECEIVED SEP 13 1956

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

Phone
REctor 2-5417

News Service

20 Vesey St.
New York, N.Y.

FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS GOES ON RECORD AGAINST SEGREGATION

Student Delegates From More Than 150 Catholic Colleges

Cleveland, Sept. 4 -- The National Federation of Catholic College Students has once again gone on record against segregation in the schools.

Noting the need for reiterating its past stand on the matter, the 13th national congress of NFCCS, representing more than 150 Catholic colleges, has called upon student governments "to examine their campus situations and work for the abolition of all discriminatory practices."

The text of the resolution is as follows:

WHEREAS: The recent Supreme Court decision on segregation and the subsequent reactions throughout the nation have created a need for a reiteration of the Federation's stand on this issue; and,

WHEREAS: Involuntary segregation is opposed to the principles of justice and charity and the Catholic teaching that all men are brothers in Christ; and,

WHEREAS: The need for affirmation of these principles moved the Second National Congress to go on record as the first student organization opposed to segregation, and most recently the Tenth National Congress reiterated this position; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: That the Thirteenth National Congress recommends and exhorts student governments, in whatever section of the country they be, to examine their campus situations, to work for the abolition of all discriminatory practices, and to support the Catholic hierarchy of their areas in implementing integration.

"Interracial Justice": the catholic's Contribution"
Catholic International overlook
to Hef

October 2, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

I read your article with the greatest interest, and thought it most informative. It is a good thing to right history.

Shall be in New York this week, and will hope to be in touch with you. I am sans address, but Broadus is in the phone book and will probably know where I float.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED SEP 29 1956

September 27, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am enclosing herewith copy of a magazine issued by the editors of CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK, a leading English Catholic publication.

I was very much pleased that they asked for an article on the Catholic interracial movement in the United States and all puffed up with pride that they invited me to write it.

I think the significant thing to me is the fact that Catholic leaders in Europe recognize the great importance of the Catholic interracial movement in the United States.

I am sure you will be glad to know that we have been given a five year grant by a Catholic Foundation to provide two two-year scholarships to prepare the young men to become secretaries of Catholic Interracial Councils. The students are to do their academic work at Fordham University and their field work is to be done here at the Catholic Interracial Center.

Trusting you are well, and with every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a
encl

December 7, 1956

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Dear George:

Sorry to be so late in answering your good letter of November 23. In my absence from the office, my secretary sent you 10 copies of the October issue of New South. Unfortunately we didn't forsee the demand for it, and that was about all we had left.

Thanks for the kind words about our part of the integration booklet. I'm glad that you felt that we did justice to the religious section. Of course, we had to leave out many fine things because they did not fall within the self-imposed two year period of survey. It may be that Loth's omissions are similarly explained. I don't know, however, since I had little communication with him about the Northern survey. In any case, it is hard to see how such a report could fail to deal substantially with the impressive contribution that the Catholic churches and institutions have made to desegregation.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

MBO sent
10 copies
12-3-56

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

Nov. 23, 1956.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Very much interested in the Oct.1956 issue of NEW SOUTH. Will you be good enough to have one of your staff mail us 20 copies of this issue together with the bill for same? We will remit promptly.

I wish to congratulate you upon your fine survey of integration in the South (as published by the Fund for the Republic). I think you will understand that we were very much disappointed in Mr. Loth's survey because of what was not included in the chapter on religion. In the space of about 8 pages he cited a couple of hundred examples of what the churches had done in the north and out of all of these he has only three lines with regard to what has been done by the Catholic Church.

Certainly this was not due to the lack of information because he sent one of his assistants in here, and we spent over two hours covering what had been done by the Catholic churches and institutions in the north.

Certainly, all of us like your chapter on what the churches have done in the south.

With best wishes to George Mitchell and yourself, I am, with best wishes

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:M1

The NEW WORLD
Official Catholic Paper of the Archdiocese of Chicago and the Diocese of Joliet

VOL. LXIV, No. 38 | Phone: FRanklin 2-5511 | CHICAGO, ILL., SEPT. 21, 1956 | 10 CENTS, $4.00 A YEAR | 28 PAGES

ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

Cardinal Stritch Decries Injustices To Negroes as Blot on Our History

Speaks at Interracial Council Dinner Meet

On Monday evening of this week, at a dinner meeting of the board of directors of the Catholic Interracial council, His Eminence Samuel Cardinal Stritch pronounced one of the most effective statements we have heard to date on the matter of social justice.

"Injustices done to Negroes," he stated, "are one of the blots in our history. It is no use trying to cover them up because they are a blot. We're pleased that many people are realizing it is a blot, because as we know from our Catholic teaching, we must have admission of sin before contrition."

Emphasizing that "justice can't be broken into fragments," he went on to say, "we must accept the whole thing, even though many people believe that justice can be fragmentized."

Speaking of the Interracial council, His Eminence added that the organization is not one that in a warped spirit of condescension "goes slumming to the blacks" but "strives to bring men together in neighborliness."

Other excerpts from the Cardinal's talk follow:

"ANOTHER THOUGHT is that justice is the preparing of the way. It is clearing away the impediments to the social order. St. Thomas, in talking about peace, says justice brings it about. But when all the clamoring for justice is over, we need charity.

"In the planning of all this, two things must be kept in mind—first, we must not let our emotions outrun our reason. When our emotions run rampant, we get into trouble. This is a time for self-control and self-restraint. It is a time to be hard-headed and a bit cold. We must not allow ourselves to be rash. To exercise leadership we must be calm.

"Secondly—this Organization is not an organization that goes 'slumming to the blacks,' but it is an organization that strives to bring man together in neighborliness. Neighborliness can only succeed when both groups are working together to achieve a good social order. It is not so much a question of getting on street corners, it is rather a question of removing the obstacles. This organization could never succeed if we didn't have these fine Negro leaders with us, who are seeking to help their people assume their responsibilities in the kind of society we are trying to develop.

"TODAY IS THE DAY not to be afraid. Today is the day, not to be too centered on some disturbances because it is a day when this nation has made its confession and it is now the time to live its contrition.

"You have been doing excellent work in your schools' program, but now there are tougher things we must do.

"We are having new people coming into our city, many are

(Continued on page 14)

INJUSTICES TO NEGROES was termed blot on national life by His Eminence Samuel Cardinal Stritch at Sept. 17 directors meeting of Catholic Interracial council at Palmer House. With His Eminence are Most Rev. Joseph O. Bowers, S.V.D., visiting bishop of Accra, the Gold Coast, Africa (seated, right), (standing), Clifford J. Campbell, chairman of dinner; and R. Sargent Shriver, council president. See story on page 1.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL — OF CHICAGO

21 WEST SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
PHONE DElaware 7-7776

'DOING FINE JOB'

Interracial Work Lauded

(Continued from page 1)

Negroes who are poor coming from the countryside and are not prepared to take their place in urban life. Some need primary education to help them adjust to life in large urban centers. Not all of these newcomers are Negroes, some come from the hills, some from our island possessions. Let's not wait until certain forces make them their victims. Now is the time to extend the friendly hand, now is the time for some of their own to help. To these newcomers, urban life is frightening and dangerous. We have got to welcome them and try to breathe the spirit of Christian life into our communities. If we can at all help, we must serve these people. I must emphasize again, we need justice and charity. We need the whole thing. We need charity so that we can metaphorically put our arms around the Negro.

"Equal opportunities in economic life were not given to the American Negro. He was not given equal opportunities in cultural and public matters, but now, as a nation, we have come to a point where we openly confess our mistakes of the past. We are realizing that being a Christian means loving our neighbor, not just respecting him. It is better to stir up your conscience than to cover it up with a false complacency.

"We are trying to set up a real social order. We are working for social justice, for all of social justice and not fragments of it. We must realize what Christ said in last Sunday's Gospel, love one another, not only respect one another. We must not only respect our neighbor but love him. We must clear away all the barnacles if we're to live together as human beings. It is important that groups should recognize the dictates of justice.

"This organization has been doing a fine job and has found, as one of its pressing works, relieving injustices done to the Negro, and the refusal of so many to give Negroes their rights.

"**WE MUST** be willing to give them their rights in the light of the Cross.

"May I leave you with one parting thought — love your neighbor, don't just respect him."

THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL —— OF CHICAGO

21 WEST SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
PHONE DElaware 7-7776

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____ Committee on Community Affairs
____ Membership Committee
____ Grade School Division

Archbishop Rummel Speaks At Notre Dame

Appeals For Unity, Harmony At Christian Family Meeting

An appeal for unity and harmony among men according to the plan of the Creator was made by Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans Friday, Aug. 17, before the national convention of the Christian Family Movement in Notre Dame, Ind. The address by His Excellency follows in full:

By way of introduction I would like to state that the theme of this address was decided upon at the request of the committee which extended to me the gracious invitation to appear on this program. My personal preference would have been to discuss some phases of the Christian Family Life. However, taking for granted that the Committee represented the wishes of a substantial number of the group. I have prepared some thoughts on the Christian viewpoint of the racial problem in the hope that they may be acceptable and helpful towards a better understanding of an issue which has grown into a major problem in our national thinking.

Who has not marvelled again and again at the inspiration of human genius that has blended into a soulstirring harmony the variety of sounds which are produced by the many instruments which make up an orchestra ensemble as he listened to the rendition of a glorious symphony! Who has not meditated with entrancing joy on the still greater and more incomprehensible unity and harmony of the panorama which God has conceived and in His wisdom produced by His infinite power! The myriads of stars that illumine the firmament at night, the mountains that reach out towards the heavens over the earthly globe, the oceans that divide the continents and the countless lakes and rivers that glisten in the sunlight, the variety of vegetation that beautifies the earth, the animal life that thrives in the air, on the surface of the earth and under the waters in endless continuity—does not all this build up into an harmonious symphony that sings without end the incomprehensible wisdom, power and bounty of the Sovereign Lord and Creator of the universe!

Is it conceivable that this harmonious conception of the Creator should stop short or fall when He came to the creation of the being, who was to preside over other creatures, rule them and have dominion over them? Or should we not rather expect that this superior being should possess in a superior degree the unity and harmony of all creation? And so it is that in the story of creation in the Book of Genesis we read: "And God created man to his own image: to the image of God he created him. Male and female he created them. And God blessed them saying: 'increase and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it.'" (Genesis 1, 27-28)

Common Basic Unity

This and no other is the origin of the human race or family — one man and one woman made to the image and likeness of God, gifted with an immortal soul and destined by the Creator for the kingdom of heaven. From that one couple descended the multitude of human beings that have populated the earth through the centuries. Through circumstances which are only partially known to human science and which will probably remain a mystery in the bosom of God, there have developed differences in color, habits of life and achievement between large groups of men, but the basic unity of origin, nature and destiny remains common to all, a continuing demonstration of the harmony that is characteristic of all the products of God's creation.

From the eminence of Calvary to which His enemies had lifted the Crucified Son of God we learn yet another lesson of harmonious unity. It is the unity of Redemption. With arms outstretched at full length the Son of God pleads with His Heavenly Father to accept His sacrifice for all offenders, "for they do not know what they are doing." (Luke 23, 34) He promises paradise to a penitent thief as a pledge of the mercy that all penitent sinners may hope for; He bequeathes His mother's affection to all humanity through His beloved disciple, St. John; finally with one last sigh He cries aloud: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" — (Luke 23, 46). One solemn redeeming and atoning act of supreme sacrifice for all humanity. There are no exceptions, no equivocations, no reservations that sacrifice except the one made by the Angels that sang over the plains of Bethlehem in the night of that Savior's birth: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men of good will." (Luke 2, 14)

Knowing the merciful Heart of Christ, we are convinced that He has neither desire nor approval for any restriction or limitation in the application of the fruits of the Redemption that would inflict grief or pain upon the recipient. The hardships associated with any form of racial segregation certainly fit in no where within the purview of Christ's sacrificial death, the seal of the teachings of Christ. Outstanding too is the mandate of love of God and of our fellowmen.

"By this will all men know that you are my disciples. If you have love for one another." (John 13, 35) This is not only a reaffirmation of the law of charity but it also establishes the universal and eternal criterion that the law of charity as applied to our fellowmen shall be the yardstick by which the sincerity of our faith and fellowship in Christ shall be judged. In vain will you look for any exception either as to the persons to whom Christ referred or the services that He might have envisioned in the law of charity. St. Paul insists that all men are the objects of that law of Christ.

And recently Pope Pius XII answered the question: Who is my neighbor? by stating "The neighbor is every man, the Negro of Central Africa or the Indian in the forests of the Amazon, awaiting spiritual goods more than material ones."

As to the services that come under the law of charity there is no more convincing illustration than Christ's description of the last judgment in which the active ministry of charity for Christ's sake establishes the right to eternal reward, while failure in that service forms the indictment that calls for eternal exclusion from the kingdom of heaven. Who will doubt but that feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and the captives are but symbols of the endless variety of services which are embraced in charity as Christ conceives it? By what twist of the imagination can anyone affix the label or merit of charity upon customs that exclude civilized human beings, from sharing with their fellow human beings certain facilities, conveniences and necessities of life chiefly if not simply because they belong to a different race? Who will deny that the hardships, the humiliations, the setbacks, the retardation in civic, eco-

CATHOLIC ACTION OF THE SOUTH
August 26, 1956 Edition of Our Sunday Visitor
Official Newspaper of the Archdiocese of New Orleans

Catholic Interracial Council
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

nomic and cultural progress which racial segregation imposes either by law or by custom are not violations of Christian charity and even of basic natural law?

Must Provide Remedy

In recent attempts to justify racial segregation it has been asserted that the so-called color line is drawn chiefly because of certain objectionable qualities which make the Negro race as a whole incapable of integration with our American way of life. On the other hand, too little consideration has been given to the responsibility of providing in all sincerity and earnestness the means and opportunities for remedying and overcoming the difficulties.

If Negro children are in reality mentally backward to the extent of between one and two years by comparison with White children of equal age, the correction cannot reasonably be expected from the continuation of inferior school and teaching facilities or from denying them the stimulation that would result from competition with more gifted and ambitious White fellow pupils in an integrated system. There seems to be an element of defeatism in the contention that the more talented and more ambitious White group would be retarded.

If it be true that, as a whole, Negroes are unclean or unsanitary in their personal habits and living quarters, that many are tainted with social diseases, that they are morally unstable and have a low concept of marriage and family responsibility, that they have no respect for private or public property, human life or social responsibilities — if all these charges be true, then certainly the remedy cannot be enforced segregation or isolation which rather tends to continue and even aggravate the unwholesome conditions. Even under segregated conditions the Negro has made great improvement and progress, but how much greater would have been his advancement were he given the encouragement of respect for his human dignity, the benefit of association in confidence with his more favored White associates and a planned program for the betterment of his way of life with the cooperation of society in general!

Fair Opportunity Given

If the Negro has lagged behind his White neighbors in general industry and economy, we may well ask ourselves whether we have afforded him legitimate opportunity for employment, industrial training, education in trade schools, apprenticeship and fair compensation for labor. Not without foundation is the casual suspicion that politicians and industrialists promote segregation at times with an interest in perpetuating cheap labor and questionable working conditions, apparently forgetting the fact that the cost of living respects no color line.

Whatever truth or merit there may be in the claims that the Negro lacks mental ability or is substandard in personal habits, home environment, family morality, economic ability, ambition or sanitary requirements, the fact remains that such defects cannot be charged to the race as a whole, for there are numerous exceptions that prove the Negro's painstaking efforts with creditable success to rise above these disadvantages and make himself worthy of association with the White majority. Not too evident has been the willingness of the White group, through private or official cooperation, to lend the helping hand or even give the heartening word of encouragement which all human beings need in their struggle towards a better way of life.

Here a word may be said in reference to a common fear often expressed, namely that racial integration will bring with it social intimacy, courtship, intermarriage and even general miscegenation. Theoretically this line of thought sounds quite plausible, but it is hardly borne out by facts. Social relationships are a logical product of congenial association between individuals and groups, which sometimes lead to unfortunate and unhappy results between persons of the same race. Witness the large percentage even of White marriages which today end in separation, divorce or abandonment to the scandal of the nation, the breaking up of home and family ties and the impoverishment and homelessness of children!

Free Choice of Friends

But coming back to the prospect of intermarriage between the races. First of all integration deprives no one of the right to chose his friends or companions; nor does it deprive or relieve parents of the responsibility to supervise and guide their children in the choice of companions or playmates. Integration or no integration, parents always have the duty to safeguard the religion, the morals, the health and the social relationships of their children, teen-agers and adolescents. These principles apply equally to all parents regardless of race or color. Whether actual statistics are attributable to the operation of these principles or to some other cause or causes, the fact is that in places where integration exists in our United States the percentage of interracial marriages has been comparatively low. Undoubtedly social and economic conditions have played their part in this experience. Certainly under prevailing conditions both White and Colored young people weigh well the embarrassment, loss of social prestige, ostracism, etc., that could follow an interracial union. And yet, who will measure the power of love or guage the force of passion that so often dominates young hearts!

That the Negro is now capable of profiting by the opportunities which are afforded him is abundantly proven by actual progress which he has made in practically every field of endeavor within the last few decades.

Can Overcome Obstacles

In education, Negro children have met with commendable success the present day standards in elementary and high school grades, while on the college and university levels talented aspirants have qualified themselves as teachers and professors, as business executives and accountants, as druggists, doctors and lawyers. Where the field of commerce and industry were open to them, many Negroes have worked themselves into the ranks of men of independent wealth while large numbers have built up for themselves and their families a state of economic security worthy of admiration. Such progress is proof that, if given the opportunity, the encouragement with freedom from the stigmatizing inhibitions of segregation, the Negro will overcome the obstacles and objections that are chalked against him and contribute his share to the common welfare and the progress of the nation.

In conclusion, we would like to emphasize racial integration can succeed only as a cooperative enterprise. The lifting of segregation and the removal of restrictions would be doomed to failure and even become disastrous without the mutual cooperation of both races. The Negro has already shown his ability to raise himself to higher levels of education and culture, of more acceptable ways of personal habits and family life, of economic and vocational advancement and of general conformity with accepted standards of living. Integration should give the incentive for the creation of a leadership among the Colored group to promote from within the eradication of objectionable features and habits and to cultivate the principles, ideals and customs that will redound to the credit of the race.

In the spirit of mutual cooperation something more will be required of our White group than a mere removal of segregation from statute books, city and county regulations, school board measures and transportation and hotel facilities. Needed will be sympathetic understanding and encouragement, which are the fruits of genuine Christian charity and justice. A race cannot grow up in a day to the full stature of social or cultural perfection, nor can the seeds planted grow to maturity without cultivation. Integration will under the spell of the encouraging word, the touch of the helping hand and the sunshine of opportunity, reveal the vision of success to a struggling minority freed from the stigmatizing label of inferiority. When America interprets the presence in our midst of some 15 million Negroes not as a liability but as a mission of charity planned in the wisdom of Divine Providence for their integration with the higher and better way of life, then will we see the dawn of an era of edification that will give to the world a new vision of our country's ideals.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

December 19, 1956

Dear George:

I read the news item in the Sunday TIMES about your resignation as director of SRC, and I write to tell you how much I have admired the magnificent work the Council has achieved under your brilliant leadership. I am sure that in the years ahead you will have a great deal of satisfaction as you recall the success of your efforts.

Hoping that you will be in New York before going to Scotland, and that we may have at least another visit with you, I am with best wishes for a Happy Christmas and for all good things in 1957,

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

GKH:a

January 2, 1957

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Versey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

My warmest thanks for your letter of December 19th. There is no one whose good wishes I prize more highly.

"The Law of The Land" is a very useful leaflet and we would be grateful for as many as one thousand of them.

All of us here send greetings and best wishes for 1957 to you and to the Catholic Interracial Council.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

December 19, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I write to extend heartiest congratulations both to you and to the Southern Regional Council on your becoming the director following the retirement of our friend, George Mitchell. I am certain that your administration will be crowned with many significant achievements. You can count upon our full support and co-operation in any area where you think we could be helpful.

I am enclosing two copies of a new pamphlet gotten out by NAACP. They have given us 10,000 copies and are anxious to have them widely distributed. We would be only too glad to send you 500, or 1,000, or more, if you will let us know how many you could use.

With best wishes for a Happy Christmas and the fulfillment of your wishes for 1957, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a
encls

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

December 15, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your welcome letter of the 7th. I hope you will forgive my delay in writing you.

I am enclosing herewith some recent newsstories I think you would like to have, and call particular attention to the NAACP reprint of Msgr. Higgins' column on the NAACP. If you could use them I think you can get additional copies from Mr. Henry Moon of the NAACP. They had 25,000 copies made.

Again let me congratulate you on your excellent survey on integration in the South.

Best wishes for Christmas and the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD
ENCS.

THE LAW of the LAND

RECENT ATTACKS UPON THE SUPRE

A STATEMENT BY M

This statement was issued by 100 outstanding members of the bar residing in 31 states and territories of the United States.

As members of the bar we have been deeply disturbed by recent attacks on the Supreme Court of the United States. No institution of our government, including the judiciary, stands beyond the reach of criticism; but these attacks have been so reckless in their abuse, so heedless of the value of judicial review, and so dangerous in fomenting disrespect for our highest law that they deserve to be repudiated by the legal profession and by every thoughtful citizen.

The Constitution is our supreme law. In many of its most important provisions it speaks in general terms, as is fitting in a document intended, as John Marshall declared, "to endure for ages to come." In cases of disagreement we have established the judiciary to interpret the Constitution for us. The Supreme Court is the embodiment of judicial power, and under its evolving interpretation of the great constitutional clauses—commerce among the States, due process of law, and equal protection of the laws, to name examples—we have achieved national unity, a nation-wide market for goods, and government under the guarantees of the Bill of Rights. To accuse the Court of usurping authority when it reviews legislative acts, or of exercising "naked power" is to jeopardize the very institution of judicial review. To appeal for "resistance" to decisions of the Court "by any lawful means" is to utter a self-contradiction, whose ambiguity can only be calculated to promote disrespect for our fundamental law. The privilege of criticising a decision of the Supreme Court carries with it a corresponding obligation—a duty to recognize the decision as the supreme law of the land as long as it remains in force.

There are ways of bringing about changes in constitutional law, but resistance is not such a way. Changes may be wrought by seeking an overruling decision, or by constitutional amendment. It is through the amending process, and not by resistance, that the people and the States stand as the ultimate authority.

The current wave of abuse was doubtless precipitated by the school segregation decisions, though it has by no means been limited to them. Since our position does not depend on agreement with those decisions, it is not our purpose to discuss their merits. As individuals we are entitled to our own views of their soundness. Some of us are definitely in disagreement with them. In an Appendix we have sought to put these decisions in historical perspective and our signatures to this declaration are intended to evidence our approval of the statements in the Appendix. Our present concern is for something more fundamental than any one decision or group of decisions; our concern is for the tradition of law-observance and respect for the judiciary, a tradition indispensable to the cherished independence of our judges and orderly progress under law.

The American Bar has been alert to defend the judiciary against assaults which would undermine the Rule of Law, and to make plain to the American public the dangers lurking in such challenges. In 1937, when the Court was threatened, the Bar rallied to its support as an institution, regardless of individual dissatisfaction which many felt toward important decisions of that time. We must do no less today.

The signers of this statement represent diverse political outlooks and geographic asso-

ciations. We are all the more firmly united in our resolve to defend the Rule of Law against the present challenge.

APPENDIX

Occasionally in our history decisions of the Court have met with official resistance on the part of one or more States. No section of the country has had a monopoly on such aberrations, and in their outcome these episodes have only served to strengthen the tradition of respect for law. In 1803 the legislature of Pennsylvania asserted that a federal court had illegally usurped jurisdiction and that its decree ought not to be supported or obeyed. Reviewing this action, the Supreme Court in 1809, through Chief Justice Marshall, took note of a supposed right of interposition:

> *"The act in question does not, in terms, assert the universal right of the state to interpose in every case whatever; but assigns, as a motive for its interposition in this particular case, that the sentence, the execution of which it prohibits, was rendered in a cause over which the federal courts have no jurisdiction."*

The answer which Marshall gave is as valid and compelling today as it was almost a century and a half ago:

> *"If the legislatures of the several states may, at will, annul the judgments of the courts of the United States, and destroy the rights acquired under these judgments, the constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery; and the nation is deprived of the means of enforcing its laws by the instrumentality of its own tribunals. So fatal a result must be deprecated by all; and the people of Pennsylvania, not less than the citizens of every other state, must feel a deep interest in resisting principles so destructive of the Union, and in averting consequences so fatal to themselves."* (5 Cranch 115, 136 [1809]).

The President at the time was James Madison, whose earlier views may have given some reason to the Governor of Pennsylvania to solicit his support. But when thus approached, Madison was firm in upholding the Rule of Law. He said: ". . . the Executive is not only unauthorized to prevent the execution of a decree sanctioned by the Supreme Court of the United States, but is expressly enjoined, by statute, to carry into effect any such decree, where opposition may be made to it." Cong. Globe, 11th Cong. 2d sess., p. 2269 quoted in I Warren Supreme Court in United States History, p. 382).

It is unnecessary to recount additional episodes of this kind. Surmounting attacks prompted by local pressures, it was this very authority of the Court that served to foster reconciliation after the Civil War, when State and federal statutes disqualifying former supporters of the Confederacy from public and professional employment were held by the Court to be repugnant to the Constitution as bills of attainder. Thus the attacks on the power of the Court proved to be as short-sighted as they were short-lived.

Concerning the school cases themselves, it should be enough to point out that they do not warrant any departure from our tradition of respect for law. It has been said that they were a usurpation because the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment does not speak of schools and Congress had not legislated on the subject. But the equal protection

clause was deliberately couched in general terms; it does not speak of jury service or transportation or any of the other specific fields in which the Court has been faced with racially restrictive laws. These problems must be resolved by the Court.

Whether as individuals we agree or disagree with the school decisions, we recognize that they were the culmination of a steady line of growth in the application of the concept of equal protection of the law, and that each stage was preceded by sincere and determined opposition. In 1880 the right of Negroes to be included on juries was established by judicial decision. In 1917 racial restrictions in municipal zoning laws were held unconstitutional, and in 1948 this principle was applied to prevent the enforcement of private racial covenants for housing. In 1927 the first of a series of cases outlawed the all-white primary under the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1938 the first of a series of cases applied the principle of equal protection to higher education; through Chief Justice Hughes the Court held that a State did not satisfy its constitutional duty by offering to pay for a student's tuition at a non-segregated university in another State. The elementary-school cases themselves were presented in a series of oral arguments and written briefs that advanced every possible contention; the Court heard reargument on the merits and still another argument on the form of the decree. The cases were treated with the utmost deliberation. Recognizing the problems of adjustment in some localities, the Court left the decree to be carried out under the supervision of the district courts. The local authorities are obligated to see that the Court's decision is complied with in good faith.

SIGNERS

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G. AARON YOUNGQUIST, Minneapolis, Minn.

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NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND
EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

107 West 43rd Street, New York 36, N. Y.

December 26, 1956

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

I do greatly appreciate your kind note.

Alice and I will be in New York to catch a boat a day or two ahead of the March 8th sailing, and I will telephone you at least.

You have supplied me with some of my most appreciated moments, and I am grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

JC -
Ltr to EAB
Mater to FI

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

Jan. 5, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your kind letter. We will be glad to send you 1,000 copies of the N.A.A.C.P. folder "It Is the Law". I feel you will be interested in the enclosed. With best wishes for a happy new year, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:Ml

January 14, 1957

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
of New York, Inc.
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

The Collins address was indeed significant of a change of attitude in Florida. We are in the process of obtaining copies of the complete text, and I shall see that you receive one promptly.

The resolution adopted by your interracial Forum was both strong and good. This kind of calling the shots helps us all.

Many thanks for the various good items that you have sent me recently.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

Jan. 10, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have heard that the inagural address of Governor Collins delivered in Atlanta, Jan. 7, was significant of a change in attitude.

I wonder if it would be possible for us to obtain through your good offices the complete text of this address. I should imagine that any man in public life would be only too glad to give our his speeches.

I am enclosing herewith text of the resolution that was adopted the other day at our Interracial Forum. I thought you would like to have it.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:ml
enc.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

Jan. 17, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your welcome letter of the 14th. Glad to know that you are going to send us a copy of the Collins' address.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:Ml

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

2-1-57

JC--

George Hunton (Catholic Interracial Council NYC) called about their booklet "Handbook on Catholic School Integration," which he said he had earlier sent us a copy of -- app. 40 pages.

They are doing a reprint. A number of groups have put in orders which bring the quantity up to the point of a unit price of 10¢.

His question: Would we like to order any while they are reprinting in this quantity and at this low unit price?

I told him we would have to review the booklet with this in mind and discuss the possible uses of it.

He would like to know our decision by Wed.

Will you dig out the booklet and discuss with me?

HCF

FBI has

February 4, 1957

February 4, 1957

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

We have reviewed the Handbook on Catholic School Integration and confirmed our impression of what a good job it was. I am afraid at this point we can get in on the printing only for a very small quantity, but I would appreciate your adding in an extra hundred for us.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

PA
What have we?
HCF
See attached
PDT

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

February 6, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

We will be glad to put your order in for 100 copies when the reprint of the Handbook comes through. I don't just now know when they will be delivered.

By the way if you have any little material or evidence showing that the White Citizens Councils are becoming anti-Catholic as well as anti-Negro, we would appreciate a tip-off. We are just now emphasizing this possibility in talking with Catholics here in the North.

Trusting you are well and with every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

Return to Eab
for files please

February 20, 1957

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

I asked Paul Anthony of our staff, who did a field study of the pro-segregation groups last summer, to advise me of anti-Catholic manifestations. Enclosed is a copy of the summary statement that he has cast up. I am asking him to go a bit further with specific documentation if he can.

You can be sure that we will do our best to keep you posted on the spread of bias that seems inevitable so long as the segregation forces continue to wax fat. I expect to be in New York soon and will hope to see you while I am there.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Dictated but not read

Encl. "

Generally, the WCC is careful to limit its major attacks to the Negro, excluding the Catholic and Jew. Their greatest effect on anti-Catholic feeling is in creating an atmosphere in which it is difficult for any minority. However, there are scattered evidences of direct anti-Catholic feeling coming from the WCC.

As the pronouncements and feelings of the Catholic Church become more generally known, an increased effort is made to have Catholic laymen repudiate the stand of Church leaders and to pressure the leaders to repudiate the official policies of the Church. Strongest illustrations of such efforts have occurred in New Orleans where the Church was faced with strong Catholic and non-Catholic criticism for planning to integrate the schools.

While refusing to take "responsibility" for all contents, the WCC's have distributed a number of hate sheets known to have been anti-Catholic in the past. Several South Carolina WCC units distribute "The White Sentinel" in lieu of publishing a local paper. The Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi has distributed a list of publications interested in the "segregation problem." These include: "The American Nationalist," "For America," "The Defender," "The Cross and the Flag" (G. L. K. Smith), and the "White Sentinel." One of these, "The American Nationalist," edited by Frank L. Britton of Inglewood, California, is received by every newspaper in Mississippi. The envelope in which these papers are sent bears the WCC state headquarters address.

The Klan, which is receiving a considerable revival, remains traditionally anti-Catholic. With growing units in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, and limited activity in the other Southern states, this carries its own implications. The WCC, of course, denounces the Klan, but makes it possible for them to operate nevertheless. A recent incident of anti-Catholic activity of the Klan type occurred on January 17th at Rock Hill. There a six-foot cross was burned during the night in front of St. Anne's Catholic School. The school is the only desegregated school in South Carolina. In Columbia, during January, six white teen-agers were arrested for burning a cross in front of a gate to Benedict (Negro) College.

March 5, 1957

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of February 23rd. I can't tell you how disappointed I was not to see you when I was in New York last week. This was a fund-raising mission and I was in the hands of the philanthropoids all of my waking hours.

I will be back in New York before too long, hopefully on a more civilized schedule, and I will look forward to the opportunity to get together with you for some good conversation.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

February 25, 1957

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Hunton:

Mr. Fleming is currently in your city and, if he has not done so already, will probably call you. He was so very busy right up to plane time that he did not get a chance to write you of the specific time of his visit, but I know that he would enjoy an opportunity to talk with you. Your letter of February 23rd will be called to attention upon his return to the office.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

eab/

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

Feb. 23, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Harold :

I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation for your kindness in sending us the summary statement by Mr. Paul Anthony of your staff. Will you please tell them how grateful we are for his preparing this report for us?

I am glad to know that you will continue to keep me posted on the spread of bias.

Glad to know you are going to be in New York in the near future. Will you please let me know a few days in advance so that we can plan to get together for an extended visit.?

Again thanking you and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:Ml

1 File

May 14, 1957

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council of
New York, Inc.
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

Thanks for your recent letter. I appreciate the copy of Ave Marie which you caused to have sent to us. The St. Louis story was very well done, and it is good to know that we have permission to draw on it. I was also glad to get the additional copies of the "Handbook on Catholic School Integration."

I have just heard from Ben Sissel of the Presbyterians concerning the availability of the George Mitchell film. He writes as follows:

> "The George Mitchell film is completed. We have one copy in our hands. I am authorizing Motion Picture Laboratories (1672 Union Avenue, Memphis 4, Tenn.) to sell prints direct to legitimate purchasers upon order. Our office is not set up to perform any merchandizing or order-taking. My understanding is that the cost of the film will be something in the neighborhood of $115. to $125. per copy. Have not been informed as to the precise cost. Your procedure, therefore, would be to order direct from Motion Picture Laboratories in Memphis."

I note that he says nothing about rental. If I find out more about this, I will pass the word on. Meanwhile, you might want to write yourself to the Motion Picture Laboratories.

I would be delighted to take part in one of your weekly forums and will be at pains to let you know in advance the next time I am to be in New York.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED MAY 3 1957

April 30, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of the 24th advising us that we may expect the film version of George Mitchell's talk to be made available for rential or purchase in the not too far distant future. I am sure that as soon as you have the information you will advise us as to the purchase price and also the rental cost.

I was very much interested to learn that Bishop Waters was inquiring about securing the film. I feel it will do a great deal of good wherever it is shown.

I hope by now that you have received copy of AVE MARIA containing the St. Louis story. Of course, SRC has permission to quote and summarize the article - with a credit line to the editors of AVE MARIA.

Under separate cover I am sending you a few additional copies of "Handbook on Catholic School Integration", with our compliments, which I thought you would like to have.

We are still looking forward to the prospect of your speaking here at one of our weekly Thursday forums. Please let me know in advance of any trip you make to New York.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

GKH:a

George K. Hunton

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

PHONE
REctor 2-5417

News Service

20 Vesey St.
N. Y. C.

(The following news story was sent out this week by the National Catholic Welfare Conference New Service to Catholic magazines and newspapers throughout the country.)

BISHOPS HIT RACE SEGREGATION POLICY OF SOUTH AFRICA AS 'INTRINSICALLY EVIL'; LABEL WHITE SUPREMACY THEORY 'BLASPHEMY'

7/15/57 - Wh.

(Radio, N.C.W.C. News Service)

PETORIA, South Africa, July 11 -- South Afirca's Catholic Bishops have issued a historic statement condemning the nation's racist policy of apartheid as "intrinsically evil" and the white supremacy theory on which it is based as "blasphemy."

The statement, issued after a plenary session of the Hierarchy here, declared that South Africa's current path toward total race segregation can end only in "a harvest of disaster."

Asserting that responsibility for the racist policies lies "squarely" on the shoulders of the white citizens, the nation's Archbishops and Bishops called for an immediate change toward gradual integration. Beginning such a change is possible at once, they said, "if the ingenuity and energy now expended on apartheid are devoted to making South Africa a happy country for all its citizens."

In calling for an end to what they called this "mockery of Christanity," in national life, the Bishops also hit at the practice of segregation in Catholic institutions. While not recognized in the churches, they said, it is characteristic of much of the Church's life in South Africa.

"In the light of Christ's teaching, this cannot be tolerated forever," the Bishops declared. "The time has come to pursue more vigorously the change of heart and practice that the law of christ demands.

We are hypocrities if we condemn apartheid in South African society and condone it in our own institutions."

The Bishops began their statement by recalling the joint declaration they had made in 1952 that "justice demands that non-Europeans be permitted to evolve gradually toward full participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the country," and that "this evolution cannot come about without earnest endeavors on the part of non-Europeans to prepare themselves for the duties connected with the rights they hope to enjoy."

In the five years since that statement was issued, they said, there has been no change in the direction of South Africa's racial policy. The Hierarchy said that on the contrary the official government policy is that apartheid is the only possible formula for South Africa's mixed society, that ingegration is unthinkable, and that partition into states along racial lines is impracticable.

White supremacy, transcending the teaching of Christ, they said, has become an absolute, overriding goal dwarfing every other and an end justifying any means.

The theory of "separate development" of the races sounds plausible only as long as the fact that "separate development is subordinate to White supremacy" is overlooked, the Bishops said.

They commented;

"The White man makes himself the agent of God's will and interpreter of His Providence in assinging the range and determining the bounds of non-white development. One trembles at the blasphemy of thus attributing to God the offenses against charity and justice that are apartheid's necessary accompaniment."

Pointing out that it is sinful to humiliate one's fellow man,

the statement said;

"There is in each human person by God's creation a dignity inseparably connected with his quality of rational and free being. This dignity has been immeasurably enhanced by the mystery of man's redemption.

"No man has a right to despise what God has honored, to belittle onw whom Christ has called friend, to brand a fellow man with the stigma of inborn inferiority. It is an insult to human dignity, a slur on God's noble work of Creation and Redemption."

Apartheid, the statement continued, is a fundamental evil which has as its "inevitable consequence" innumerable offenses against Charity and justice. It explained that "men must be hurt and injustice must be done when the practice of discrimination is enthroned as the supreme principle of welfare of the state."

The Bishops went on to say, however, that their condemnation of the principle of apartheid as "something intrinsically evil" does not imply that perfect equality can be established in South Africa at the stroke of a pen. Profound differences obviously existing between various sections of the population would make immediate total intergation impossible, they said, and thus all the people cannot share fully in the same political and economic institutions until they have more in common culturally.

If the required social change is not to be disastrous, it must be gradual, according to the statement. The Hierarchy said that since the state must promote the well-being of all its citizens, it must give special protection to those who need it. Thus the Bishops called it unreasonable to condemn indiscriminately all of South Africa's differential legislation.

They also said it would be unfair to disparage the services provided forthe less advanced sections ofthe population and the "noble and dedicated labors" of many public officials on their behalf.

The Bishops also warned against teaming up with those who see revolution, and not evolution, as the only redress for the grievances of the non-white peoples. Agitat ors for an immediateextension of full civil rights for all, the Bishops said, should stop to contemplate the confusion that would ensue---"the collapse of all public order, the dissolution of society and perhaps their own rapid destruction in the holocaust." The Hierarchy said this is particularly true of those who find their inspiration in atheistic communism.

The statement continued:

"A gradual change--it must be gradual, for no other kind of change is compatible with the maintenance of order, without which there is no society, no government, no justice, no common good--but a change, must come, for otherwise our country faces a disastrous future...Time is short; the need is urgent. Those penalized by apartheid must be given concrete evidence ofchange before it is too late."

To enter into a "just and sensible" policy of encouraging all the people to qualify for full civil rights would require "statesmanship of a high order," the Bishops declared. They added:

"Obviously, no South African government could attempt such a change without the consent of the white citizens. On their shoulders lies squarely the burden of responsibility. Let them examine their conscience in the light of Christ's teaching. Let them read again the words of the Master: 'A new commandment I give you, that you love one another: that as I have loved you, you also love one another. By this will all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another.' (John 13: 34, 35).

"Are we not making a mockery of Christianity by proclaiming ourselves a Christian nation and pursuing a policy so contrary to these words of Christ?"

It was at this point that the Bishops issued a plea "to our beloved Catholic people of the white race" to work for integration in Catholic societies, schools, seminaries, convents, hospitals and the social life of the people.

Noting that the Church understands that the spiritual welfare of her children cannot be fostered in a wholly alien social atmosphere, and that she therefore "does not enforce human associations that because of these differences can produce no good," the Hierarchy said:

"But the Christian duty remains of seeking to unite rather than separate, to dissolve differences rather than perpetuate them. A different color can be no reason for separation when culture, custom, social condition and above all a common faith and common love Christ, impel towards unity.

"We give expression to these observations in the knowledge that the faith and charity of our people will prompt a truly Christian consideration of them and in due course behavior in full conformity with the teaching of Our Savior. We have every reason forthis confidence, because we have before our eyes a great proof of the loyalty and generosity of our people in the magnificent response to the Catholic Bishops' campaign for mission schools and seminaries."

The Bishops then said:

"To all white South Africans we direct an earnest plea to consider carefully what apartheid means--its evil and anti-Christian character, the injustices that flow from it, the resentment and bitterness it arouses, the harvest of disaster that it must produce in the country we all love so much.

"We cannot fail to express our admiration for the splendid work done in many quarters to lessen prejudice, promote understanding and unity and to help South Africa along that path of harmony and cooperation which is the only one dictated by wisdom and justice.

"On the other hand, we deeply regret that it is still thought necessary to add to the volume of restrictive and oppressive legislation to reduce contacts between various groups to an inhuman and unnatural minimum. We pray God that minds may be enlightened to see truth and hearts encouraged to act without regard to the prejudices of the past.

"It will take sacrifice. Yet sacrifice need not deter us whose forefathers have left us the heritage of their bravery. The purpose before us now is one of the noblest causes we could embrace: the truimph of Christ in our country's laws and customs in the spirit of that hope recently expressed by Pope Pius XII--that a task of constructive collaboration may be carried out in Africa, a collaboration free of prejudices and mutual sensitiveness preserved from the seductions and strictures of false nationalism and capable of extending to a people rich in resources and future the true values of Christian civilization which have already borne so many fruits in other continents."

July 26, 1957

Mr. George Hunton
The Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

At our executive committee meeting the other day, Paul Williams and I talked about you with mutual appreciation. We thought you might like to see the enclosed report on SRC's activities thus far in 1957.

We recently had the good fortune to add to our executive committee Father Sigur of Louisiana. Do you know him?

I hope to see you again before long. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - Semi-Annual Report of SRC Activities

RECEIVED AUG 1 _ 1957

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

July 30, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was very good of you to send us copy of the report of SRO for the early part of 1957. I am taking this home with me this evening and will read it with interest and profit.

I am delighted to know that Father Sigur is now a member of your executive committee. I met him through Paul at the Richmond Convention of the CCS two or three years ago and hold him in high esteem. I am sure he will be a valuable acquisition to the committee.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

George

GKH:a

George K. Hunton

Encl. Congressional Rec.

October 10, 1957

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of October 4th and the very interesting enclosures. I find the story of the three Negro Popes, which is new to me, utterly fascinating.

I expect to make the October 22nd meeting of the Mass Media Committee and am looking forward to seeing you then. I haven't worked out the exact time of my return to Atlanta, but it looks as though I could stay over through Thursday for your weekly forum. Please let me know if this would be a convenient one for me to drop in on.

In any case, I will be seeing you soon.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

RECEIVED OCT 7 1957

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

Oct. 4, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I was glad to be assured that ~~if and~~ when you are in New York on Thursday in the near future, that you will be willing to speak at one of our Thursday weekly forums held from ~~six~~ until seven p.m.

I was glad that I was able to arrange to have Elmo Roper attend the meeting of the Mass Media Committee on Tuesday, Oct. 22 at 10:30 a,m. at the office of the Urban League. You will doubtless receive notice of this meeting.

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed news story about "Three Negro Popes".

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH ml
enc.

Answered 10-18-57 HCF

RECEIVED OCT 18 1957

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

Oct. 16, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I tried to reach you on the phone yesterday and was sorry to learn you were at home sick. I trust you will be back on deck a few days completely recovered.

We are delighted that you can be our guest speaker at our forum, Thursday, Oct. 24, from 6 until 7 p.m. The forums, as you know, are held here at the Catholic Interracial Center.

I would like to suggest as the title of your talk "There's Progress in the South" or "Interracial Leaders of the South Look Ahead". — (Just a suggestion).

We would appreciate it, very much, Harold, if your office could let us know by Monday morning, the 21st. that you can be with us.—

Thanking you on behalf of the officers and directors of the Council, I am, with every good wish

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:ml

We send our forum announcements Monday each week.
GKH

March 13, 1958

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

It's a great pleasure to hear from you again. I was most concerned when I learned that you had been in the hospital and was glad to hear from Jim Hughes that you were rapidly improving.

Thanks for the suggestion of Father Gremillion and Father Sigur. I am acquainted with both of them and agree that I could not do better than follow your advice.

I still remember my participation in the Thursday forum with much pleasure and would like nothing better than a return engagement when opportunity permits.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

March 10, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Jim Hughes told me of your request for the suggestion of the name of a priest to whom you could write to get a statement from the Catholic Youth Organization to be used for distribution among the schools of the South.

Between us we came up with two suggestions: the first, the Rev. Joseph B. Gremillion. He is the author of a recent new book, "The Journal of a Southern Pastor". We think that he would be more inclined to undertake this task. The other suggestion is the Rev. Alexander A. Sigur, who shares the same views and would be as favorable to the idea, but might not have quite the same contacts and influence to insure prompt action. So, if I were you I would first write to, or telephone, Father Gremillion. The addresses are as follows:

Rev. Joseph B. Gremillion
Box 4206
Shreveport, Louisiana

Very Rev. Alexander O. Sigur, J.C.D.
Box 532
S.L.I. Station
Lafayette, Louisiana

Do not forget that you have a standing engagement to speak again at one of our forums whenever you are in town and have free time any Thursday. From what Jim tells me, good progress is being made by the C.C.D. I am sure it will become a very important and influential organization in the not too far distant future.

With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

GKH:a

George K. Hunton

HOSPITAL FOR ALL THE SICK

by BERNADETTE AND ROBERT HOYT

WHEN sixteen Maryknoll Sisters opened the doors of a small general hospital in Kansas City, Missouri, last year, they considered their new project as much a missionary work as any they might launch in foreign lands. For they proposed to introduce a basic Christian idea into local hospital practice, an idea they knew would appear as an alien novelty in the city that calls itself "the Heart of America."

Putting it briefly, Queen of the World Hospital planned to ignore the color line—this in a city with a high degree of race consciousness. It was a bombshell of an idea. It has been exploding ever since, and by now it has blown to bits the notion that integration won't work in hospitals.

As Sister Madeline Maria, assistant administrator, explains it, the Maryknoll nuns draw only one line for their hospital: No doctor is admitted to the staff without a record of the highest standards of medical practice. But, there is no color line.

"No other hospital in the United States is attempting integration as is the Queen of the World Hospital in Kansas City," concluded graduate sociology students from the University of Chicago after a week of observation. Their report termed the hospital operational plan "unique", the most outstanding endeavor in the nation.

Of the 140 physicians registered with the hospital, 32 are Negroes. The active staff of 35 includes 15 Negro doctors. White and Negro nurses work together, ministering to patients of both races who lie side by side without segregation.

Anyone who knows Kansas City will want to know, "How did it happen?"' It takes only a slight acquaintance with Kansas City to realize that it is really a double community, a city within a city, and that the curtain separating the two is made of harsh, unyielding stuff.

The Negro in Kansas City, as elsewhere in the United States, has his "place." His role as an inferior, an outcast, is institutionalized—there is a Negro newspaper, a Negro radio, even a "Negro Chamber of Commerce of Greater Kansas City." Protestant churches for Negroes have the word "African" grafted into their names: No color mix for Christianity.

In the field of medical care, until last year, segregation meant something more—or rather, something less—than merely a separate set of facilities. As the late Archbishop Edwin V. O'Hara told the worshippers at a Labor Day Mass in 1953, Metropolitan Kansas City simply did not have "an accredited and properly equipped general hospital to which a Negro can take a private patient for care."

The Archbishop's address—later included in the 1955 edition of Best of Sermons—was his response to an appeal by two Negro doctors, neither a Catholic. They had told him the facts about hospital facilities for Negroes in Kansas City.

Queen of the World patients

Bernadette and Robert Hoyt live in Kansas City, Missouri. Mr. Hoyt was the founder of the now defunct SUN-HERALD, *national Catholic daily. "Hospital for All the Sick" appeared originally in* THE AVE MARIA (*Oct.* 6, 1956).

(*Reprinted from* INTERRACIAL REVIEW, *September*, 1957)

So the Negro doctor, in the Archbishop's words, was "denied the tools with which to labor effectively." After a long struggle to obtain the knowledge and skills of modern medical practice, he could not hope to maintain them—he had to choose between a lifetime of frustration and moving to another community. The latter choice was almost forced on him—and yet he knew how profoundly his skill and leadership were needed in his own city.

Archbishop O'Hara's response to the two doctors who called on him must have surprised them. For he rejected the idea of a "Negro Catholic hospital" but agreed to help launch a community campaign for a new general hospital which would be non-segregated. Such a hospital might help to heal a spiritual disease worse than any bodily sickness.

As it happened, the doctors' appeal coincided with a declining need for the types of service being provided at an already existing institution which housed St. Vincent's Maternity Hospital and St. Anthony's Infants' Home. It was decided to relocate the infants' home and convert St. Vincent's into a new general hospital to be named "Queen of the World" in honor of Mary.

But the Daughters of Charity, who directed the maternity hospital, did not have enough adequately trained Sisters to staff an expanded operation. Archbishop O'Hara put the problem to the Maryknoll Sisters. They responded eagerly, seeing in the invitation a pioneering opportunity very much in line with the missionary spirit of their Order. Moreover, the hospital would provide a training center for the foreign missions.

Meantime the public campaign for funds to equip the hospital proceeded. It had the endorsement of the Jackson County Medical Society and the enthusiastic support of prominent white doctors. Help came from the Community Chest and various local trusts and foundations. On May 22, 1955, with the help of former President Harry S. Truman, the hospital was formally dedicated; the next day, Queen of the World opened its doors to its first patients.

What has happened since then is a matter for other American cities to study seriously.

This is not meant to suggest that Kansas City's racial attitudes have been totally revised since Queen of the World began operations. A good many people still haven't even heard of it, or don't know that it is "different."

For example, one young man who came to the hospital for a lung operation neglected to tell his mother what to expect. When she encountered integration in action she immediately stiffened, and for a week she spread discomfort and strain whenever she entered the hospital.

But—and here is the point—at the end of that week the woman had learned something she might never have known otherwise. She demonstrated her new-found wisdom by apologizing to the Sisters for having failed to live up to the high standards of Christianity evident all around her.

"The healthiest sign," reflected Dr. James O'Malley, "is that the hospital is accepted among the doctors. Kansas City can be proud of it.

"We now have the most outstanding staff in Kansas City, comprising Jewish, Christian, white and Negro doctors," he reported. "The top surgeons and physicians are Board members. I am enthusiastic about the work because it represents a chance for Negro doctors. They don't want any special privileges. They want a place where they can do high caliber work."

The Maryknoll nuns make it more than clear that they are determined to provide just such a place. They talk about medical standards far more than they do about integration, for they have known from the beginning that the experiment must succeed as a hospital before it can have any effect on race relations.

The fact that two of the Maryknoll nuns are doctors and that all are highly qualified for the work has been a significant advantage to them in upholding high standards. Because of this factor they can enter into decisions on strictly medical matters on a par with staff doctors.

Because of its policy and location, a major-

Doctors' staff luncheon at Queen of the World Hospital

ity of Queen of the World patients are Negroes. But some white patients insist on coming to Queen of the World simply in order to cast a vote for humanity, as well as to take advantage of its near-fanatical devotion to the best possible patient care.

One couple who felt this way came to the hospital for the birth of their third baby. On their arrival they by-passed registration formalities because the mother, already in labor, had to be rushed to the delivery room. When the father returned to the admission office, the reception clerk asked him if he understood that there was complete integration in the wards. His spontaneous reply was that he was well aware of the fact, and, because of his wholehearted approval of the Christian ideal of integration, his wife had come to Queen of the World Hospital.

Before the hospital opened, and in its early months of operation, there were gloomy predictions in plenty. Many expected and some hoped that the effort to create a truly integrated hospital would collapse quickly in a city as deeply color-conscious as Kansas City.

There was, in fact, a period of some months when it appeared possible that the hospital would not be able to continue. It was simply not well enough known to attract the number of patients required to meet the costs of operation. But the support of doctors and publicity from the Kansas City *Star* helped solve that problem, though the patients themselves did most to spread the word.

Now in a city already served by four other large hospitals and several smaller ones, Queen of the world has arrived at a point it expected never to reach: it must at least consider the question of expansion. The need for more beds, more office equipment and more space is apparent. The nuns have launched a school of practical nursing, well-baby clinic and a prenatal clinic.

In short, Queen of the World hospital is an unqualified success to this point. And oddly enough, the nuns feel able to report that none of the serious problems they have met arose from the hospital's policy of integration. But perhaps it's not so odd: when people ignore race, they have answered the race question.

HOSPITALS AND SCHOOLS FOR NURSES

Today throughout the country there is a serious shortage of nurses in all hospitals—public, private, voluntary and those supported by religious groups—Catholics and non-Catholics. We are told that there is a present shortage of more than 10,000 nurses, and that this is a serious problem affecting national health. And yet the majority of hospitals and schools for nurses training in all parts of the country continue to exclude Negro nurses from employment and reject Negro girls who wish to enroll for nurses training.

In the case of young women who apply for enrollment in nurses training no one can tell the result of repeated rejections. No one knows how many would-be nurses, each year, abandon the ambition or vocation—to minister to the sick and suffering.

Who are responsible for the continuance of this unjust practice of rejecting Negro aspirants for nursing diplomas? Probably the blame must be laid at the doors of members of hospital boards—the trustees—local citizens who represent the community—and too often conform to the established local patterns and traditions of racial discrimination. We are referring to communities in every section of the country—North and South. It is significant that many of these trustees and board members, as fathers and mothers, have chosen Negro nurses to care for their own children—in health and sickness. They would stoutly deny the charge of inconsistency. But they could not contend that their boards should maintain barriers of exculsions which they themselves would not follow in their own homes. Hospital trustees could abolish these practices overnight—and someday they will.

We regret that the majority of Catholic hospitals and training schools follow the same policy — which again merely reflects the established pattern of the local community—doubtless to the regret of Sisters and religious who must depend upon local financial support to maintain the institution in which they work without recompense.

But, our Catholic institutions could *lead*—rather than wait for other hospitals to take the initiative, just as St. Louis University took the lead in becoming the first college in the State of Missouiri to admit Negro students.

Certainly this is the time to act. Today public opinion in America is more favorable to the practice of interracial justice than ever before. It could be done now!

The time is ripe for all hospitals and training schools for nurses to abandon practices that both violate fundamental rights of Negro-Americans and are now hindering the enlistment of the nurses needed to staff all hospitals properly.

Hospitals are rightly called institutions of mercy—and models of charity. We believe that in the near future they will also be hailed as exemplars of justice.

(*An editorial in* INTERRACIAL REVIEW—*February,* 1948)

For additional copies write to:

MARYKNOLL SISTERS	CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
MARYKNOLL	20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK	NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

VIA AIR MAIL July 24, 1958

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

I have talked to Marion Wright and he is delighted that you are interested in reprinting a condensation of his Greenville, South Carolina speech.

One request, if it is feasible. Should you have any extra copies of that issue which could be made available for use down here, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations could distribute them to good effect. The executive director is Mrs. Alice Spearman and the address is 1745 Sumter Street, Room 100, Columbia, South Carolina.

I realize, like us, you don't print large numbers of excess copies, and if my suggestion is impracticable, just ignore it.

Turning to another matter, I have received and read with great interest the material about the forthcoming meeting of the Interracial Councils to be held in Chicago. Unfortunately,

this comes at our critical period - that is, on the eve of school opening time. With a number of communities under court order to desegregate, notably Virginia, we will need to be ready for peak operation. Fred Routh is to be on the program in Chicago, and much as I would like to be there too, I am afraid I had better stay on the job down here. But Fred will represent for the entire SRC staff our high regard and admiration for the work of the Interracial Councils.

I am sorry that I cannot look forward to seeing you in Chicago, but I trust we will be together again in New York.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

July 29, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am leaving tomorrow for a short, hurry-up trip to Chicago, but want to acknowledge and thank you for your kind letter of the 24th.

We are very grateful for your securing the permission of Marion Wright to reprint a condensation of his Greenville speech. I am not certain at the moment in which issue we will publish Mr. Wright's talk, but will be glad to make available a number of extra copies for distribution through the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. If you will please find out about how many copies they would like for this purpose and let us know, I will do my darndest.

I cam understand why you cannot make the Chicago meeting. Am certainly looking forward to meeting Fred Routh on this occasion.

Again, many thanks, and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

George

GKH:a

George K. Hunton

P.S. Am enclosing news story we are sending out tomorrow.
GKH

encl

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L

PHONE
Rector 2-5417

NEWS SERVICE

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

CATHOLIC FAMILY LIFE CONVENTION
SCORES SEGREGATED HOUSING AND SCHOOLS

New York, N.Y. --Of the 20 resolutions adopted at the 26th National Family Life Convention held in Buffalo, N.Y., during the week of July 13-19, three have direct and pointed bearing on better race relations in the United States. One resolution voiced "categoric and unequivocal opposition to segregated housing," and another called upon the executive branch of the Federal government to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation "with positive action where necessary."

The Convention was sponsored by the Family Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The Bureau was organized in 1931 by the Catholic bishops of the United States as a central organization of information and assistance for the development and coordination of family life programs throughout the country.

The text of the three 1958 Convention resolutions on race relations is as follows:

I. WHEREAS, school segregation tends to introduce prejudicial judgments and attitudes into the family; and

WHEREAS, this issue has become critical in our own land and for the prestige of the free World in international relations;

BE IT RESOLVED, that we reaffirm our acceptance of the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, and our endorsement of the views of spiritual leaders on the subject; and that we call upon the executive branch of the Federal government to implement the decision of the Judiciary with positive action where necessary.

II. WHEREAS, segregation in housing is a very serious obstacle to the proper development of family life among segregated groups, and can constitute an impediment to the proper civic and religious spirit in groups which segregate;

BE IT RESOLVED: that we express our categoric and unequivocal opposition to segregated housing; and that we recommend to Catholics and to Catholic Family Life organizations that they co-operate and affiliate with local, state and national organizations which aim at putting an end to segregation in housing; and that we urge state legislatures to enact laws forbidding segregation in all housing projects which receive government financial assistance of any type.

III. WHEREAS, the Negroes, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans constitute important minority groups on the American scene; and

WHEREAS, family problems existing within such minority groups are aggravated by discrimination and other social injustices;

BE IT RESOLVED: that the Catholic Family Life Movement take deliberate steps to concern itself more directly with these groups and their needs at both the local and national levels.

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L
Phone
REctor 2-5417
News Service
20 Vesey St
N.Y.C.

ADVOCATE COMMENTS ON REBUILDING
OF CHURCH FOR NEGROES ONLY

On July 10 of this year Queen of Angels Church, serving a parish for the colored Catholics of Newark, was destroyed by fire. The following is from an editorial which appeared in the July 18 issue of The Advocate, official publication of the Archdiocese.

"Certainly the parish of Queen of Angels suffered a serious loss in the fire that destroyed its church last week. The sympathy of all Catholics goes to them.

"Yet in the providence of God that same fire could prove a turning point in the work of the Church for the colored of Newark and elsewhere. God can turn loss into gain if we are willing to accept the grace that He offers

"In the first place the destruction of a church for the colored Catholics of one city can remind us that the colored Catholics of Newark or of any other city are not the spiritual responsibility of only one parish and its few priests. The colored church is rather a missionary center. The colored Catholic belongs of full right to the parish in whose territory he resides. By the same facts of Church law he is the spiritual charge of the pastor, of the priests, and of the people of that parish in which he lives.

"In truth every territorial parish in Newark and elsewhere is a parish for the colored Catholic just as it is for the white Catholic and would be for the Indian Catholic if many of these native Americans lived among us.

"If the flames that raged above the sanctuary of Queen of Angels Church remind us of this fact, the fire will prove less a tragedy than it appeared to be."

* * *

"The comfortably selfish view that we do our share for the colored when we contribute to the Indian and Colored collection, or rejoice that there is a colored church in our city, must yield to the hard reality of Catholic truth. That truth is that the colored are the responsibility of every parish in which they live and that in charity and zeal priests and people are expected to go out into the highways of every city and bring into the true faith those souls redeemed like ours with the Blood of the Savior.

"As in St. Paul's time there was to be neither Jew nor Gentile but all were to be one in Christ, so in our time there must be neither white nor colored but we all are to be one in Christ. The Queen of Angels fire will turn into a blessing in disguise, a tragedy with a glorious ending, if it enkindles the zeal of us all for the colored who live in all neighborhoods, wherever they may be."

October 10, 1958

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

We are deeply sorrowed by the death of Pope Pius XII and our sympathy goes out to Catholics the world over in the loss of their great and good spiritual leader.

Those of us, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, who labor in the field of human relations have a special reason to mourn his passing and preserve the memory of his leadership. For his compassion and concern for the disadvantaged made him a veritable symbol of our aspirations toward peace and justice for the whole human family.

It is surely no accident that the Cathlic Church was led by this wise and courageous man through decades when Christian ideals were challenged as seldom before by materialism and brutality. From his example we can all take strength in our efforts to advance justice and equality among men.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Frank Hall

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

October 15, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your kindness in sending your tribute to the late Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, both to Frank Hall in Washington and to our office.

We believe that your commendation and that of other outstanding leaders in race relations will be widely publicized in the Catholic press and thus be helpful to the cause of interracial justice.

With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a

EDITORIAL PAGE

Journal-American

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1958

The Quiet Force

IN THE heat of headlines, many of us tend to forget that beneath the turbulence of the defiance of integration in the South—and of occurrences of racial and religious animosity elsewhere—the forces of good are quietly, constantly and effectively at work. In a sense they are God's underground.

Our attention was drawn to them this time by looking over the achievements of the Catholic Interracial Councils. Their number has grown now to 36, of which 13 are in the South or Southwest. The parent group is the Catholic Interracial Council of 20 Vesey st., New York, established nearly 25 years ago by Father John La Farge, S.J., and George K. Hunton, both of whom are still happily and vigorously its leaders.

Integration in Catholic schools in the South is becoming a commonplace, but it has not been accomplished without very uncommonplace efforts. Among its notable champions have been Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans, and Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio.

The big meeting this year of the Interracial Councils was held over Labor Day weekend in Chicago, and was attended by Jewish and Protestant representatives. Mr. Hunton writes that as result of the conference he has received letters from Catholic laymen asking advice in establishing councils in Miami, Houston and Alexandria, La.

There are, of course, other groups of other faiths engaged in God's underground. Together or singly they reaffirm one's faith in America.

PA - See P. PA for congratulation. HCF

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

Phone
Rector 2-5417

News Service

20 Vesey St
N.Y.C. 7,N.Y.

RACE RELATIONS LEADERSHIP
IN TRIBUTES TO POPE PIUS XII

New York, Oct. 16 -- The following are condolences and tributes concerning the death of Pope Pius XII from representative leaders in the brotherhood movement. The majority of these thoughtful expressions come from prominent non-Catholics of varied backgrounds and different walks of life. They are but one more indication of the great impact the Holy Father made on the contemporary American scene. The tributes are couched in terms which clearly indicate that their views are expressive of their own individual views and of the considered opinion of the organizations they represent.

The largest and most effective organization in the field of race relations is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Dr. Channing H. Tobias, distinguished Chairman of the Board of Directors of the NAACP, said of the late Holy Father:

> "He was sympathetic with our struggle for equality of citizenship. His public utterances indicated that he recognized no color line in humanity. He abhorred racism and rebuked the advocates of racial discrimination and segregation in any country. Non-Catholics, as well as Catholics, have sustained a grievous loss and join in mourning his passage. We pray that his successor may be possessed of similar qualities."

Certainly the most prominent Negro in the field of labor is A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Mr. Randolph expressed "our great sorrow and grief upon the passing of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII":

> "who was a great friend and champion of the cause of human rights for all men regardless of race or color and was dedicated to the principle of the unity of the human family created by God and of which all men a re brothers. His Holiness maintained an unmistakable position of opposition to racism and colonialism, the enemies of human brotherhood."

One of the most important national organizations in the field of race relations and one of the oldest in point of time is the National Urban League, whose National Executive Director pays a fulsome tribute to the influence and achievements of the Holy Father. In his syndicated column, Lester B. Granger, declared:

"The death of Pope Pius XII last week lost to the world one of its great leaders and at the same time lost to seventeen million Americans of African descent a friend, champion and spokesman.

"It is a key to the greatness of Pius XII that he equated the denial of freedom to men and women of Asia and Africa with the denial of civil rights to the dark-skinned people of this country. The corruption of democracy in the New World was as ominous to him as its destruction in the Old World. He spoke out strongly and persuasively in his encyclicals against racial discrimination as a serious form of social injustice. It was due to his leadership that the Catholic Church in this country took such strides, during the past decade to assume leadership among all faiths in the fight for desegregation."

The first Negro to have been elected to his high office, the Hon. Hulan E. Jack, Borough President of Manhattan, wrote:

"The world has indeed suffered a great loss with the untimely death of His Holiness Pope Pius XII, for His unselfish devotion and tireless perseverance for both spiritual and material peace in behalf of mankind, will be remembered for many, many centuries to come.

The significant contribution His Holiness so generously made to bring the principle of brotherhood and equality closer to the hearts of men and women everywhere, will always remain a timeless monument among His numerous achievements.

May I join with millions of people throughout the world to add my prayers for the repose of the soul of this Great Man of God."

From the president of the Synagogue Council of America, Rabbi Theodore L. Adams come an expression that conveyed the views of many leaders of another minority group:

"The constituent organizations of the Synagogue Council of America, representing the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jewish communities, join with millions of Americans, Catholics and non-Catholic alike, in expressing deep sorrow at the passing of the great spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Pius XII. The late Pontiff, throughout his long career, ceaselessly fought the forces of racism and bigotry and called for equal justice for all and the recognition of the universal dignity of man, irrespective of creed, race or color. To the Catholic community in this country and throughout the world, the Synagogue Council of America extends its sincere condolences."

The Southern Regional Council's influence and leadership has done much to prepare a climate of opinion favorable to interracial justice. Harold C. Fleming, the Council's white executive director reflects the attitudes of countless white and Negro leaders in the Southland:

"Those of us, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, who labor in the field of human relations have a special reason to mourn his passing and preserve the memory of his leadership. For his compassion and concern for the disadvantaged made him a veritable symbol of our aspirations toward peace and justice for the whole human family.

It is surely no accident that the Catholic Church was led by this wise and courageous man through decades when Christian ideals were challenged as seldom before by materialism and brutality. From his example we can all take strength in our efforts to advance justice and equality among men."

From a prominent Negro journalist, for many years Washington correspondent to the Associated Negro Press, and a frequent writer on the subject of race relations, Ernest E. Johnson:

"The passing of Pope Pius XII today leaves the world, Catholic and non-Catholic, bereft of a kind and quality of moral and spiritual leadership that will be sorely missed.

For a time I was a newspaper man, and ever since going into another area of endeavor I have maintained a lively interest in things and people who make the news. As a consequence, I have long been aware of the monumental contribution to world thought and behavior with respect to racial and human relations which the late beloved Pope Pius inspired.

His frequent encyclicals and addresses on the subject, many of which were properly directed toward the people of these United States, went far in furthering the Christian philosophy of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. The inspired work of such agencies of the Catholic Church as the Catholic Interracial Council, has been much helped by the Pope's steadfast support of the cause.

I shall not be the only Protestant who will mourn the passing of Pope Pius."

The Hon. Charles Abrams, chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination which was the first state fair employment practice office to be organized, laments the loss of "this heroic leader":

"All people engaged in improving race relations and extending the horizons of social justice have suffered a grevious loss in the death of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII. This heroic leader in the struggle for racial equality, and for social justice, understa nding, and amity among all groups, bequeaths to all of us the example of his inspired life and his brilliant and incisive encyclicals on the dignity and rights of all men.

His great social mandates addressed mainly to Catholics will continue to be a challenge and inspiration to men of good will of all nations, races and religious persuasions."

Dr. Frank S. Horne, Executive Director of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations pays this tribute:

"All of us who are striving to end discrimination and bring harmony and understanding to our community lament the death of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, with profound regret. His whole lifetime as a spritual leader was dedi-

cated to the dignity of man. He served as an inspiration to all of us, regardless of religious affiliations, to carry on our efforts to erase the blight of prejudice, discrimination and segregation."

The owner and publisher of the largest and most influential Negro weekly is Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president of the "Pittsburgh Courier". Mrs. Vann's message, in part, contains the following:

"I am aware of the anchorage in social justice which Pope Pius XII gave hundreds of millions of Roman Catholics all over the world. I pray that the Christian world may continue to benefit through the clergy and laity of every church."

The tribute from the American Jewish Committee is signed by its three top executives, all of whom play a most important role in the ~~cause~~ of interracial justice, is as follows:

"Men of faith everywhere, those who cherish the highest ideals of human freedom and dignity under God, mourn the death of a great spiritual leader, Pope Pius XII.

The life and noble works of His Holiness will long endure as precept and inspiration in man's immortal quest for the Kingdom of God within him. By his deep concern for all who suffer injustice and pain, by his acts of generosity, by his dedication to charity, Pope Pius XII has imbued the world with his love for mankind.

In behalf of the American Jewish Committee, we wish to express our profound sadness at the death of His Holiness Pope Pius XII. We extend to Roman Catholics everywhere our sympathies and condolences at the loss of one of the great spiritual leaders of our time."

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY November 17,1958

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

The statement of the Catholic Bishop of the United States, "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience," is one of the most statesmanlike pronouncements yet made on this critical issue. The emphasis on action, quiet but determined, is a major contribution.

The effectiveness of this approach has been well demonstrated in the South by the Catholic Church and its leaders. They have provided some of the earliest and most successful precedents in desegregation. The Catholic Committee of the South early showed the way to effective, morally inspired action in this field. Non-Catholic organizations like the Southern Regional Council have relied heavily on the dedication and wisdom of the Catholics in their leadership, including both laymen and clergymen.

We hail this new and historic pronouncement by the Bishops, with gratitude for the leadership, past and future, which it signifies.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 24, 1958

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

This is a multiple-purpose letter.

The first order of business is to wish you the very best of the Christmas season and the New Year.

We hear from Arnold Aronson that the Interracial Review is planning to use excerpts from Marion Wright's NAIRO speech. He is pleased, of course, as we are -- so pleased, in fact, that he is wondering whether he could have a number of copies of the issue. He could use anything up to 100 copies, but we realize that such a maximum would be a large order. Whatever number you can manage will be greatly appreciated.

Further about the matter we discussed when I was in New York recently: I intend to keep pushing on the idea of support for coordination of the Catholic Interracial Councils in and adjacent to North Carolina. It may take some time, but I am hopeful that one or another of our philanthropic friends will eventually come through for such an effort. Naturally, I will let you know at once when a specific opportunity appears. Meanwhile, I'll appreciate your keeping me posted on any organizational developments that might have a bearing on such financial aid.

You may have noted the use we made of the Bishops' statement in the last New South; I'm enclosing a copy.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (December/1958 New South)

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

November 26, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director. Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I write to acknowledge and thank you for your letter commenting upon the recent statement of the bishops of the U. S. on the subject of Integration.

I am sure you will be glad to know that we have received thirty-one letters, most of them from non-Catholic leaders in the field of race relations.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

January 8, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I write to acknowledge and thank you for sending us extra copies of the December issue of the New South.

I have checked and find that we will be able to send you 100 copies of the issue of the Review containing the article by Marion Wright. Of course, these will be sent to you with the compliments of the CIC.

With every good wish for the New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a

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Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR. GEORGE K. HUNTON
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK

MAY 15, 1959

OUR HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS TO THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL ON THE COMPLETION OF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF DEDICATED AND EFFECTIVE SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF INTERRACIAL JUSTICE. MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. LET US, TOGETHER, PLEDGE OURSELVES TO WORK WITH RE-NEWED VIGOR FOR A SOCIETY WHICH RECOGNIZES THE EQUAL-DIGNITY OF ALL AS CHILDREN OF GOD AND CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED MAY 15 1959

May 14, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director, Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I would appreciate it greatly if you could find the time under your busy schedule to send to the Catholic Interracial Council a message of congratulations and commendation from the Southern Regional Council on the occasion of the observance of our Silver Anniversary next Sunday, at New York's Town Hall.

We have received a number of messages and would want to have one from you. Later, these commendations are to be published in pamphlet form to facilitate our program in organizing forty or fifty more CICs in different parts of the country.

Thanking you in advance, I am, with best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a

HCF – We send the attached in the name of the Council.
FBR

Separate mailing: 10 Violence reports

July 1, 1959

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York, New York

Dear George:

On return to the office after a week's absence, I have your welcome letter of June 24 and hasten to send you separately ten copies of the report on intimidation, reprisal, and violence.

Unfortunately, I have nothing new to report on the possibility of financial support for Southern Councils. The source on which I was pinning my main hope flunked out, and I just haven't had an opportunity to pursue the idea with others as vigorously as I would like. You can be sure I haven't abandoned the idea, however, and won't. Meanwhile, if you know of possible sources where I might exert a helpful influence, by all means call on me.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 6-26-59

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

June 24, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director, Southern Regional Conference
63 Auborn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I would appreciate it very much if you could send us ten extra copies of the report based on the survey of interracial attitudes in the South, which was issued by the SRC and two other agencies. I would like to send a few of them out to our larger councils.

I wonder if anything further developed with regard to your idea of financial support for a southern regional group of Catholic Interracial Councils that we talked about several months ago?

Trusting you are well, and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

GKH:a

George K. Hunton

August 14, 1959

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York, New York

Dear George:

Ellis Arnall has, indeed, re-emerged in the public eye as a potential candidate for governor in 1962. He made his declaration several months ago when public discussion of desegregation vs. closed schools was at high pitch. The burden of his statement was that he had no great personal ambition to re-enter public life; but if, at the time of the next election, the public schools were closed, and if there were no strong candidate committed to re-opening them, he would feel it his duty to run for governor. He has re-iterated this position several times since, and indications are that he is well satisfied with the response so far to his "trial balloon."

One thing should be made clear, though -- Arnall is not, and would not run as, an "integrationist." If he runs, it will undoubtedly be as an open-school segregationist -- that is, one who personally prefers segregation but believes in the preservation of public schools at any cost. This, as you know, is a position that has gained a number of adherents lately -- most conspicuously in Arkansas and Virginia.

As for Arnall's chances, it's anybody's guess at this point. It all depends on what happens in

the next three years. Arnall himself would admit that he doesn't stand a chance unless there is a major crisis over closed schools and a consequent state-wide revolt of public sentiment against the present die-hard leadership. Arnall was elected the last time under comparable circumstances (Gene Talmadge had gotten the University disaccredited because of political interference in its operations), and the hopeful view is that Georgians would remember and rally once again to Arnall as the saviour of education.

Arnall never was personally as liberal as his national image would lead one to believe. And he has been politically silent and inert since Herman Talmadge fastened his hold on the state in the late 'forties. But he represents a point of view that positively glows with virtue against the sordid backdrop of Georgia political thought during the last twelve years.

So we watch and pray.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED AUG 12 1959

August 10, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I was very much interested to read in the Saturday issue of the NEW YORK POST the story written by Margaret Shannon, their Special Correspondent in Atlanta, about "The Return of Ellis Arnall".

It seems to me that if Arnall should return as an active integrationist, it would be a very significant turn of events.

At your convenience I would appreciate very much your views on this.

Trusting you are well, and with best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

GKH:a

George K. Hunton

Catholic Archbishop Backs New Orleans Integration

RUMMEL WILL ACT DESPITE PROTESTS

Calls Segregation 'Morally Wrong and Sinful'—Says Schools Must Conform

This is the last of a series of articles on how churches in the South are facing the question of racial integration.

By JOHN WICKLEIN

Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel will integrate the parochial schools of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans "at the earliest possible opportunity and definitely not later than when the public schools are integrated."

A Federal judge has ordered the New Orleans public schools to end segregation and is expected soon to set a date for their integration.

Since Feb. 11, 1956, when he declared segregation to be "morally wrong and sinful," Archbishop Rummel has been urged by the liberal press to announce a date for integrating the parochial schools. He has been subjected to violent pressure from segregationists in and out of the church to make no such commitment. He has now made the commitment.

Probably no Catholic prelate in the United States has been subjected to more vilification for taking a moral position than has the 82-year-old Archbishop.

Name Was Booed

Ten years ago he caused a stir by ordering "White" and "Colored" signs removed from pews in the churches. After his declaration on segregation his name was booed at a meeting of the White Citizens Council; later that night a cross was burned on the lawn of his residence. Some Catholic priests refused to read the pastoral maintain the correctness from the spiritual and moral standpoint of integration in principle in the various human relationships where enforced segregation is now imposed, notwithstanding our profession of faith in democracy."

Could Come Sooner

The archdiocesan source pointed out that the statement meant desegregation of the parochial schools could come sooner than desegregation of the public schools. Where this has happened in other Roman Catholic dioceses, the Catholic action has paved the way for the community's acceptance of desegregation of its public schools.

About 600,000 Catholics, or half the total number in the South, live in the Archdiocese of New Orleans. Of these, 68,490 are Negroes, out of a total of 600,000 in the country. The rest of the South, with the exception of a relatively few in Jewish temples, is overwhelmingly Protestant in both races.

Although they attend mass with white parishioners, Negroes are not generally welcomed with enthusiasm. Some of the priests and many of the rank-and-file church members are not taken with the Archbishop's ideas on integration, and are openly rebellious. Sometimes, when Negroes "step out of place," violence results.

It happened March 1 in Marerro, a small industrial suburb across the Mississippi from New Orleans. That Sunday a white parishioner warned a 19-year-old Negro boy not to sit in the front of the church, as he had done the Sunday before.

The boy sat in front anyway. When he came back to the pew after going to the altar rail for communion, white men blocked his path with their legs.

Beaten Outside Church

As he came out of the service, white parishioners jumped on him and his 18-year-old brother, and then on an older Negro who came to help them. The three were beaten with fists and a tire tool.

The Archbishop was shocked when he heard about it.

He said:

"Certainly we are grieved to

tinued to press for segregation within the church they would become subject to excommunication.

Other Strong Steps

The Archbishop has been forced to take other strong steps. On Oct. 15, 1955, Catholic parishioners blocked the entrance of a Negro priest to the all-white St. Cecilia Mission at Jesuit Bend, La.

The priest had been assigned to say mass at the mission that Sunday because no white priest was available. The parishioners told him that a Negro could not say mass at St. Cecilia.

Archbishop Rummel told the parishioners that since they had violated the laws of the church and because there was a shortage of priests, he was closing the mission.

Members of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Parish, in which the mission was situated, voted almost unanimously to oppose assignment of a Negro priest to the parish.

The Archbishop replied with a letter warning them that strong measures of church discipline would be taken if they did not accept "any priest" sent to them.

The congregation subsided, but the mission was not reopened until Easter of last year. At the service a white priest celebrated the mass.

In New Orleans, Catholics make up 40 per cent of the population. This means there is probably a higher percentage of interracial church services here than anywhere else in the South.

For a Negro to enter a white Protestant church there is generally considered out of the question.

Outside the Catholic community, those in New Orleans who favor integration find leadership for racial equality not among the Protestants but among the Jews.

Exemplifying this spirit is the Rev. Dr. Julian Feibelman, Rabbi of Temple Sinai, a Reform congregation.

"Yesterday I had my confirmation, the biggest service of the year," said the middle-aged rabbi. "I told the parents they could bring their cooks not accept them as members of the church's societies.

Form Own Groups

Sometimes Negroes will form their own social groups in a church where both races attend mass. At Edgard, La., all the parish societies are duplicated, as are the schools. Often there is a tacit understanding within a church that some masses on a Sunday are for Negroes, while others are for whites.

As an accommodation to reality, the archdiocese has also provided twenty-nine churches, thirteen within the city limits, "for the special use" of Negroes. These serve areas that overlap the districting of the 148 "white" parishes.

Thus for Negroes in New Orleans, "membership" in a church (the particular church they are expected to support) is not determined rigidly by the fact of residence within the bounds of a parish, as it is for whites. Negroes may, and often do, go to the pastor of the "white" church in their area to receive the sacraments.

Other Catholic dioceses in the South have made similar accommodations.

"Even though we must live with a segregated situation, we must strive for the ideal," Msgr. Plauche declared.

"The Archbishop feels there is nothing wrong and sinful about going to a colored church and confirming kids there, but he also feels an obligation to work for the day when that will not be," he said.

Reasons for Stand

In his 1956 pastoral letter, the prelate gave several reasons for his stand. One of them was this:

"Racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it is basically a violation of the dictates of justice and the mandate of love, which in obedience to God's will must regulate the relations between all men.

"To deny to members of a certain race, just because they are members of that race, certain rights and opportunities, civic or economic, educational or religious, recreational or social, imposes upon them definite hardships and humiliations,

In the streetcars that clatter own the middle of Canal treet were removable signs on the seat-backs that said "For Colored Passengers Only."

Throw Out Signs

When the college students rode the streetcars they removed the signs—and threw them out the windows.

The "project" was later restrained by the university, which suggested that other means—such as the court suit then pending—would be more effective in desegregating the transit. It was; last year the transit was quietly integrated, although Negroes, from custom, still sit toward the rear.

(On a New Orleans bus a 6-year-old girl, whose mother was wearing a Catholic medallion, told her younger brother it was "Eenie, meenie mynie moe, catch a monkey by the toe" after the boy had recited the jingle the traditional way.)

In a discussion of the situation generally, a New Orleans priest remarked:

"A vast group inbetween the radicals on both sides is reaching the conclusion that sooner or later they will have to swallow this pill of integration."

Because of the court fight over integration of the New Orleans public schools, Archbishop Rummel's announced intention to integrate parish schools has drawn more fire from the segregationists in the community than it might have otherwise.

The State Legislature has threatened to withdraw the tax-exempt status of church property and to cut off funds for school buses and text books it now provides for parochial schools.

As a public school board member, Emile Wagner has been a force for segregation not only in the church but in the community.

He bases his position not on church doctrine but on social opinions.

"The Negro race, with certain exceptions," he said, "are like children. Such rights as they have not earned they have not earned because of lack of maturity. The Negro has to do for

RUMMEL WILL ACT DESPITE PROTESTS

Calls Segregation 'Morally Wrong and Sinful'—Says Schools Must Conform

This is the last of a series of articles on how churches in the South are facing the question of racial integration.

By JOHN WICKLEIN

Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel will integrate the parochial schools of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans "at the earliest possible opportunity and definitely not later than when the public schools are integrated."

A Federal judge has ordered the New Orleans public schools to end segregation and is expected soon to set a date for their integration.

Since Feb. 11, 1956, when he declared segregation to be "morally wrong and sinful," Archbishop Rummel has been urged by the liberal press to announce a date for integrating the parochial schools. He has been subjected to violent pressure from segregationists in and out of the church to make no such commitment. He has now made the commitment.

Probably no Catholic prelate in the United States has been subjected to more vilification for taking a moral position than has the 82-year-old Archbishop.

Name Was Booed

Ten years ago he caused a stir by ordering "White" and "Colored" signs removed from pews in the churches. After his declaration on segregation his name was booed at a meeting of the White Citizens Council; later that night a cross was burned on the lawn of his residence. Some Catholic priests refused to read the pastoral letter denouncing segregation.

An Association of Catholic Laymen was formed to oppose integration of the diocesan schools. It later appealed directly to Pope Pius XII to overrule the Archbishop and declare that segregation was not morally wrong. For this it received a stern rebuke from a high church source, speaking in the Vatican newspaper.

It was pointed out that the Pope had condemned racism as a major evil, asserting that "those who enter the Church, whatever be their origin or their speech, must know that they have equal rights as children in the House of the Lord."

Certain 'Difficulties'

Archbishop Rummel announced on July 31, 1956, that "certain difficulties" made it necessary to postpone integration of the schools "at least until September, 1957." Until now, no further word on school integration had come from the archdiocese.

In a recent interview, Emile Wagner, New Orleans banker and school board member who headed the laymen's group, said that although he had no direct reply from the Vatican on his appeal, he thought the laymen's group had won its fight with Archbishop Rummel.

"Since our appeal," he said, "the Archbishop has made no pronouncement on integration; since then he has denounced racial discrimination, which we all denounce, but not racial segregation."

A day later, in reply to questions submitted to Archbishop Rummel before the Wagner interview, a source close to the Archbishop presented this statement:

"The Archbishop's stand is this: Segregation is morally wrong and sinful.

"It is the sentiment and opinion of the Archbishop that integration in education must come. Just when it will come is very difficult to forecast at the present time, but certainly as far as the parochial school system is concerned, it will come at the earliest possible opportunity and definitely that time will not be later than when the public schools are integrated.

"In the meantime the church will continue to declare and [illegible] from the spiritual and moral standpoint of integration in principle in the various human relationships where enforced segregation is now imposed, notwithstanding our profession of faith in democracy."

Could Come Sooner

The archdiocesan source pointed out that the statement meant desegregation of the parochial schools could come sooner than desegregation of the public schools. Where this has happened in other Roman Catholic dioceses, the Catholic action has paved the way for the community's acceptance of desegregation of its public schools.

About 600,000 Catholics, or half the total number in the South, live in the Archdiocese of New Orleans. Of these, 68,490 are Negroes, out of a total of 600,000 in the country. The rest of the South, with the exception of a relatively few in Jewish temples, is overwhelmingly Protestant in both races.

Although they attend mass with white parishioners, Negroes are not generally welcomed with enthusiasm. Some of the priests and many of the rank-and-file church members are not taken with the Archbishop's ideas on integration, and are openly rebellious. Sometimes, when Negroes "step out of place," violence results.

It happened March 1 in Marerro, a small industrial suburb across the Mississippi from New Orleans. That Sunday a white parishioner warned a 19-year-old Negro boy not to sit in the front of the church, as he had done the Sunday before.

The boy sat in front anyway. When he came back to the pew after going to the altar rail for communion, white men blocked his path with their legs.

Beaten Outside Church

As he came out of the service, white parishioners jumped on him and his 18-year-old brother, and then on an older Negro who came to help them. The three were beaten with fists and a tire tool.

The Archbishop was shocked when he heard about it.

He said:

"Certainly we are grieved to learn that it occurred outside the church after service this morning, and hope that the experience will prompt even the most agitated members of the congregation on both sides to recognize the merits of conciliation and peaceful coexistence."

On another Sunday recently the interracial 9 A. M. mass in the small, gray-white stucco church was serene; no Negroes sat toward the front. In pews with places for 400, about 240 white men, women and children sat across the front and down the left, and 160 Negro men, women and children sat at the right rear.

The Rev. Anthony Rousso, a short, good-looking blackhaired man, intoned the mass. When his parishioners had filed quietly out of the sanctuary, Father Rousso was annoyed at finding a reporter waiting to talk to him.

No More 'Fuss'

"No we haven't had any more fuss," said the priest, getting out of green robes wet through with perspiration. "And the reason is I haven't talked about it. We'd get along fine if there wasn't all this agitation about integrating, and I've told the chancery that.

"I've got a job to do here and I can't do it if there's agitation."

He wiped his brow with a cloth and listened to a question.

"No they aren't told to sit at the back, they just do it," he said. "Ninety-five per cent of the Negroes in this congregation don't want integration; it's just a few young ones that do.

"You can't ram integration down the white people's throats. Maybe it will come gradually, but it won't come by force. If the chancery wants to issue statements on this, that's up to them, but I'm not going to say anything about it here."

The calm that followed the storm in Marerro was an exception. After disturbances in some other parishes, Archbishop Rummel has had to hint at excommunication of white segregationists to restore peace in the family.

The activities of the Catholic laymen's group stopped only after the Archbishop wrote Mr. Wagner to say that if they con[illegible] within the church they would become subject to excommunication.

Other Strong Steps

The Archbishop has been forced to take other strong steps. On Oct. 15, 1955, Catholic parishioners blocked the entrance of a Negro priest to the all-white St. Cecilia Mission at Jesuit Bend, La.

The priest had been assigned to say mass at the mission that Sunday because no white priest was available. The parishioners told him that a Negro could not say mass at St. Cecilia.

Archbishop Rummel told the parishioners that since they had violated the laws of the church and because there was a shortage of priests, he was closing the mission.

Members of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Parish, in which the mission was situated, voted almost unanimously to oppose assignment of a Negro priest to the parish.

The Archbishop replied with a letter warning them that strong measures of church discipline would be taken if they did not accept "any priest" sent to them.

The congregation subsided, but the mission was not reopened until Easter of last year. At the service a white priest celebrated the mass.

In New Orleans, Catholics make up 40 per cent of the population. This means there is probably a higher percentage of interracial church services here than anywhere else in the South.

For a Negro to enter a white Protestant church there is generally considered out of the question.

Outside the Catholic community, those in New Orleans who favor integration find leadership for racial equality not among the Protestants but among the Jews.

Exemplifying this spirit is the Rev. Dr. Julian Feibelman, Rabbi of Temple Sinai, a Reform congregation.

"Yesterday I had my confirmation, the biggest service of the year," said the middle-aged rabbi. "I told the parents they could bring their cooks and maids to watch on one condition.

"They said, 'Oh, yes, we must seat them in the balcony.'

"I said, 'Oh, no—they must be seated in the congregation.' They were, and there wasn't a bit of trouble."

Last year the rabbi helped to organize an interfaith group of clergymen to study race relations, but the group collapsed.

"'I can't take the lead in this movement," Dr. Feibelman said, "and neither can the other rabbis in the South. We're a minority group ourselves, and the people would say 'naturally they're for integration.'

"The leadership must come from the Christian group, where the problem centers."

In places such as New Orleans, where Catholics are a major factor, priests can play a prominent role, he suggested. But throughout most of the region, he said, the burden of interracial justice must rest on the predominant Protestant churches.

"I feel that until the Protestant ministers in the South come out and take a stand, the integration movement will get nowhere," he said.

Although it has taken a stand on race, the Roman Catholic archdiocese is not sure this has led to an increase in Negro converts. The chancery office reports a little higher percentage of conversions of Negroes to total population than there is in conversions among white people.

There are only two Negro priests active in the diocese, and four in its seminaries. This the chancery attributes to the fact that Negroes are underprivileged in the community, and often cannot afford to prolong their education. In the country as a whole, there are only ninety-one Negro priests out of 50,000.

"We want Negroes to be welcome at all services," said Msgr. Charles J. Plauche, Chancellor of the archdiocese. "It's such an affront to human dignity to be told 'You can't come here.'

"But in the fullest sense," he said with a tone of regret, "a Negro can hardly be a member of a white church."

This is because in most instances white parishioners will [illegible] the church's societies.

Form Own Groups

Sometimes Negroes will form their own social groups in a church where both races attend mass. At Edgard, La., all the parish societies are duplicated, as are the schools. Often there is a tacit understanding within a church that some masses on a Sunday are for Negroes, while others are for whites.

As an accommodation to reality, the archdiocese has also provided twenty-nine churches, thirteen within the city limits, "for the special use" of Negroes. These serve areas that overlap the districting of the 148 "white" parishes.

Thus for Negroes in New Orleans, "membership" in a church (the particular church they are expected to support) is not determined rigidly by the fact of residence within the bounds of a parish, as it is for whites. Negroes may, and often do, go to the pastor of the "white" church in their area to receive the sacraments.

Other Catholic dioceses in the South have made similar accommodations.

"Even though we must live with a segregated situation, we must strive for the ideal," Msgr. Plauche declared.

"The Archbishop feels there is nothing wrong and sinful about going to a colored church and confirming kids there, but he also feels an obligation to work for the day when that will not be," he said.

Reasons for Stand

In his 1956 pastoral letter, the prelate gave several reasons for his stand. One of them was this:

"Racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it is basically a violation of the dictates of justice and the mandate of love, which in obedience to God's will must regulate the relations between all men.

"To deny to members of a certain race, just because they are members of that race, certain rights and opportunities, civic or economic, educational or religious, recreational or social, imposes upon them definite hardships and humiliations, frustrations and impediments to progress which condemn them to perpetual degradation which is only a step removed from slavery.

"Such indignities are grievous violations of Christian justice and charity, which cannot be justified in this modern age of enlightenment and loudly proclaimed democracy."

Bishop Vincent S. Waters of North Carolina made a similar declaration in a pastoral letter in 1953, in which he said:

"Let me state here as emphatically as I can: There is no segregation of races to be tolerated in any Catholic church in Diocese of Raleigh."

In the face of threats of mob violence, he also intergrated the schools and hospitals of the diocese.

Because of the Deep South atmosphere of Louisiana, Archbishop Rummel has had to contend with stronger opposition than most other bishops who have sought to act on racial matters.

Does Not Stand Alone

Yet the chancery office does not stand alone against the diocese in its feeling for integration. Many priests give it wholehearted support.

The Rev. Joseph Fichter, a Jesuit priest in the Philosophy Department of Loyola University, has written books and worked actively against segregation. The Rev. Louis J. Twomey, also on the Loyola staff, is a widely known labor priest who has helped to desegregate unions in the area.

The Archdiocesan Holy Name Society and the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women have adopted policies of nonsegregation. But among parishioners, by far the most enthusiastic for integration are the young men and women in youth and student groups, such as the Catholic Students Mission.

Some philosophy students at Loyola decided as a class "project" to protest segregation on the city's transit in a typically college-boy way.

[illegible] own the middle of Canal [illegible]treet were removable signs on the seat-backs that said "For Colored Passengers Only."

Throw Out Signs

When the college students rode the streetcars they removed the signs—and threw them out the windows.

The "project" was later restrained by the university, which suggested that other means—such as the court suit then pending—would be more effective in desegregating the transit. It was; last year the transit was quietly integrated, although Negroes, from custom, still sit toward the rear.

(On a New Orleans bus a 6-year-old girl, whose mother was wearing a Catholic medallion, told her younger brother it was "Eenie, meenie mynie moe, catch a monkey by the toe" after the boy had recited the jingle the traditional way.)

In a discussion of the situation generally, a New Orleans priest remarked:

"A vast group inbetween the radicals on both sides is reaching the conclusion that sooner or later they will have to swallow this pill of integration."

Because of the court fight over integration of the New Orleans public schools, Archbishop Rummel's announced intention to integrate parish schools has drawn more fire from the segregationists in the community than it might have otherwise.

The State Legislature has threatened to withdraw the tax-exempt status of church property and to cut off funds for school buses and text books it now provides for parochial schools.

As a public school board member, Emile Wagner has been a force for segregation not only in the church but in the community.

He bases his position not on church doctrine but on social opinions.

"The Negro race, with certain exceptions," he said, "are like children. Such rights as they have not earned they have not earned because of lack of maturity. The Negro has to do for himself—it is his problem to earn that first-class citizenship that he seeks."

He said that both the public schools and the parochial schools should be kept segregated, to keep them in balance. New Orleans, he pointed out, has the highest percentage — 40 — of children in Catholic schools of any place in the country. If the parochial schools integrated and the public schools stayed segregated, he said, many Catholic parents would shift their children to the public schools. A reverse shift would occur if the public schools integrated and the private did not, he indicated.

Msgr. Henry C. Bezou, superintendent of the archdiocesan school system, acknowledges this shifting would occur, but he says this is an excellent reason why both school systems should be integrated at the same time.

There has been no communication between the public school board and the Catholic school board on plans for integration when that comes to pass. In the past, Msgr. Bezou said, the systems always have acted in concert on their problems, so that there would be no dislocation between the two.

The Catholic plan, proposed in the Archbishop's school integration letter of July 31, 1956, was that integration would be "organized gradually in one grade at a time of our elementary schools, and under moderate conditions which will be made known in advance."

This plan may now be revised, Msgr. Bezou said, but in any case integration will be gradual.

In the Archdiocese last year there were 80,473 children in elementary and secondary schools. Of these, 12,276, or 14 per cent, were in Negro schools. Many of the Negro children and some of the white were non-Catholic.

"Segregation in the parochial schools can be ended with the stroke of a pen," Msgr. Bezou said. "The Archbishop of San Antonio did it—with a stroke of the pen he did away with segregation not only against Negro children but Mexican children as well. And it will happen here."

Catholic Interracial Council
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED AUG 27 1959

August 24, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Please excuse this tardy acknowledgment of your very kind and informative letter of the 14th. We have been very shorthanded at this time due to vacations and illness, this together with the hot spell, which put us into slow gear, is responsbile for my delay in writing your.

It was very good of you to give us such an excellent exposition of the political situation in your State. I found the information particularly helpful in my talk last Tuesday at the Summer School of Catholic Action - Interracial Justice session at Fordham University.

I am sure you will be glad to know there were 174 Catholic high school students who took the course this year. They came from all parts of the East, north and south, several from New Orleans, Iowa, Chicago, Milwaukee, New England, North and South Carolina, etc.

It is very encouraging to note that the young leaders of tommorow are so keenly interested in the cause of interracial justice.

I would appreciate it very much Hal, if you would be good enough to send us an additional copy of "Race and Intelligence" which you sent us.- or could we have 2-3?

I am going to St. Louis tomorrow to attend three conventions; the Interim Committee of the CICs; National Catholic Social Action Conference and the National Federation of Catholic College Students. We are going to ask the latter to revive the annual Interracial Justice Week in Catholic Colleges program in which at one time, 145 colleges participated, North, South, East and West.

Trusting you are well, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

Rec'd 8/31/59 Mf.
(3 copies)

The Catholic Messenger, Davenport, Ia.,

ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL . . .

Pledges New Orleans school integration

NEW ORLEANS—(NC)—Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans has reaffirmed his intention to integrate Catholic schools, as soon as possible, but not later than the public schools.

The announcement was issued by a spokesman for the archbishop. It is the first indication since 1956 of a time when the 75,000-student school system will start a large-scale program of racial integration.

When local public schools will begin desegregation is unknown, but a federal court now has under advisement a third appeal by the public school board from a February 1956 ruling that desegregation begin "with all deliberate speed."

The statement in behalf of Archbishop Rummel said that "it is the sentiment of the archbishop that integration in education must come.

"Just when it will come is very difficult to forecast at the present time, but certainly as far as the parochial school system is concerned, it will come at the earliest possible opportunity, and definitely that time will not be later than when the public schools are integrated."

Meantime, the statement said, "the church will continue to declare and maintain the correctness from the spiritual and moral standpoint of integration in principle in the various human relationships where enforced segregation is now imposed, notwithstanding our profession of faith in democracy."

Archbishop Rummel, who has been subjected to widespread harassment from segregationist groups, and whose archdiocese has been the scene of incidents protesting racial integration, announced in a February 1956 pastoral letter that racial segregation is "morally wrong and sinful."

In August 1956, he wrote another pastoral which said that racial integration in the Catholic school system as a whole must be postponed until at least September 1957, because of "certain present difficulties." This was his last statement on the subject until the present time.

Interracial Group Lauds NAACP, Urges All Catholics to Join It

NEW YORK—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), often labeled 'extremist' in its efforts to end segregation and discrimination against the Negro, came in for high praise on its 50th anniversary from the New York Catholic Interracial Council.

The Council adopted a resolution recommending that "all Catholics interested in social action become members of the NAACP". The resolution also praised the "just and democratic" means by which the NAACP has sought its goals.

The resolution, unanimously adopted by the Council, was proposed by Father Archibald McLees, chaplain of the Brooklyn Catholic Interracial Council and a life member of the NAACP.

* * *

THE TEXT of the resolution read:

"We applaud the broad and constructive program of the NAACP which, through legal and legislative means, always in harmony with just and democratic principles, has led the fight for the legal, social, and economic rights of the Negro, and in doing so for all minority groups.

"We praise the persistent efforts of the NAACP which over a period of 50 years has achieved the strengthening of Constitutional safeguards for the rights of the individual and the virtual end of the unlawful mob lynching which formerly scarred race relations in many parts of the country.

"We praise also its 50 years unblemished by violence in the face of repeated and unrestrained violence resorted to by its opponents. We therefore recommend:

"1. That all Catholics interested in social action, recognizing the similarity of aims and methods, become members of the NAACP.

"2. That every encouragement be given the activities of the NAACP to gain the full social equality of the Negro in America."

* * *

IN A SPEECH at the meeting, the executive secretary of the Council, George Hunton, praised the NAACP for consistently and successfully using the orderly processes of democracy.

Among the controversial organization's achievements, he said, are expanded employment opportunities for Negroes, integration in the Armed Services, affirmation of the right of Negroes to vote in primaries and to serve on juries, and the increase of Negro voting in the South.

"It was the conviction and the fond hope of the founders (of the NAACP)," Hunton said, "that our progress as a people would come about through reliance on legislation and resort to the courts of justice and not through violence or mob action."

Additional Copies Available From:

Catholic Interracial Council
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

THE CATHOLIC
Telegraph-Register

Friday, July 24, 1959

Catholics in America Asked to Help End Racial Discrimination

Vatican City.—(RNS)—Catholics in the United States were called upon by Vatican Radio last week to "play a decisive role" in the elimination of racial discrimination in their country.

"It is of vital importance to act now and with decision," it warned. "Everything must be done calmly and with courage before it is too late."

Broadcasting a stinging commentary, the radio observed that the United States has not "provided an answer" to the problem of assimilating some 15,000,000 Negroes in that country with the rest of the population.

"The United States Constitution and the Declaration of Independence speak of the equal right of every citizen to life, work and participation in public life," it said, "but this is in striking and obvious contrast with indisputable fact that there exists a tacit and profound racial discrimination in the U.S."

Consequences of this discrimination, the broadcast declared, have repercussions in all areas of society—in religious, juridical, and educational fields and elsewhere.

'Tried to Correct'

The radio noted that the Catholic Church in America has often spoken out against discrimination and has "tried to correct any racial deviationism in the souls of the faithful."

It recalled that last November, the American Hierarchy issued an appeal to all people in the U.S. regardless of religious beliefs urging them "to grasp once and for all the reins of the racial question taking them away from the professional terrorists and sectarian racialists."

"The importance of this appeal is self-evident in the matter of integration, particularly if it is borne in mind that it was addressed to 30,000,000 Catholics who by joint action can play a decisive role in the solution of this grave problem," the broadcast declared.

The station also pointed out that in 1949 the late Pius XII in a message to the American hierarchy praised its mission to Negroes and Indians.

'Need Special Care'

It quoted the Pontiff as saying then, " 'We confess that we feel moved by a particularly paternal affection undoubtedly inspired by God for the Negroes who live in your country because we know that they need special care which they greatly deserve in all matters pertaining to spiritual and religious assistance.

'We therefore, invoke the blessings of God on all those who moved by generous charity show solicitude towards the Negroes'."

THE MICHIGAN CATHOLIC, JULY 16, 1959

Interracial Justice Termed 'Act of Faith'

GENEVA. — A spokesman for a Catholic organization called interracial justice a positive act of faith in the supernatural destiny of man.

Thom Kerstiens, secretary general of Pax Romana, international Catholic organization of college and university students and graduates, spoke at the second United Nations Conference for the Eradication of Prejudice and Discrimination.

"Non-discrimination," said Mr. Kerstiens "is for a Catholic a positive act of faith in the supernatural destiny of man, and marks his charity towards every man redeemed by Christ. Because he professes an unyielding doctrine on the spiritual nature of man, the Catholic must have a deep respect for the thought and belief of others."

"THE ATTITUDE of Pax Romana," he said, "is guided by the principle that Catholicism is built on non-discrimination among men . . . By teaching the truth revealed by God, Christianity teaches that every man is capable of knowing the truth, and before God there is no distinction of person."

Emphasizing that the ranks of the clergy are open to men of all conditions, Mr. Kerstiens called Pope John XXIII a "living example of this truth."

He recounted the Church's attitude during the Spanish and Portuguese conquest of the New World, when interracial marriage was inspired by Christian belief in the equality of all men.

He also cited the firm stands of Cardinals Faulhaber of Munich and von Galen of Muenster against Hitler, the anti-Nazi encyclical "Mit brennender sorge" of Pope Pius XI, and the 1943 statement of the U.S. hierarchy calling for political, educational and economic equality for Negroes.

Catholic Interracial Council
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Separate mailing:

10 copies; September/1959 NEW SOUTH

September 30, 1959

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

I am glad you share our enthusiasm for the Chester Bowles presentation. Ten additional copies of this issue of New South are being mailed to you separately, with our compliments. This speech of Bowles's has been printed in the Congressional Record; this puts it in the public domain, and I am sure it can be reprinted in full or condensed without securing permission.

I have been pleased to see the fine publicity received by your speech on the NAACP; this is a very helpful note to sound.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED SEP 30 1959

September 29, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auborn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Since the letter I wrote to you early this morning I have received and have just read the article by Chester Bowles in the newest and most recent issue of NEW SOUTH. I think it is excellent and I am writing to ask if I might have your permission to reprint it (somewhat condensed) in an early issue of INTERRACIAL REVIEW.

Will you please send us ten extra copies of this issue and enclose your bill for same.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a

via air mail

October 7, 1959

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

Thank you for the reprint of the excellent article from AMERICA, and for your offer to supply us with additional copies. If you can spare 300 to 400 copies, we can put them to good use.

I am to be present at the Mass Media Committee meeting in New York on Friday. I hope I will see you, or at any rate some representative of your staff, at the meeting.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

September 29, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auborn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed herewith please find copies of a reprint from an article that appeared in a recent issue of AMERICA, national Catholic weekly.

We have had a large number of copies made of this and believe that leaders interested in integration would like to have them. We will be glad to send you several hundred copies if you would like to have them for distribution. We have already sent copies to a number of NAACP officers and directors.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:a
encls

America National Catholic Weekly Review 70 East 45th Street, New York 17, N. Y. MU 6-5750

We Need Integration Councils

Ben W. Palmer

WHAT are U. S. Catholics doing to support their bishops, who in November, 1958 said: "Legal segregation or any form of compulsory segregation in itself and by its very nature imposes a stigma of inferiority upon the segregated people. . . . Discrimination . . . cannot be reconciled with the truth that God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity"?

Another Thirty Years' War, the generation of litigation predicted by former Supreme Court Justices Robert H. Jackson and James F. Byrnes, seems to be beginning. It will be too slow, however, to satisfy the legitimate demands of Negroes for justice to their children while they are still children, and too slow to spike the Soviet propaganda charge that America does not practice the democracy it preaches.

The violent attacks upon the Supreme Court for its integration decisions almost equal the Northern denunciations of Chief Justice Roger Taney for Dred Scott, one hundred years ago. Nineteen Southern Senators by resolution have declared that:

> The Supreme Court . . . substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land. This unwarranted exercise of power by the Court, contrary to the Constitution, is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through ninety years of patient effort by good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

Eighty-one Congressmen joined in the resolution, which has been repeated in more violent terms by Governors, lawyers and judges. It has been supported by resolutions of Southern legislatures echoing the language of South Carolina and other States in 1828, when they stood for nullification of the Tariff of Abominations. Calhoun is speaking from his grave.

Many thought these expressions of Southern opinion were temporary outbursts of anger that would soon disappear. However, they were mistaken. Words of resistance were followed by actions: Constitutional amendments, new laws and school board rulings, resistance to lawsuits begun (generally with the support of the NAACP) by Negroes. Not long ago it was estimated that White Citizens Councils have enrolled half a million members in 17 Southern States.

MR. PALMER, *a Minneapolis lawyer, has contributed a large number of articles to the* Journal *of the American Bar Association.*

The Federal Government is not disposed to hurry integration. Attorney General William P. Rogers told a House subcommittee on March 11 that it "might do more harm than good at the moment" to give the Justice Department power to initiate court suits to force desegregation. He said: "The image of the Federal Government trying to dominate the States could tend to harden resistance. . . . If you have everyone in the State against you, you cannot do much law enforcement that isn't pretty disastrous."

WHAT RECOURSE FOR THE NEGRO?

How long will it take to desegregate the 2.53 million Negro children in the Southern States? Nobody knows, but consideration of the methods and present pace of integration by Federal court decrees shows many deficiencies in the system.

Undoubtedly there is many a Negro among the millions in the South, especially in small towns or rural areas, who does not know his rights. Even if he does, before he can get into court he must exhaust all available administrative remedies. There may be a pupil placement law, under which school officials must determine whether each child meets all of a dozen qualifications: adequacy of preparation for admission to a particular school and curriculum, aptitudes, relative intelligence and ability, sociological qualifications for the type of teaching and association involved, home environment. If he is denied admission, he must appeal to higher administrative authorities. If they finally deny him admission, then he must prove in court that the denial was for racial reasons. If the court holds against him, he may, money permitting, appeal to the circuit court of appeals. If that court upholds the lower court, he may ask the U. S. Supreme Court to hear an appeal. That court, which customarily denies the vast majority of requests for its decision, may hear him. If it decides for him he can, barring some successful impeding maneuvers by school authorities, get into school.

If he does so, it may happen after many years of litigation, and a decision in his case may not help other Negroes. For if it is finally determined that one Negro is entitled to admission, that does not mean that the tens of thousands of other Negroes in the school district are so entitled. Each case generally must stand upon its own feet.

The same is true of integration with "all deliberate speed." The district judge may hold that the school board is proceeding rapidly enough. If so, the plaintiff begins a weary round of litigation up and down the

courts. This requires years of time, and the result binds only the particular school board with respect to the particular plan of integration under all the peculiar and often unique facts of that particular case. The decision does not bind other boards not sued.

The judicial method is technical, expensive, unsuited to the determination of the type of social and economic facts involved in segregation cases. It requires adversary proceedings which stimulate the contestants to extreme positions and to the vigorous expression of conflicting views. It represents the undisguised mailed fist, rather than the processes of education, persuasion and conciliation which have been so successful in securing compliance with fair-employment-practice acts.

A SOLUTION: INTEGRATION COUNCILS

Is there not an alternative to integration by litigation in the Federal courts, an alternative that promises better results? There is such an alternative, based on long experience—the use of administrative bodies, here called integration councils.

Administrative bodies have their roots as far back as Henry VIII at least. Parliament, Congress and State legislatures found that flexibility is needed in the enforcement of general rules of law. Customs and business practices vary, and differences need consideration if the general rule of law is not to result in injustice or defeat of the legislative purpose.

So the Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887. Since then various other bodies have been set up, such as the Federal Trade Commission (1914), the Federal Communications Commission and Securities and Exchange Commission (1934), the Civil Aeronautics Board (1938), the Atomic Energy Commission (1946), the Civil Rights Commission (1957) and numerous State administrative or regulatory bodies.

The President should be empowered to appoint a national integration committee, which in turn would appoint integration councils whose members reside in the States or smaller subdivisions where the councils operate. Congress should declare a national policy in broad rules of law. The national committee and the integration councils under its supervision would have power to adopt rules regarding both procedure and the implementation of national law and policy; to carry on educational campaigns, employ experts and make investigations; to hold public hearings and compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents.

After public hearing on due notice to interested and affected persons and authorities, integration councils should have power to make orders. The law should provide that orders be based upon findings of fact: the number of white and Negro pupils and teachers in an affected school, segregation of residential areas, school facilities and finances, teacher loads, scholastic aptitudes and placement tests.

Provision should be made for appeals from the orders of the local integration councils to area or State-wide bodies. From final administrative determinations there should be provision for appeal to the courts, but only on questions of law. Administrative findings should be deemed prima-facie correct and binding on the courts if sustained by any substantial evidence.

Under such a system a carefully planned program could move forward uniformly with the help of experts and residents of the areas affected. It could use methods of education and persuasion tested by the experience of the FEPC. Some cases would finally be brought to the courts, but only after all methods of concilation and administrative action had been exhausted. There would be less friction and more rapid progress toward integration, for the courts would not have to wait till cases were started here and there, without system or pattern, by Negro parents. If Negroes in a given area are poorly informed of their rights, or deterred by fear of job loss, of social and economic pressures, perhaps even of violence, or unable to meet the inevitable expenses of court action, progress toward integration would not on that account have to be spotty and intermittent.

Administrative proceedings would permit integration councils to make their own investigations and to use experts of their own choosing. They would not be dependent on the witnesses, expert or otherwise, brought forward by the parties. Proceedings would be shorter and less expensive because of the absence of technical rules of evidence and the less rigid formality of administrative rather than judicial proceedings.

Administrative rules would fill up gaps in the principles laid down by Congress, supplement them and make them more specific. They could be more flexible and adjusted to local conditions. Rather than the present long delay—cases now wait, sometimes for years, until overburdened Federal judges can hear them in the intervals in hearing trial dockets—there could be quick action by integration councils. These could do the most important and time-consuming work, determining detailed and numerous questions of fact—psychological, social, educational, pedagogical—that must precede decision.

Nobody has a panacea. Nobody has a quick solution, nor a perfect one. But everyone knows that the solution of the integration problem calls for dispassionate study by the best minds in America. That study should be infused with the principles laid down in the U. S. Bishops' 1958 statement. Catholic leaders of American thought and opinion should take the lead in solving this problem. Integration councils like those here proposed offer at least the basis for a beginning of study and decision. They may well offer the best long-range solution of the problem, a problem of profound importance, not only to the Negroes and white people of the South, but to all the people of America.

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October 26, 1959

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 17, New York

Dear George:

The statements by Archbishops McCann and Hurley are remarkably forthright and prophetic. They could serve as a model for the Southern (U.S.!) clergy, many of whom have been mute in a much less difficult situation.

I'll be most grateful for 200 copies or so.

We are sending you separately ten copies of the latest "L" Report on Little Rock.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

October 20, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 22 1959

Dear Harold:

I would appreciate it if you would let us know whether you could use copies of the enclosed reprint for general distribution - and, if so, how many you would like to have, with our compliments.

If possible could we have five or ten extra copies of "Little Rock Report....What Has Happened Since The School Crisis?"

With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:a
encls

THE
SOUTHERN CROSS
11, Hope Street, P.O. Box 2372, Cape Town.
Edited by Rev. L. J. Stubbs, B.A.
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1959

INTEGRATION IN S. AFRICA INEVITABLE

—Archbishop Hurley

The way to preserve Christian civilisation

—Archbishop McCann

TWO Catholic archbishops said last week that integration was the Christian answer to South Africa's problems. Archbishop Denis Hurley, O.M.I., speaking in Pretoria, said that integration was inevitable. The only choice open to the White man was whether integration would come about in a Christian or an unChristian way.

Archbishop Owen McCann, speaking in Cape Town, said that the way to preserve Christian civilisation was to bring it to those who did not have it, and that meant integration in a common way of living.

Archbishop Hurley was presenting a paper on the "Catholic attitude to Race Relations" as a symposium organised by the Kolbe Association.

Archbishop Hurley said that the argument that only under apartheid were the different races given the opportunity of pursuing their respective and distinctive social and cultural evolutions sounded plausible provided one overlooked the import-

"Partition remains politically impossible while integration is already taking place in the cultural and economic fields," he said. "Integration is on the way in and the only choice the European has is to decide what practical stand he could adopt to it."

To oppose integration was to sin by commission against justice and charity; to be indifferent was to sin by omission. The only possible Chris-

How to save Christian civilisation

'It will mean sacrifice and forbearance'

CAPE TOWN.—"The solution to South Africa's problems is at hand—the application of Christian principles and values . . . It will mean sacrifice, it will mean forbearance, it will mean forgiving, but that is the Christian way—the only way," Archbishop Owen McCann told an audience of over 1,500 in the City Hall last week.

He was speaking at the annual rally held in his honour organised by the Catholic Men's Society. The City Hall was packed for the occasion.

His Grace's address follows in part.

We hear it said that Christian civilisation must be saved in South Africa. This call is offered as the justification for certain policies such as apartheid. Such a policy is not the way to save civilisation but to undermine it. It can be saved only by being practised and by being transmitted to others: that is why the Church should be assisted in its missionary activity by the Civil authorities.

UNIVERSAL

Christian civilisation is not a white civilisation, nor even western. It is the universal civilisation. It is the action of people who are truly Christian, who act in love and justice. As often as we act contrary to Christian values, we are undermining Christian civilisation.

We must therefore take care not to confuse Christian civilisation with national and sectional loyalties. The way to preserve Christian civilisation is to bring it to those who do not have it, and that means essentially integration in a common which is the mother of Christian civilisation, is the eternal salvation of mankind, the bringing of redemption to men, by imparting to them the Divine life, the life of grace which is a sharing of God's life, and which follows from the acceptance of the Word of God, the revelation of God through Christ. That is the absolute criterion by which all human life and action must be judged.

CIVILISING AGENT

Because of this mission the Church is a civilising agent, not as an emissary of any political or economic order, but as a consequence of Christ's command to teach all men. She embraces within its compass the whole moral law, and that includes the natural moral code, which is the basis of civilisation, the basis on which only men can live together in peace and concord, so that they help one another, to perfect their powers and faculties.

The Ten Commandments are but the voice of God sanctioning the development of the law written by Him in the heart of every man "Do unto others as you would be done by". This is the civilising work of the Church—this is Christian civilisation—the observance of justice and love: the teaching of

Too often men fail, too often they let down the Christian name. They claim to be promoters, protectors of Christian civilisation but in reality they seek only their own self interest or the glorification of their own particular national group without thought for others, for the common good. Nationalism, white or black, if it places the welfare of its followers before the general good, is not Christian.

We know that the Church is not attached to any particular group, any particular culture. It happens historically that the Church began in the Mediterranean lands, and that its centre is in Europe, but that does not make her western or European. She transcends all barriers, because she is for all men, and she accepts and adapts all traditions and customs in so far as they are good and make them hers. She is the Universal mother, the Catholic Church.

SEEKS TO UNITE

As the instrument of Christ, she brings peace—which is the fruit of justice. She brings charity—love in tangible form in the actions and thoughts of her members, her clergy, her religious, her faithful. She seeks to unite men and not divide them: to bring them together and not to separate them.

She tells us not to give way to the fallacy that in order to love my neighbour I must build a fence to separate him from me. The Church, and here we must follow her example, brings all within her sphere, and we must bring our neighbour right into our hearts even. And everyone is our neighbour — the suffering, the oppressed and the well-off as well.

There are prejudices extant

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To oppose integration was to sin by commission against justice and charity; to be indifferent was to sin by omission. The only possible Christian attitude was the active fostering of integration, he said.

(Continued on page 11)

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We must therefore take care not to confuse Christian civilisation with national and sectional loyalties. The way to preserve Christian civilisation is to bring it to those who do not have it, and that means essentially integration in a common way of living, not merely on the economic plane but also on the social level.

The mission of the Church, which is the mother of Christian civilisation, is the eternal salvation of mankind, the bringing of redemption to men, by imparting to them the Divine life, the life of grace which is a sharing of God's life, and which follows from the acceptance of the Word of God, the revelation of God through Christ. That is the absolute criterion by which all human life and action must be judged.

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Too often men fail, too often they let down the Christian name. They claim to be promoters, protectors of Christian civilisation but in reality they seek only their own self interest or the glorification of their own particular national group without thought for others, for the common good. Nationalism, white or black, if it places the welfare of its followers before the general good, is not Christian.

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There are prejudices extant here in our country. The entrenchment of those prejudices of colour or race through

(continued below)

(continued below)

INTEGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

(Continued from page 1)

Speaking of the evolution of non-Whites to full participation in the life of the country, Archbishop Hurley said that any change should be a gradual one. "Sudden changes are violent changes and violence creates more problems than it solves".

He pointed out that if political freedom was extended to only a small number of non-Whites the danger existed that demagogues would emerge clamouring for freedom for all. The only solution seemed to be the granting of very substantial rights initially. There seemed little chance of this happening.

"What the South Africa of the future will be like is hidden from our eyes. We must expect a hard and bitter travail and the only thing we can do now is to try to contribute to making the final result a little less bad than it might be".

The archbishop then went on to discuss the Church's position in the racial situation saying that the spiritual implications were so far-reaching that the Church dare not disregard the racial problem.

"The Church's duty is twofold—a duty to truth and charity. The duty to truth is primarily the duty of the hierarchy. The bishops must see to it that the principles they have enunciated are translated into vivid lessons from the pulpit. It would not be surprising if the plenary session of the bishops' conference to be held next January did not produce some results along these lines.

"The duty of charity falls on every member of the Church. It is not enough to do no harm; we are positively commanded to do good".

Contact necessary

The archbishop continued saying that the first duty of charity was to make contact, since man was made by God social in nature with a hunger for human companionship. Ingenuity would be needed to find means of establishing contact through the loopholes left in the laws that were intended to divide the groups.

"This should be the aim particularly of our lay associations. There can be no finer apostolate than the apostolate of charity trying to express Christian unity and communication in the teeth of tremendous opposition".

Duty of all

He said that it was the duty of every Catholic to seek Christ in the members of the other races, "it would be a great accomplishment if more associations of the lay apostolate would create machinery for holding regular discussions between members of different races. Who knows what results will follow when the bridges have been built?"

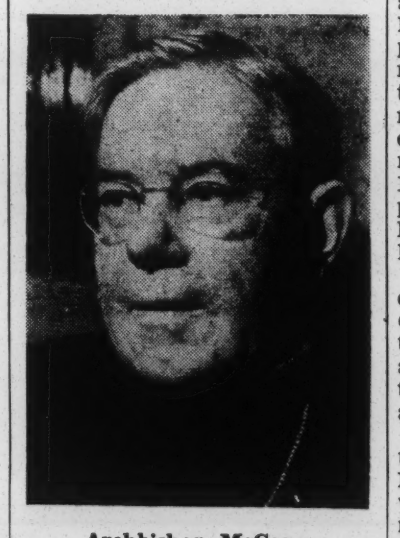
The archbishop concluded by saying that humanly speaking the situation was tragic, and short of a miracle an immensity of trouble lay ahead.

"The most we can hope to accomplish is the doing of deeds that will contribute to making the final result a little less bad than it might be if they were left undone".

legislation is wrong. This will not reduce friction but rather give friction permanence. The way to overcome those false attitudes is to get to know the individual person. We cannot judge a person simply by the group to which he happens to belong, or from the estimate we have formed of that group from certain members of it.

HUMAN DIGNITY

As a community of different groups, the people of South Africa have to convince them-



Archbishop McCann

selves of the dignity of each human person, the sanctity of family life, the overriding demand of the common good, the commandment of love God and our neighbour for God's sake. These are the Christian imperatives. These are the hallmarks of Christian civilisation.

They have far-reaching consequences in the fields of social justice and human relationships. They call for the just wage, the living and family wage. They call for adequate and decent housing for each family.

It is easy to become accustomed to a situation, to accept it and to take it for granted. Take for example, the question of wages. What is the ratio of unskilled wages in South Africa?—one fourth. In other countries—in Europe and America — it is three fourths.

The majority of our unskilled workers are Coloured people and Africans, but they are human persons, heads of families. They should be paid according to their human dignity.

MUST BE DONE

I know this will take time and adjustment, but it must be done. People may say that it is impossible because their labour is not worth more. I would answer that when a man is hired, it is not merely his labour which is contracted for. It is the whole man with all his responsibilities. If the just wage is paid, then productivity will increase and the housing problems too will be largely solved.

This responsibility rests not only on the industrialist, on every employer of labour, domestic or otherwise, on the civil authorities but it also rests on the whole community, on you and me.

A change of heart is needed in this field of human relationships. How can we stand silent when we view the havoc wrought by migrant labour system? The breakdown of the family, the promiscuity, the immorality which results from it.

SHAMEFUL

If the people of S.A. benefit by the labour of the African, and he is an integral part of the economy of South Africa—then he must be allowed to have his family with him. The damage that is being done to the family in South African life is the most shameful feature of our social structure.

The State exists for the common good, and it should see to it that this system of migrant labour, if it cannot be abolished

(Continued in next column)

at once, is changed and mitigated, so that it will disappear.

The State claims dominion over all the groups and it must consider the welfare of members of all groups, and ensure justice.

Races and national groups are but transitory. They changed in the past. They will change in the future. What must stand and remain is the law of God.

It is true that there are differences and barriers, and that those barriers cannot be let down at once, but it cannot be admitted that certain historical conditions must be perpetuated at the expense of justice and charity. That is to claim to rule God's Providence, and not to be ruled by His law.

GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY

We in South Africa have a grave responsibility before God and the rest of the world. He in His Providence has brought together here persons of differing origin, colour, states of development and culture. We have to live together in peace and harmony. We have to see that justice is done. We have to practice love. We have to bring into operation the Christian solution not only for ourselves but for the world.

The solution is at hand, the application of the Christian principles and values. It means making all South Africans, white, black, coloured, *truly Christian*. It means driving out prejudice, hatred and fear. It means placing the good of all before individual or group self interest.

It will mean sacrifice, it will mean forbearance, it will mean forgiving, but that is the Christian way. The only way.

The archbishop was introduced by Mr. P. Norton, chairman of the Catholic Mens' Society and the address of thanks was given by Mr. M. R. M. Dale, Canadian Trade Commissioner

A programme of musical items arranged by Mrs. A. Bergamasco (Albina Bini) preceded the speeches.

ADDITIONAL COPIES AVAILABLE FROM **Catholic Interracial Council**
20 VESEY STREET · NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

October 28, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of October 26th. I am glad that you like the statement of Archbishops McCann and Hurley. Under separate cover I am sending you 200 copies of this reprint from "The Southern Cross", with our compliments.

Thank you for your kindness in sending us 10 copies of the latest "L" report on Little Rock.

Every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

P.S. I am enclosing herewith news story about the 18th annual presentation of the James J. Hoey Awards together with complete text of the talk by Dr. Frank S. Horne of COIR.

GKH

JAMES J. HOEY AWARD FOR
INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
PRESENTATION OF MEDALS
OCTOBER 25, 1959
CATHEDRAL HIGH SCHOOL
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

ADDRESS OF FRANK S. HORNE,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NEW
YORK CITY COMMISSION ON
INTERGROUP RELATIONS

The Immorality of the Ghetto

-----o-----

The very air is so disturbed by myriad tongues babbling about racial and ethnic relations in this city that I had resolved to be still and work harder at the basic causes of the trouble. However, when Father La Farge and George Hunton and the Interracial Council asked me to talk with you today, my respect for their goodness and devotion translates their request into a command. In this humble way, I offer my tribute to their leadership and the twenty-five years work of the Catholic Interracial Council in the vineyard of racial justice and fair play.

I should like also to cite the work of Father Fitzpatrick of Fordham, including his recent statement on delinquency excerpted last week in the New York Post. I hope the Council and the New York Diocese will find a way to make this required reading throughout the clergy and laity of the Church, the parochial and public schools of the city. I would cite also Father Mc Peak's "Prescription for Harlem" in the current issue of the Crisis, and Archbishops Hurley and McCann in Cape Town's Southern Cross proclaiming racial integration in South Africa as the way to save Christian civilization. I pay deference to President Hulan Jack's citation of the neighborhood work of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations as we seek to carry forward the promotion of neighborhood councils projected years ago in the "New York Plan", by Father LaFarge and George Hunton.

It is in this spirit that I shall speak to you briefly on the "Immorality of the Ghetto" as my tribute to this year's recipients of the James J. Hoey Awards for Interracial Justice. Since I have neither the goodness nor the scholarship of those saintly men I have cited, I am afraid that I shall sound at times like an angry man. But if I do, it will be in the spirit of the Him who drove the money-changers from the temple. It will be my indulgence in the old-fashioned and now apparently outmoded virtue of moral indignation. But it will come from a heart that tries to beat with Him who, when pinioned on the Cross cried: "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

It is highly popular today to sound off about juvenile delinquency. Everybody is getting into the act with his own personal script. And, parenthetically, we have just witnessed the most brazen moral debauchery perpetuated upon the public in television's so called quiz programs. This is certainly delinquency wholsesale. Just as certainly we cannot blame this on juveniles nor Negroes nor Puerto Ricans nor the ghetto. We have all been concerned recently by criminal actions by young people, some of them with Spanish names. Some angry voices have labeled them "wild animals." Those individuals certainly are and they must be caged. But I went out recently to visit our wild animals in the Zoo. Most of the large cages are occupied by only one or two lions or tigers or hyenas. Their cages open out upon patios where they can romp

or sleep in the sun and fresh air. At feeding time, we serve them well with carefully selected viands. If their stomachs or teeth ache, we supply professional care of a high order. Then I walked again through some houses in East Harlem and Central Harlem and the West Side and the lower East Side and Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn and saw 4, 5, and 6 adults and children caged up in one room with something called a toilet serving 4, 6, 8 and more families on a floor. Who is treating whom like wild animals? Who is making whom wild? While we apply the night stick and the polite concentration camp to ghetto escapees, who is cleaning up the ghetto swamp where the wildness is bred?

Over and over, as I visit settlement houses in the ghetto areas, I hear workers in despair describing the wide and deep involvement of these young victims in narcotics and dope. As we send in added police, are they to give added attention to the dope pusher? Who is responsible for the exploitation of these young caged lions with "grass" and heroin? Who makes fantastic sums of money out of this while young people are plied with poisons whose thrall is so terrifying as to make a killer out of a gentle farmer's son? Where is the moral indignation of the nice people of the country? Where is the insistence upon protection of these youngsters from this vice? Who is to take up the lash of public opinion to drive out the money changers who desecrate the temple of beings made in the image of God? Who will touch the leper or extend his hand to protect Mary Magdalen from the barrage of death dealing stones?

Other angry men would go out into New York Bay and throw a shroud over the Statue of Liberty and douse the light that welcomes the world's huddled masses to our shore. They would turn her back upon United States citizens from Mississippi or the Caribbean until we "clean up the ghetto." As Father Fitzpatrick points out, we have welcomed into those same slums Irish, Italian, Jew, Greek, German -- every conceivable strain -- subjected them to ghetto living, and, out of the brawling, competitive streets seen them build the towers that challenge the sky. Who has gotten afraid of American adventure? Who will suffer little children and the heavily burdened to come unto Him? Are we to continue to blame our problems -- our slums and ghettos -- upon the latest newcomers? Who is to clean up the Augean stables? Who will realize that it is the newcomers of each wave who have contributed so largely to the muscle, the brain and the determination to help solve the problems? Who built this city anyway -- was it the Indians, the original settlers, or the newcomers who came in later?

Then there are some who would discourage the newcomer and slam the door of relief in his face. They say to him -- if you've been here 366 days, we shall not let you and your children starve. But if you have been here only 364 days, you can grovel for your crusts with the dogs. What kind of arithmetical morality is this? Where is the spirit of Him who lifted up the afflicted and fed the multitude with loaves and fishes and walked the streets with the poor and the lowly?

The immorality of the ghetto breeds the immorality of the segregated school. Five years ago responsible studies revealed that 70% of our public elementary and junior high schools are segregated. The Supreme Court reminded us that modern psychological knowledge indicates clearly that segregated, racially homogeneous schools damage the personality of minority group children. White children are also damaged -- whether this segregation occurs by law or by fact. The Board of Education rose to the challenge and in December of 1954 proclaimed its interpretation of the May 17th decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court as a "legal and moral reaffirmation of our fundamental educational principles," declared that "racially homogeneous public schools are educationally undesirable" and committed itself "to approach more clearly the racially integrated school in all localities."

The flesh is so often weaker than the spirit. The moral drive that produced the policy lags in its implementation. People in high places say, "after all, the segregated schools are only a little sin, and since we've been sinning more or less comfortably for so long, let's don't clean it up too fast". "Let's be practical" is substituted for "let's be moral". The ghetto pattern and ghetto thinking degrades us all -- those in the ghetto and those outside. When He said "Suffer little children to come unto me," did He mean for them to march up in separate phalanxes -- black and white, Jew and gentile, Irish and Puerto Rican? In this issue psychology and morality are hand maidens. We can run but

"there ain't no hidin' place down there." Sinners may attain heaven if they are purged, but the ghetto is malignant immorality that eats into the soul and man cannot wait too long or even purgatory cannot redeem him.

Many of us have come to see that a large measure of delinquency school segregation and racial tension is grounded in the racially restricted residential pattern -- the root of the immorality of the ghetto. The President of the United States has vigorously and repeatedly called our attention to the depressed countries and nations of the world. (He has said that they will not rest content in their poverty while other nations nearby are fat and privileged.) He predicts conflict and explosion unless the rich and powerful nations (of East and West) increasingly share their resources and know-how with the poor and weak.

Certainly we have our depressed areas and districts in this (RICH) city, increasingly restless and discontent. Just surely will there be spreading conflict and explosion within our city unless we find ways - more rapidly - to increase the share of these districts in the full stream of our community life. Business and industry seem content to employ the labor of these people but take little responsibility for their existence in crowded tenements and stinking slums. They and government must share the moral and "realistic" responsibility for increases in the housing supply at costs these workers can afford, for enforcement of housing codes and laws as vigorously as policing the streets, and for opening up the total housing supply to all people on the same terms regardless of their race, religion or national origin.

Every landlord or real estate operator or mortgage lender who turns his back on one of these families contributes to the sharpening resentment and tension. So does every housing inspector who "looks the other way" at code infractions, every court that penalizes housing lawlessness by slaps on the wrist, any policeman with his hand in the "back door" of numbers gambling or prostitution or the dope traffic. The ghetto is to be recognized for what it really is -- a stinking cancerous blot upon the morality of the entire community. There are devils to be cast out; there are money changers to be whipped out of the temple; there is high need for moral indignation, not at the victims but at the perpetrators and exploiters of the ghetto.

And even those of us now confined to the ghetto pattern are not without our moral responsibilities. We are responsible to do all in our power to preserve the integrity of our family life, to condemn lawlessness by black and white alike, to educate our children, to knock on the door when opportunities are opened, to organize, to vote, to fight despair, to join with the forces in and out of the ghetto who are fighting to eliminate the ghetto itself. Respect comes not to those who whimper or whine but to those who stand on their own feet and do all they can with what they have, little as it may be.

Fortunately, there are arising giants, in and out of government, in and out of the Church, who cry out and labor against the injustice and immorality of the ghetto. We celebrate today people like James J. Hoey and the honored recipients of the award in his name. There are the Cardinal Spellmans, Father LaFarges, the George Huntons, the Catholic Interracial Council, and growing hundreds of leaders in the Protestant

and Jewish faiths and in their lay organizations. Mayor Robert F. Wagner, in proclaiming the policy of the "Open City," declared, "As a matter of morality as well as law, all New Yorkers must have the right to bargain for their shelter in a freely, open competitive housing market." The "Open City" as a moral city pervades the words and work of most of our leading city officials. The organization of increasing numbers of neighborhood councils of the type that Father LaFarge and George Hunton have advocated would provide a channel for citizens to support and develop the open city.

But our time is running out. Our national and international obligations are pressing on every side. Our leadership in the world must rest upon the morality of our way of life. Even the great Sir Lancelot could not find the Holy Grail because "his honor rooted in dishonor stood." The Lord has allowed us to develop a way of life based upon the everlasting sanctity of every human being. He will not permit us to be the custodian of that light unless our hands are clean. Civilizations that have failed this trust have gone down into the dust.

The Communists -- and many of the darker uncommitted peoples -- will not let us stand before the world in rainment of shining white which hides the cancers and sores and the hoven hoof of racial injustice and ghetto immorality. But important as our world role may be, even more vital is the cleanliness and sanctity of our own nation -- its internal moral fibre.

They taught me an expression down South. When somebody said or did something bad, we chastized by shaking the head and saying, "God don't love ugly." Certainly He doesn't love immorality and I would believe He doesn't love the ghetto. What he does not love He may punish with hell-fire itself but His compassion is great and redeems us when we reject the immoral and the ugly and embrace the true and the

beautiful. I plead for the moral indignation and the hard, tough work to be done to eradicate the immorality of the ghetto. In this spirit, I salute the honored recipients of the Eighteenth Annual presentation of the James J. Hoey Awards.

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L
PHONE
REctor 2-5417
20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

NEWS SERVICE

HOEY AWARD SPEAKER
CALLS FOR "OPEN CITY"

New York, Sun. Oct. 25 - The government and the business community must share the moral and realistic responsibility for increasing the housing supply and opening it to all regardless of race, religion or national origin Dr. Frank S. Horne, executive director of the Mayor's Commission on Intergroup Relations, declared in an address here. The occasion was the annual presentation of the James J. Hoey Awards for Interracial Justice presented by the New York Catholic Interracial Council to John P. Nelson, Jr. of the Institute of Industrial Relations, Loyola University, New Orleans and Percy H. Steele, Jr., Executive Director of the San Diego Urban League.

"Many of us have come to see," Dr. Horne stated, "that a large measure of delinquency, school segregation and racial tensions is grounded in the racially restricted residential pattern - the root of the immorality of the ghetto."

"Certainly we have our depressed areas and districts in this rich city with increasing restlessness and discontent, and just as surely will there be spreading conflict and explosion within our city unless we find ways more rapidly to increase the share of these districts in the full stream of our community life."

"The organization," he said, "of increasing numbers of neighborhood councils of the type that Father LaFarge and the Catholic Interracial Council have advocated would provide a channel for citizens to supply and develop the "open city".

In his acceptance speech Mr. Nelson called for Catholics to provide the desperately needed leadership in race relations. "Will the Church in the South, will the Church in the United States, fail to meet the challenge, to take advantage of perhaps the most promising opportunity in its history?" he asked. "We will be able to give an affirmative answer when the schools, the pulpit, the press, the clergy and laity, working together, act up to an apply Catholic

truth and Catholic principles to the hard-bitten, harsh realities of the concrete situation as we confront it in New Orleans, New York, Washington, Chicago, and throughout the North, East, South and West of this marvelous nation."

Mr. Steele, in his acceptance, reflected on his participation in a series of programs called "An Interracial Hearing on the American Negro and the Papal Encyclicals" sponsored by the Catholic Interracial Council of New York and held at Fordham University, New York; New Haven, Conn.; Providence, Rhode Island and other places. "I would like to say here and now," he said, "that there ought to be a more widespread interpretation and use made of the Papal Encyclicals in all circles of learning. It is quite true that even within Catholic circles there still lingers attitudes of non-acceptance or merely nominal affirmation of the basic social teachings of the Popes, an attitude which has borne its deadly fruit and has tended to paralyze the force of the Teaching Church in a modern American Society."

The Most Rev. Philip J. Furlong, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop of New York, represented His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman at the presentations which were begun in 1942. The Awards were established in memory of the late James J. Hoey, first president of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, and are given to a Negro and white layman whose contributions to the cause of interracial justice are outstanding.

# # # # #

FOR RELEASE MONDAY MORNING PAPERS, OCTOBER 26.

via air mail

November 30, 1959

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

I will look forward hopefully to the results of your conversation with Mrs. Eddy. Meanwhile, I will do what I can to support the proposal.

Enclosed are two copies of our brief report on voluntary school desegregation. We were pleased with the unsolicited AP story.

My thanks for your offer to share with us copies of the Catholic Bishops' 1959 Statement.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

encs. 2 "L" Sept #12

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

November 23, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I want to express our gratitude for your good offices in the matter of obtaining support for setting up a regional office for the Catholic Interracial Councils in and around Virginia and the Carolinas.

At your suggestion I telephoned Mrs. Eddy today but find that she will not be in until tomorrow. I assured her secretary that I would phone again tomorrow, Tuesday, at 10:00 for an appointment to see her at their office at 656 5th Avenue. Rest assured I will keep you advised of any developments.

I note an item in yesterday's TIMES of an AP story from Atlanta dated November 21st and released by your office about "Integration Without Court Order". We would appreciate it very much if you could send us one or two copies of the complete text of your release.

I am sure by now you have read the text of the 1959 statement of the Catholic Bishops of the U.S. which appeared in yesterday's NEW YORK TIMES. I think you will agree with us that this is a very comprehensive and scholarly exposition of the problems confronting not only the Church but the forces of democracy everywhere. We expect to receive a couple hundred mimeographed copies and will be glad to send 25 which you might want to have for distribution.

Again thanking you for your interest and cooperation, I am with best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL 1959

PHONE
REctor-2-5417

NEWS SERVICE

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

FORUM SPEAKER DESCRIBES
NEGRO'S REPUDIATION OF COMMUNISM

New York, Nov. 20 - "The overwhelming bulk of Negroes have never joined the Communists or have ever been fellow travellers," Mr. George S. Schuyler, Manager of the New York office of the Pittsburgh Courier, told the Catholic Interracial Forum here last night.

Mr. Schuyler indicated that initial Communist approaches to the Negro in the twenties and thirties had been poorly conceived and wholly ineffectual. They emphasized irreligion and pressed for self determination for the so-called "black belt" - a region in the South with a majority of Negro inhabitants. This was a serious mistake, he said, because the Negro is deeply religious and Negroes laughed at the idea of separate state for the "black belt".

Although later tactics of the Communists have been more successful, Mr. Schuyler said, there has never been more than a handful of Negro Communists. And these, he said, were among the first to leave the party as the years went on. The speaker explained that Negroes are very skeptical of "those who are garrulous and promise quick solutions to the race problem."

Mr. Schuyler, describing some of the tactics of the Communists, noted the use of names of people who knew little about Communism as a front to draw others into the organization. These and other tactics have been more successful with the Negro bourgeoisie and intellectuals, he said, but even there the effect has been ephemeral. The National Negro Congress, the veteran journalist explained, was one of the most successful Communist efforts with the Negro.

Mr. Schuyler noted, however, that the actual number of Communists or fellow travelers in an organization is unimportant since by their

ability to expand and organize they can pose a threat to any group. Representative white and Negro leadership should bear this admonition in mind to prevent any upsurge of Communist influence in America.

1959

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

PHONE
RECTOR 2-5417

NEWS SERVICE

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

FORUM SPEAKER CALLS FOR
INCREASED AWARENESS OF AFRICAN PROBLEMS

New York, Nov. 13 - Americans must develop an understanding of Africa and its emerging nations in order to live up to the expectations of world leadership which the Africans have for us. This was the principal theme of a talk delivered here last night to the Catholic Interracial Forum by James T. Harris, of the American Society for African Culture.

Mr. Harris, A Catholic Negro and former Hoey Award winner, explained that although Africa has only become of top interest to Americans in the last ten of fifteen years, the continent is now becoming increasingly important for our foreign policy and economic plans. He continued that the prospect of four new nations that are soon to gain their independence added to those that are already in existence gives Africa an important role in the U.N. and in world affairs.

At the same time, he said, the African looks toward the United States as the country that is able, because of its great wealth and idealism, to give Africa and the world the leadership it needs.

The African peoples, he added, must be assured that the Western powers sincerely intend the eventual end of colonialism and are willing to help the Africans work toward that end. Mr. Harris observed that many extremist manifestations of nationalism are caused by the apparent lack of sincerity on the part of the colonial powers in moving to extend freedom to their African colonies.

In addition Mr. Harris recommended that private and public funds be invested in Africa in such a way as to best profit the whole economy. A great deal of the prosperity of the West and of the industrial revolution itself, he indicated, rests on the exploitation of African resources. The West, therefore, must be willing to "pay back" part of what it has taken out of the African economy, he said. It is already getting late, he added, and is later than some of us think.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

February 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for sending us the literature this morning. We were glad to get the extra copies of the Notre Dame Lawyer.

The reprint of Ralph McGill's article in the New York Times magazine is excellent. It would be very useful if we could have additional copies for our pamphlet rack and for distribution among the other CICs. Would appreciate it very much if you could send us 100 copies if you could spare them. Of course if there is any charge we would be glad to remit.

Asked Phil to Do 2/16/60 HCF

Every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

PHONE
REctor 2-5417

News Service

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

DEPT. OF LABOR OFFICIAL CITES IMPROVED NEGRO STATUS

New York, February 5, - "Steady improvement in the status of Negroes has been one of the most important social and economic developments of the past several decades". This was the main point of an address delivered here tonight to the Catholic Interracial Forum by Louis F. Buckley, Regional Director, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor.

The opportunity for the individual Negro, Mr. Buckley added, is greatly increased by the amount of education he receives. Negro high school graduates show a much better chance of getting into good jobs, he said. In addition the percentage of unemployed is much greater for those not finishing High School.

There is more opportunity, Mr. Buckley said, for Negroes in skilled jobs and the professional fields. The Department official advised guidance counsellors and others counselling Negro youth to make them aware of these facts and encourage them to take full advantage of educational opportunities.

Quoting from a U.S. Department of Labor bulletin on the economic situation of Negroes in the United States, Mr. Buckley stated that the rising educational level of Negroes is reflected by the increase in nonwhite enrollment in colleges and professional schools which shot up by 86% from 1950 to 1958. This greatly exceeded the total enrollment increase which was almost 50% in the same period of time. Mr. Buckley also noted that the educational gap between whites and nonwhites will be closing even more rapidly in the future.

The difference in earnings between white and Negro workers is also decreasing, Mr. Buckley said. Although the gap is still large, the income of Negro wage and salary workers increased relatively more than for whites between 1939 and 1957.

In both education and employment, the speaker concluded, the historical differences between white and Negro are constantly narrowing.

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DAY LETTER

MARCH 4, 1960

MR. GEORGE K. HUNTON
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE FIRST NEGRO CARDINAL IS OF SIGNAL IMPORTANCE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. BY THIS ACT, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS GIVEN TANGIBLE RECOGNITION TO THE MOVEMENT OF HISTORY IN OUR TIME. THE RISING STATUS AND DIGNITY OF THE NON-WHITE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD AND THE NEWLY EMERGING LEADERSHIP ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA WILL, FOR MANY, BE SYMBOLIZED BY CARDINAL RUGAMBWA. WE JOIN WITH HOSTS OF OTHERS IN GRATIFICATION FOR THIS ACT OF WISDOM AND STATESMANSHIP.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Day letter to George Hunton

The appointment of the first Negro Cardinal is of signal importance throughout the world. By this act, the Catholic Church has given tangible recognition to the movement of history in our time. The rising status and dignity of the non-white peoples of the world and the newly emerging leadership on the continent of Africa will, for many, be symbolized by Cardinal Rugambwa. We join with hosts of others in gratification for this act of wisdom and statesmanship.

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council

Harold,

Ichecked with JC&RHA on the cost of the Collins pamphlet. Neither knew, so after this decision has been reached, a bill can be sent Mr. Hunter as I indicated in my ltr. to him.

MF

April 22, 1960

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Hunton:

Mr. Fleming, who is out of the city, will be pleased to know that you found our new pamphlet, "The South and the Nation," of interest.

As you have requested, I am mailing separately fifty (50) copies for your use there at the Center. A bill will follow.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

April 20, 1960

Mr. Harold C.Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am very much interested in the new pamphlet - first of a series - the address of Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida. We think its is excellent and would like to have 50 copies for the Center.

Please send them along at your earliest convenience together with bill for the same.

Trusting you are well and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

June 29, 1960

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

I am sending you, with our compliments, 50 copies of Mr. Dabbs's "Tragic Fellowship of Southerners."

It is most encouraging to note the formation of a Catholic Interracial Council in Little Rock. Few places are in greater need of one.

I have accepted an invitation to make a talk at the forthcoming conference of Catholic Interracial Councils in St. Louis. Hope I will have the pleasure of seeing you there.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

June 27, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Please send us 50 copies of the excellent pamphlet "Tragic Fellowship of Southerners" by James M. Dabbs, together with bill for same.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

July 1, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I hasten to acknowledge and thank you for your welcome letter and for the gift of 50 copies of Mr.Dabbs "Tragic Fellowship of Southerners".

All of us are delighted that you are going to be with us in St. Louis and will give one of the principal addresses.

Looking forward to meeting and conferring with you next month, I am with best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

ST. BENEDICT THE MOOR NEWSLETTER

WHERE THERE IS HATRED, LET ME SOW LOVE.

VOL. 10 NO. 3 | THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS, CENTRAL OFFICE 29 SOUTH LASALLE ST., CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS | MAY - JUNE 1960

DON'T BE AN OSTRICH

It takes courage to do a lot of things in this life, and it takes even more courage to do something that does not conform to the ideas of the majority.

The interracial movement has progressed slowly because too many have ignored it, because they don't have the nerve to be counted among the real brothers of Christ and of all of His children regardless of the color of one's skin. Progress has been made, however, because of such men as the founders of the Catholic Interracial Movement in America, Fr. John LaFarge, S.J., and Mr. George K. Hunton. There is much left to be done and education is a must. We as Catholic laymen can and will do much to spread the love that was so freely given by our dearly beloved founder, St. Francis, and also by his true follower and the patron of our Apostolate for Interracial Charity, St. Benedict the Moor.

This is an undertaking that cannot be accomplished without the full cooperation of every pastor in North America. We feel, therefore, that it is incumbent on us to make a plea to all pastors to give consideration to setting aside at least one or preferably two sermons a year to inform their parishioners regarding the duty of each and every Catholic towards his brother regardless of race, creed or national origin. Our task is an almost impossible one without this support. There are too many Catholics who take the attitude that we should let well enough alone, for they feel that if we do not help or encourage the Negro that he will get over any dissatisfaction. This is an attitude that is unrealistic, and worst of all is uncharitable and unjust.

We must get our heads out of the sand and quit being like an Ostrich. We have an obligation to be charitable and just, for if we don't, then we have the undeniable prospect of facing at the end of our days on this earth a very just judge, who will not be influenced by any of our far-fetched innuendoes. Don't be so foolish as to follow the philosophy of the extremists. Christ has clearly informed us of our obligations and no inane reasoning of lowly man is going to change this.

"Love one another as I have loved you," Christ said. If we sincerely love God then we must love all of His children regardless of the color of his or her skin.

The Negro has been very patient considering the second-class citizenship status to which he has been relegated. We are proud of the way the Negro has ignored the propaganda handed out by the Communists to influence him to be un-American. The Negro has been steadfast in his love and patriotism for his country in spite of the narrow-mindedness of his so-called white brother.

Let us all beg St. Benedict the Moor to intercede for us so that God may give us the grace to soften our hard hearts. "Where There Is Hatred, May We Sow Love."

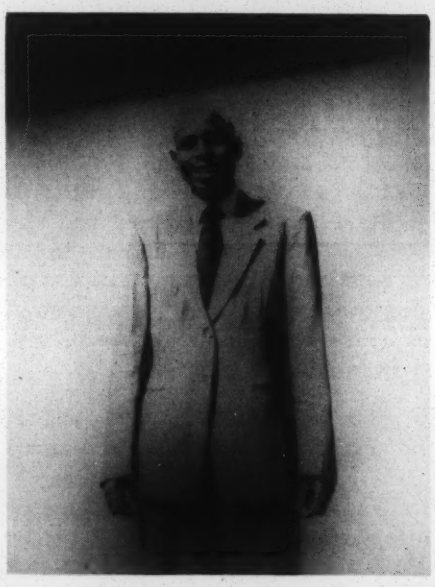
VISITING CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

The outstanding Third Order of St. Frances member of Tanganyika in Africa, Mr. Stanislas Mutayabawa, is visiting Canada and the United States. His bishop, Most Reverend Lanctot, has sent him as an official delegate to the International Eucharistic Congress in Munich. He will also attend the International Third Order Congress there.

Bishop Lanctot emphatically declared: "Ten persons of Mr. Mutayabawa's type would change the aspect of my diocese. He possesses great natural and supernatural gifts, and works seventeen hours a day. Above all, he is a man of prayer. Formerly a teacher, he is now inspector of schools."

Possessed with great organizing ability, Mr. Mutayabawa organized the Third Order in Tanganyika in the year 1944. With the help of the tertiaries, he established various charitable institutions which carry on many social services.

He arrived in Canada on May 17 and will be there and in the United States until June 14. The Canadian Tertiaries are paying his expenses from Holland to Canada at the request of Bishop Lanctot. While in North America, Mr. Mutayabawa hopes to visit as many tertiary centers as possible.



Mr. Stanislas Mutayabawa

THE NAKED TRUTH

Just when progress is being made and things seem to be going well, someone pipes up and says, "All's lost!" You often find it in the sad stories of sad writers. Take the novel by Phillip Wooby, Nude to the Meaning of Tomorrow, for instance. A Negro speaks: "It's like I was saying, the odds are non-existent. I can't win except as an object of Christian charity -- not that there's any of that around, and if there were, I wouldn't want it. I don't want anybody to give me what is mine already -- my own self-respect."

The man who said that was confused and mistaken. There's nothing wrong with winning an object of Christian charity. It happens to be the only way any of us will ever win. And if you'll open your eyes and look, you'll see plenty of it around these days. To refuse it is to deny Christ. It was never the role of Christian Charity to give your soul or your self-respect. Christian Charity simply recognizes and reverences the dignity and supreme worth of your soul and self-respect.

The confusion lies in the man's use of the word "charity." He has some vague ideas about that supernatural virtue and equates it with something like pity or sentiment or condescension or philanthropy. Charity is none of these. It recognizes a man for what he is -- not for what it makes him. It is reverence, respect, love for the greatness that is man. There's more of that around these days than you might suspect. You've got to keep your eyes open though, or to put it in a literary way, you must be nude to the meaning of today!

Third Order of St. Francis in North America
ST. BENEDICT THE MOOR NEWSLETTER
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GULLIVER IN LOVELAND

I looked out over a nation, a strong nation and rich, too. Its people were sturdy and strong. I saw them each day scurry to their tasks grimly bent on progress. Men came from every continent to make their fortunes. Each found his place according to his race. And there was scarcely a whisper of dissatisfaction.

I listened closely. A murmur went up among the people. Some citizens appeared to have gone mad. They were actually trying to upset the order that assigned place by race. You could recognize these madmen by the laughter and joy that rang in their voices. They welcomed any man into their company -- regardless of his race! They had no shame. The fools actually loved one another! They gave their madness a name. "Christian Charity" they called it.

As I pondered this strange mob of lovers, something happened. The murmur grew to a roar. The fools were spreading their madness over a whole nation. "You're all brothers," they sang. I watched one loyal citizen scoff at the idea. The next day he did not laugh; he listened and was lost to the madness too. Finally, it was diagnosed. "Interracial Charity" the experts called it. The symptoms: lack of discrimination in choosing neighbors; failure to distinguish race from race; weakness of the brain as manifested in reckless concern for every man; illusions of fraternity.

I glanced again at the nation, strong and rich still. But its strength and wealth were of a finer sort now. I can't understand it. There was music in that insane roar. It was filled with harmony -- like a song. And it sang, "You're all brothers. You're all brothers."

OUR SISTER

We had the pleasure and the privilege of hearing a most inspiring and heart-touching address by a real living example of true Franciscanism at the annual Communion Breakfast sponsored by the Catholic Interracial Council of Indianapolis. The speaker was Sister M. Francesca, O.S.F., a native of Indianapolis and now a teacher at Joseph's Parochial School, Cincinnati, Ohio. The affair was held at Marion College on April 24 in Indianapolis.

Sister M. Francesca, a Negro, made one of the most inspiring talks on the race problem that we have ever heard. Sister's subject, "The Welcome Table," was so beautifully presented that everyone was so engrossed and so affected that you could have heard a pin drop. This wonderful bride of Christ who is so full of Christ's love was not pleading for her people so much as she was for us who have been hurting ourselves by affronting our Negro brothers to act towards all men as we would want to be treated. We must welcome our Negro brother here on earth, if we expect to be all gathered around "The Welcome Table" with Christ for all eternity.

St. Benedict the Moor Newsletter is published bi-monthly, January to December, by the Third Order of St. Francis in North America. Third class mailing privileges authorized at Chicago, Illinois.

Moderator --
Fr. Phillip Marquard, O.F.M.
Executive Secretary

Directors --
Wally Roebuck, Tertiary
Francis Riley, Tertiary

There is no doubt in our minds that if all who are now prejudiced in any way towards any of our brothers regardless of color could hear this beautiful soul speak there would be no need for us or any of the other interracial organizations to do any more apostolizing. This true lover of Christ would make you want to find Christ in all His children. We of the Third Order of St. Francis are truly proud to call Sister M. Francesca our sister.

"This generation and generations to come for many years owe a tremendous debt to our Negro citizens who have consistently refused to surrender their freedom for the tyranny of Communism."

-- J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. Director

"She is the universal mother, the Catholic Church. As the instrument of Christ she brings peace -- which is the fruit of justice. She brings charity -- love in tangible form in the actions and thoughts of her members, her clergy, her religious, her faithful. She seeks to unite men and not divide them: to bring them together and not to separate them."

-- Archbishop Owen McCann

THE HIGH COST OF LOVING

The work of St. Benedict the Moor Apostolate is to market love by means of the written word. Talk, however, is cheap; love is priceless. Our words taken alone are not worth a price; our message is beyond price. Love is that message and a priceless one it is. As a consequence, we put no monetary value on the Newsletter and our leaflet, "St. Benedict the Moor: A Challenge." We deal in spiritual values.

The Newsletter and the leaflet are sent free of charge to men of good will everywhere. Anyone who has taken Christ at His word, who would sow love where there is hatred, is welcome to these publications without cost.

It may seem a small paradox, but the cost of marketing our priceless product is considerable. That's a hard fact which, try as we may, refuses to be ignored. If, then, you are able to help us pay the costs of printing and mailing by any small donations, we would appreciate it. You'd be helping us to sow love where there is so much hatred. Certainly a bargain, even in these inflationary days!

Our address:
St. Benedict the Moor Newsletter
Third Order of St. Francis
Central Office
29 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Keep me reminded, O Holy Spirit, to look for the better side of others and the weaker side of myself.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

November 28, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
3 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanda, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosing herewith copy of the leading editorial in this week's Catholic News, about the first Mass for the advancement of Civil Rights in the U.S. You will be glad to know that this will be an annual event to be sponsored by the St. Thomas More Society and we are hopeful that other CICs in different dioceses will sponsor Masses in their areas.

I am hopeful that you will be in New York in the near future and that we might get together and have a good pow-wow to discuss among other things the real possibilities ~~and~~ of progress ~~by~~ of our new President.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD
encs.

The Catholic News

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1960

The Obligation of Catholics

In his memorable sermon at the Church of St. Francis Xavier in Manhattan at the special Mass for the advancement of civil rights in the United States, Father Robert F. Drinan, S.J., dean of Boston College Law School, asserted that to eliminate discrimination in the United States, we must have effective laws, sound public opinion and deep religious faith.

When we think of discrimination these days, we think first of the Negro and the disabilities under which he labors. But as a matter of fact, all discrimination is interlinked. The bigotry which the nation has experienced during the political campaign has demonstrated again that the anti-Catholic is anti-Negro, that those who are anti-Negro are as a rule anti-Catholic, and those who are anti-Negro and anti-Catholic are generally anti-Semitic. Those who undermine the pillar of the rights of one group of our citizens weaken the support of the entire superstructure.

Nor may citizens in this part of the nation comfort themselves with the thought that discrimination against Negroes is a problem for the Southern region of the nation alone. In 1958, it was estimated that 40 per cent of the Negroes of the United States were living outside the South, and the proportion is constantly growing. "How will the people of 'the North' treat their new neighbors?" Father Drinan asked. "This question in many ways is probably more important than how 'the South' will treat its Negro population." It is certainly more important for us personally.

The concern of Catholics about the problem is indicated by such movements as the Catholic Interracial Council, with a quarter of a century of dedicated effort behind it, and such a project as the special Mass for civil rights here in recent days.

As citizens we are deeply interested in effective laws and sound public opinion in the elimination of discrimination, but as Catholics we have an even greater obligation. For as Catholics we are brothers with all mankind, sons of our Common Father, all of us made by our Creator with a common origin, a common nature and a common destiny, and all of us redeemed by our Divine Lord on the Cross. Catholics have a duty to lead all others in this battle against a discrimination which violates the first principles of our faith.

Catholic Interracial Council
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RE. 2-5417

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1962

file

June 19, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Doctor:

I write to express to you and through you the officers of your council, my grateful appreciation of your kind letter in which you paid over-generous tribute to my contribution to the work in which all of us are so deeply interested.

I have heard many nice things from our mutual friend Paul Williams who called me on the phone last week and I'm looking forward to meeting you in the near future, I remain, with best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

Catholic Interracial Council
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RE. 2-5417

MET ✓
with LD ✓
MJ-file

July 25, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I hope you will pardon my delay in writing to thank you for sending me the copy of the syllabus got out by Archbishop Hallinan. I have been extremely busy since my return trying to catch up with correspondence, etc. After my return, I mailed you what I thought were the only remaining copies of the letter sent by Archbishop Hallinan to all the Churches in the Archdiocese of Atlanta. I find that I have some more and am enclosing another half dozen which I thought you could use.

I want to say how much I enjoyed my visit ~~to~~ with you ~~office~~ while I was in your city.

As I mentioned in our talk, I will send you releases and news stories from time to time in which I think you may be interested.

With best wishes to Mrs. Tilly, your daughter and members of your staff.

Sincerely,

George K. Hunton

GKH:mc
Enclosures

January 14, 1963

Mr. George K. Hunton
Consultant
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

We are sending, under separate cover, thirty (30) copies of our Report L-39. We seemed to have had a remarkable number of requests for extra copies of this which just proves again that it's wise to be on the alert for good reprint possibilities.

All the best, and I hope you may be traveling South again soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Jan. 14, 1963

Bernice:

Please mail 30 copies of

L Report - #39 to Mr. Hunton.

Label attached.

thanx, mmj

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1963

January 12, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

I was very much interested in your report L-39, December 19, 1962 on "Negroes' Pay Rises but Half as Fast". I wonder if you could spare 30 additional copies which we would be glad to send out to the more active CICs.

With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

George

George K. Hunton
Consultant

GKH:RD

Catholic Interracial Council
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RE. 2-5417

PA ✓
John Morain ✓
SB (pls detach letter for Muldrow's file)

March 5, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Filed in Reserve

Enclosing herewith tear-sheet from THE CATHOLIC REVIEW of Baltimore containing the historic Pastoral Letter of Archbishop Shehan. I think this is another indication of progress.

It was very kind of you to send me the copies of your report L-39. It is excellent. No wonder it is so popular.

Every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton
Consultant

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L
1959
Phone
REctor 2-5417
NEWS SERVICE
20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

CITES NEED FOR LEADERSHIP IN INTERRACIAL MOVEMENT

New York, December 11 - "When the Leaders lead, the battle is half won." This was the principal point stressed by George K. Hunton, executive secretary of the New York Catholic Interracial Council, in his year end summary of race relations, a t the Catholic Interracial forum here last night.

In summing up the events and achievments of 1959 in race relations, the long time advocate for interracial justice noted that all responsible Catholic leadership subscribes to the highest principles of interracial justice. "In a word it can be said that today in the Catholic area the ideological fight for interracial justice has been won, at least in the ranks of responsible Catholic leadership - clerical and lay. No one can question that today there are no Catholic educators, editors, sociologists or others in positions of leadership in other areas of American thought and life who do not wholly subscribe to the Catholic principles of interracial justice."

Mr. Hunton then stressed the importance and the need for these teachings to be carried down to the grass roots level in the neighborhood and the parish that they might, "influence the attitudes and practices of the Catholic laity."

In this respect he noted that "the recent 1959 statement of the hierarchy of the United States was a logical sequel to the statement of 1958, "in pointing out that our first domestic problem in America is that of racial injustice. The Bishop's statement against segregation of 1958, he added, had much of

its full impact in 1959 when it was widely publicized by both pulpit and press.

The year 1959, the speaker noted, also marked the observance of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the NAACP. Its New York convention was able to celebrate vital gains such as "the abolition of lynching; the enactment of fair employment legislation in states and cities; the end of the white primaries; the registration of Negroes throughout the South in state supported universities; the demise of the Jim-Crow policies in transportation and the integration of schools throughout the South."

This year the Catholic Interracial Council of New York also celebrated an anniversary: its 25th. Mr. Hunton traced the growth of the interracial movement through those 25 years to the present when 40 Catholic Interracial Councils are in existence or being planned across the country. "The Catholic Interracial Movement," he said, "is a demonstrated success."

"Today we can face the future with determination," Mr. Hunton concluded," and with confidence and courage, but there is no place or room for complacency or inaction."

1960

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey St., NYC

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
CONDEMNS DESECRATION OF SYNAGOGUES

New York, Jan. 4 -- The Catholic Interracial Council of New York today issued the following statement condemning the desecration of Jewish Temples:

Catholics will join with Mayor Wagner in condemning the recent desecration of "a religious institution as a shameful and cowardly act, deplored by people of all faiths as a violation of everything we hold dear."

These recent desecrations of Jewish Synagogues are assaults directed against the reverence due all places of worship.

We are confident that our citizens will not tolerate any outbreak of racism in our city. All of us hope that the perpetrators of these acts of vandalism will be apprehended and punished.

There can be no doubt that racial and religious bias and antagonism are epidemic and contagious. They spread from place to place and eventually threaten the security of all groups. All Americans have a common stake in combating this threat to our democracy.

1960

C A T H O L I C I N T E R R A C I A L C O U N C I L

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey St., NYC

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NAACP OFFICIAL HAILS
NAMING OF FIRST NEGRO
CARDINAL IN HISTORY

(N.C.W.C. News Service)

NEW YORK, March 5--An official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has hailed the action of His Holiness Pope John XXIII in naming the Church's first Negro cardinal.

The elevation to the cardinalate of Bishop Laurian Rugambwa of Rutabo, Tanganyika, "gives American Negroes a deep sense of pride and an abiding feeling of encouragement," Dr. Channing H. Tobias said in a cablegram to the Pope.

Dr. Tobias is chairman emeritus of the NAACP board of directors. He is a former member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. In 1951 he was received in audience at the Vatican by Pope Pius XII.

Meanwhile, other leaders in the interracial movement praised Bishop Rugambwa's appointment as an "act of wisdom and statesmanship," and "a striking demonstration of Church initiative and leadership."

In his message to Pope John, Dr. Tobias added: "Our good wishes to you and our commendations to the new Cardinal and his colleagues, including the first of Japanese and Filipino descent."

On March 3 Pope John named seven new cardinals, among them Archbishops Peter Tatsuo Doi of Tokyo and Rufino J. Santos of Manila, who are the first Japanese and Filipino cardinals.

Bishop Rugambwa, 47, is a native of Tanganyika, a United Nations trust territory scheduled to become self-governing next year. He speaks Kihaya, a Bantu language, as his native tongue, as well as Swahili, English and Italian.

Other leaders of the interracial movement have also joined in hailing Bishop Rugambwa's appointment.

(MORE)

Harold C. Fleming of Atlanta, Ga., executive director of the Southern Regional Council, declared that "the appointment of the first Negro cardinal is of signal importance throughout the world." He made the statement in a telegram to George K. Hunton, secretary of the New York Catholic Interracial Council.

"By this act," Mr. Fleming added, "the Catholic Church has given tangible recognition to the movement of history in our time. The rising status and dignity of the non-white peoples of the world and the newly emerging leadership on the continent of Africa will, for many, be symbolized by Cardinal Rugambwa."

"We join with hosts of others in gratification for this act of wisdom and statesmanship," he said.

Justice Francis E. Rivers of the New York City Court described the appointment as "a dramatic and courageous challenge to all racist dictators in Africa who strive ruthlessly to deny soul and dignity to human beings because of accident of birth."

"It is an inspiration to the struggle for freedom in Africa and in every other land," said Justice Rivers, a non-Catholic Negro who is a former assistant district attorney for New York County.

He said the Pope's action "is a striking demonstration of Church initiative and leadership in the world struggle for decency and justice."

---3-em dash---

File

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
PHONE NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey St.
REctor 2-5417 N.Y.C.

(The following news story was sent this week by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service to all Catholic papers and magazines)

FRANCISCAN INTERRACIAL
APOSTOLATE WILL BECOME
NATIONAL LAITY MOVEMENT

INDIANAPOLIS, Dec. 24--An interracial movement which began 12 years ago as a part-time activity of Franciscan seminarians will be expanded into a nationwide Catholic interracial organization.

The Franciscan Third Order throughout the United States will adopt the St. Benedict the Moor Apostolate for Interracial Charity as one of its projects, beginning February 1.

Since 1947 the St. Benedict Apostolate has been conducted by Franciscan Religious at Holy Name College, Washington, D.C. As a project of the Third Order--a lay organization--it will specialize in training laypeople in methods of promoting interracial justice, in accord with the statement of condemning racism issued by the U.S. Bishops in November 1958.

The apostolate is named for St. Benedict the Moor, a Franciscan Negro saint who died in 1589 and was canonized in 1807.

The changeover in direction of the apostolate was announced in a joint statement issued at the Third Order's national headquarters here by Father Philip Marquard, O.F.M., Third Order executive secretary, and Brother Roy M. Gasnick, O.F.M., of Holy Name College, Washington.

Under the direction of Franciscan seminarians, the movement has concentrated mainly on public relations and education. Spokesmen estimate that members have distributed more than 500,000 pieces of literature on racial justice in this country, Africa and India.

For the past 10 years, the St. Benedict the Moor Newsletter, giving information on the progress of the movement, has been published

quarterly. Its circulation is 3,500.

Father Marquard announced that two members of a new three-man lay board of directors for the apostolate have been named. They are Wally Roebuck, New York, and Francis Reilly, Indianapolis.

The apostolate's central headquarters will be located at the Third Order's center here. There are some 1,200 local fraternities of the Franciscan Third Order in the United States, with about 100,000 members.

One of the first activities of the St. Benedict Apostolate under the new organizational setup will be promotion of the "Prayer for Interracial Charity to St. Benedict the Moor," a prayer written especially to encourage laymen to be active in promoting racial justice.

The apostolate was founded at Holy Name College in 1947 by Brother--now Father--Dominic Coscia, O.F.M. Father Coscia is now serving as a missionary priest in Brazil.

Since then, the Franciscans have published pamphlets, leaflets, novena booklets, holy cards and prayer cards, and distributed these on behalf of the apostolate.

Growth in the size and scope of the movement forced the seminarians to conclude that they could no longer handle it adequately. The apostolate was brought to the attention of the executive board of the Third Order by Father Celsus R. Wheeler, O.F.M., Provincial of the Franciscan Holy Name province.

Last October 1 the board voted to adopt and expand the apostolate as a Third Order project.

The work of the apostolate will be complementary to that of the recently organized National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, which is made up of regional Catholic Interracial Councils of the U.S.

A STORY OF ACHIEVEMENT

•

"We confess that We feel a special paternal affection, which is certainly inspired of Heaven, for the Negro people dwelling among you; for in the field of religion and education We know that they need special care and comfort and are very deserving of it. We therefore invoke an abundance of heavenly blessing and We pray fruitful success for those whose generous zeal is devoted to their welfare."

POPE PIUS XII *"Sertum Latitiae"*

•

Catholic Interracial Council
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK CITY 7, N.Y.

"From the very beginning of its existence . . . the Catholic Church proclaimed the great truth that all men are equal, equal in their natural dignity, equal in their destiny, equal in the sight of the Creator, equal in their immortality, equal in the right to recognition by all their fellow-beings."

REV. THOMAS F. BURKE, C.S.P.,
American Civilization and the American Republic

•

"Nothing is so dangerous for a country as when a considerable number of men come up against a wall of despair of their future progress. Next to that is the danger when any considerable number of men get the idea that there is no opportunity. On the other hand, nothing makes a man work and strive like the open door of opportunity.. The importance of the idea of opportunity in American citizenship must be obvious."

A Program for Citizenship, issued by the National Catholic Welfare Conference

Additional copies of this pamphlet may be secured at the office of

Interracial Review

20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Catholic Interracial Council

A Story of Achievement

By THOMAS F. DOYLE

The Catholic Interracial Council, as its name implies, was organized to foster interracial justice in the light and spirit of Catholic teaching. It has become an integral and significant part of the ever-widening Catholic interracial movement. Its work has made such deep impress that increasingly questions are being asked: How did the Council come into existence? What is its program? What has it achieved? What prospects lie ahead?

The following story does not undertake to describe the full scope of the Catholic Interracial Movement. It does not attempt to treat of the age-long doctrine of the Church as to the equal dignity of all men, and the application of that doctrine to the social problems of our age. It simply narrates the work of a group of Catholic laymen who are seeking practical solutions of the most vexed problems in the field of race relations and ways and means to make the solutions known to the public at large.

The Church's teaching on the race question is clearly implied in the social Encyclicals of the Popes in our age, and has been explicitly stated in the most recent Papal utterances, in the writing of principal Catholic theologians and members of the American Hierarchy. However, there has been a singular lack of any organized effort either to make these teachings known or to bring them to bear on the concrete questions of our time and country. While Bishops, priests and religious have been devoted to the colored missions of this country, the complementary efforts by the Catholic laity at large have not been forthcoming. It is this that makes the work of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York City so distinctive. As a pioneer Catholic lay effort, its program and procedures are of immediate and practical interest to the growing number of the Catholic laity who are seeking practical ways and means to secure justice for racial minorities.

It has been the contention of the Council that the plight of the American Negro is an important national problem. It is not in any sense a Negro problem—it is an interracial problem. Solutions

must be found by the leaders of both races working together at a common task.

The Negro In America

Today there are 16,000,000 Negroes in America representing ten per cent of our population. They pay the same taxes, the same prices for food and clothes. They have willingly assumed all the responsibilities of citizenship.

Although equally entitled to share *ALL* the benefits and responsibilities, nevetheless, because of race prejudice, the Negro in the North and the South is denied many of the essential opportunities of life and the full measure of social justice. Today, there are many restrictions upon his right to work, his right to a living wage—a family living wage—and his right to membership in labor unions.

Residental segregation has become the tradition in all American cities, following the pattern of the South. This makes for higher rentals, overcrowded and unhealthy living conditions. Because of low family incomes Negro mothers are often obliged to work outside the home. Under these conditions, it is not to be wondered that Negro children, left without parental supervision, are the more easily lead into mischief, delinquency and crime. Nor is it strange that so many Negroes in all walks of life, young and old, are prone to racial despair.

Composed of Negro and white Catholics, the Catholic Interracial Council was established in 1934, under the patronage of the Negro Blessed Martin de Porres. Its mandate was fourfold: To spread the doctrine of the spiritual dignity of the human person and the universality of the Church; to apply this doctrine to race relations in America; to combat race prejudice; and to strive for equal justice for all.

The Council owes much of its inception to the Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. After fifteen years of missionary and educational work among both white and colored people in southern Maryland, Father LaFarge was transferred to New York City where he became Associate Editor and subsequently Editor-in-chief of *America*, national Catholic weekly. Out of his long contact with Negro needs, he developed a resolution to enlist laymen of both races in a crusade of genuine Catholic Action, to win justice for the Negro and to stamp out racial

evils harmful to the community as a whole. In a group of friends who had helped in his educational work, Father LaFarge found the nucleus of Catholic actionists needed to start an effective Catholic interracial program.

Interracial Center

The Council's headquarters are located in the Catholic Interracial Center at 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Here, in addition to administrative offices, is a spacious library, serving as reading room, conference and meeting hall, and exhibit room. Some hundreds of selected volumes of interracial interest and an extensive reference file —the Claver Index, a compilation of over 39,000 references on interracial topics—help to make the Center an invaluable information bureau for editors, writers, social workers, students and others seeking information.

Visitors to the Center are impressed when they learn that since its establishment, the Council has encouraged the organization of similar Councils in Detroit, Brooklyn, Chicago, St. Louis, Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, Syracuse, Hartford, Providence, New Orleans, Wilmington, Columbus, Richmond, Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, Saginaw, San Antonio, Greensboro, Raleigh, Charlotte, Durham, Rock Hill, N.C., New Haven, Springfield, Mass., and Lafayette, La., that it has aided in the formation of several intercollegiate interracial organizations throughout the Eastern States; that it has made feasible the issuance of what is probably the most notable Catholic statement on Negro employment ever made in this country.

The organization of the Council was preceded by the first interracial mass meeting ever staged by Catholic leaders in this country. At Town Hall, New York, on Pentecost Sunday, 1934, a resolution was adopted calling for the establishment of an interracial council.

An important incentive to this mass meeting and to the establishment soon after of the Catholic Interracial Council was the series of radio addresses, known as the Catholic Interracial Hour, delivered by white and Negro speakers over Station WLWL from 1932 to 1936.

The formal establishment of the Council was preceded by a course of study, conducted by Father LaFarge, of the more important aspects of the

interracial problem. It was necessary to decide what type of program—missionary, social service, or educational—the new Council should undertake.

The pendulum of argument swung definitely to a program of education; and that policy has been adhered to with rigid fidelity ever since. The first objectives of the Council were easily defined: to stimulate interest among Catholics in the problems of the Negro, and to solicit their active cooperation in helping to meet them; and to teach Negro Americans the truth concerning the Catholic Church and its teachings.

The Council's program seemed much too prosaic to stir excitement. There were no fireworks, no oratory, no huge public demonstrations. Few, even among Catholics, were aware that the Council even existed; fewer still had a clear idea of what it was all about. Only those who had come into intimate contact with the problems that are the daily burden of America's 16,000,000 Negroes realized that the very fact that such a movement was about to get under way was of profound significance.

The Spiritual Imperative

The Council knew well that it faced—as it still does—a tremendous task. But it had confidence in the single weapon it proposed to use in the battle for interracial justice—Catholic truth. Nor did it pretend that it was concerned only with the material aspect of what is so often wrongly described as the Negro problem rather than the joint problem of Negro and white.

Its challenge to American Catholics was one that ran counter to every argument based upon expediency. It insisted that the problem of race prejudice was inherently a moral issue. It refuted all pragmatic approaches to the race question, insisting that the demand for interracial justice came from a divine source.

Spreading The Truth

The Council undertook, not only through the columns of the *Interracial Review*, but also by keeping both the Negro and the Catholic press informed of what was taking place along the interracial front, to spread its message.

What the Council has done to increase Catholic understanding of the Negro's problem may be gauged from the fact that in the first eight years

the amount of space devoted to Negro-related discussions had increased 1,200 per cent. The impact of its work on the Negro press has been just as remarkable. Today all Negro papers, some of which formerly were critical of the Church and of individual Catholics, are decidedly friendly.

Unceasing efforts alone have made these results possible. It has been part of the Council's work to assist scores of Catholic writers and editors in the preparation of articles, pamphlets and books dealing with the Negro. Besides supplying full information on its own activities and those of other Catholic groups interested in the race question, it has publicized every statement by Catholic leaders bearing in any way upon the Negro's status. It gave wide circulation to the "Catholic Statement on Negro Employment" by 24 Catholic industrial and labor executives on May 15, 1942, who condemned the exclusion of Negroes from defense industries as "unjust, undemocratic" and "a serious threat to national unity."

Publicity, however, is far from being the only means employed by the Council in spreading the message of Catholic interracialism.

A large share of its educational work is carried on by a Speaker's Bureau, which supplies Negro and white Catholic speakers for other Catholic organizations, including scores of Catholic Action groups, sodalities, Holy Name Societies, and parish associations, as well as student groups in the majority of Catholic colleges in the metropolitan area. In 1952, 141 universities and colleges took part in the observance of "Interracial Justice Week in Catholic Colleges."

Weekly Forums

The bi-weekly forums set up in 1940 grew in popularity and two years later the Council decided to hold a forum each week throughout the year, winter and summer.These forums, held each Thursday from 6 to 7 p.m., are well attended regardless of the season or weather. The best speakers are secured and the forum dscussions are widely publicized, nationally in both the Catholic and Negro press.

The Council has organized and conducted a course of lectures for the Interracial Justice Committee of the Catholic Teachers' Association of Brooklyn, N.Y. At the School of Social Science, Fordham University, it introduced the first course

on social work in the Negro Community ever given in a white college. Through guest speakers, it has participated in national conventions of such Catholic organizations as the National Federation of Catholic Alumnae and the American Catholic Sociological Society.

Inaugurating interracial hearings at Catholic colleges, the Council has been responsible for a remarkable growth of interest among Catholic students in America's major race problem. Highly successful intercollegiate conferences have been held in New York, Brooklyn, Providence and Philadelphia. "These conferences," says Judge Harold A. Stevens, former president of the C.I.C., "have encouraged the belief that Catholic leadership in the future will be well equipped to approach racial issues in a truly Catholic and democratic spirit."

At its Center in Vesey Street, overlooking historic St. Peter's Church in Barclay Street, the Council conducts semi-monthly conferences, seminars and interracial discussions in which Negro and white Catholics from all walks of life participate. These gatherings, addressed by recognized experts of the two races in every branch of social, economic and educational endeavor, have helped to develop a broad understanding of race problems among Catholic men and women anxious to join in building a truly Christian social order in America.

Public Relations Program

Besides serving as a medium of information and publicity, the Council has carried out a sound program of public relations. It has established contacts with leading Negro editors and leaders and with Negro organizations. The Council cooperates on every possible occasion with other organizations, Negro and white, to promote interracial justice. The Council's ready advocacy of every constructive program to promote interracial cooperation and to improve the status of the Negro has long since won the friendship and respect of the great bulk of Negro leaders and organizations devoted to securing full democratic recognition for the race.

The study conference conducted by the Council, the spirit of cooperation it has shown in every effort by Negro and white groups to rectify injustices and to propound sound interracial doctrines have profoundly impressed many Negro

Americans who have believed that Catholics were not interested in the plight of the race. While suspicion and mistrust of the attitude of Catholics may occasionally exist among many Negroes, it must be conceded that so far as Negro leaders are concerned the Council has brought about a remarkable degree of interest and approval. The Council's name stands high among the agencies to which Negro leadership is ready to turn with complete confidence.

Communion Breakfasts

Symbolic of the Council's wholehearted dedication to interracial harmony and understanding is its participation with the Catholic Laymen's Union in a bi-monthly communion breakfast.

These breakfasts, addressed by representative Negro and white speakers on pertinent aspects of the race question, are preceded by a Community Mass in the chapel of St. Peter's Church—sometimes celebrated by a Negro priest—at which Negroes and whites kneel together in worship.

It is worth noting that inspiration for the founding of the John Boyle O'Reilly Committee for Interracial Justice came from a communion breakfast on St. Patrick's Eve, 1941, at which several distinguished Irish-Americans were present as guests. This group is unique in that it represents the first enlistment of any racial group, as such, in the fight to end anti-Negro discrimination.

The Interracial Review

An important undertaking of the Catholic Interracial Council is the publication of the *Interracial Review,* the only Catholic organ devoted exclusively to expounding the Christian theory and practice of interracial justice. Its roll of contributors includes many outstanding Catholic educators, writers and sociologists.

Scores of Catholic leaders have praised the magazine as an important contribution to Catholic Action in general and to the betterment of Negro conditions in particular. The well-known Negro editor, Elmer A. Carter, a non-Catholic, has endorsed it as "exerting a strong and salutary influence in the development of better race relations."

Outspoken in condemning efforts to spread pre-

judice in America, the *Review* has emphasized the point that "all types of prejudice are inter-related." It has conducted editorial campaigns against the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion, against the poll-tax laws and against discriminations against the Negro in war industries and in the Armed Services.

The policy of the *Review* is not only to expose and condemn the social injustices inflicted on the Negro, but to demonstrate the progress already made in remedying these evils.

Negro Accomplishments

It has consistently underscored the achievements of individual Negroes and the progress of the race generally, pointing out how remarkable these accomplishments are in view of the handicaps that Negroes commonly meet, and insisting that only attitudes of blind folly and baseless prejudice are keeping the country from enjoying to the full the rich contribution the Negro is prepared to make in a better and more democratic America.

Opportunities Abound

It has brought about an ever-growing interest among white Catholics in the problems confronting the Negro community. It has encouraged Catholic lay leadership to deal effectively with these problems.

Surely, golden opportunities for this work lie ahead. The Council's pioneer efforts will appear meager in contrast with what may be achieved during the next ten years. Among these opportunities are: developing of outstanding lay leaders, both white and Negro, to promote the interracial movement; extending the principles of fair employment practices among employers; enlisting the understanding interest of Catholics in public life in the welfare of the disadvantaged Negro group; expanding the programs of Catholic Youth and Boy Scout Organizations; enlisting the interest of Catholic labor leaders in integration and interracial justice; working for both residential and educational integration.

Today, with racism a world issue, there is every justification for intensifying the Catholic program for interracial justice. On the basis of its record the Catholic Interracial Council should continue to have the support of Catholics everywhere.

Catholic Interracial Council

PURPOSE: "To promote in every practicable way, relations between the races based on the Christian principles of interracial justice and charity which uphold the God-given dignity and destiny of every person."

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Publishers of

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

A Journal For Christian Democracy

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY

"Christian Democracy rejects artificial inequalities due to racial myths, material greed or physical violence and recognizes only such accidental inequalities as necessarily accompany human life at all times and in all places.

"As the objective of the Catholic interracial program, we define Christian Democracy as a society in which the God-given dignity and destiny of every human person is fully recognized, in laws, government, institutions and human conduct."

—Declaration of Principles, *Interracial Review*

The INTERRACIAL REVIEW is published monthly at

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N.Y.

Ten cents per copy — One dollar per year

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Catholic Interracial Council

20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK CITY 7, N. Y.

The Catholic Interracial Center

Established by the Clergy Conference on Negro Welfare under the patronage of Blessed Martin de Porres, O.P., in order to promote . . .

- The Catholic Program of Interracial Justice through helping to educate the public in the Christian principles of

  the spiritual dignity of the human person and the universality of the Church; and

in APPLICATION of these principles to race relations; and thereby

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Reproduction of panel at Catholic Interracial Center

"BACK OF OLD ST. PETER'S"

THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL CENTER

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20 Vesey Street,
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A Catholic Program for Interracial Justice

America's so-called race problem is, at its roots, a moral problem. It presents to Catholics in all parts of the nation a challenge and an opportunity to translate doctrine into action.

Catholic Interracial Councils in 26 dioceses invite the cooperation of their fellow Catholics. The Catholic Interracial Council of New York offers the following program for your interest and participation.

WEEKLY FORUMS: Every Thursday evening throughout the year, except holydays and holidays from 6 to 7 o'clock. Speakers on all phases of race relations and social action. All welcome. Announcements mailed weekly to interested persons.

COMMUNION BREAKFASTS: Held bi-monthly beginning in October. Notices will be sent to interested persons.

LITERATURE: Pamphlets, leaflets, reprints are available in reasonable quantities for free distribution.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL CENTER: Our Center is also the headquarters for the Alumni Race Relations Council, and the John Boyle O'Reilly Committee for Interracial Justice. Information on these groups may be obtained through the Center.

INTERRACIAL REVIEW: Monthly journal of Christian democracy. Authoritative news and comment on race relations at home and abroad. Ten cents a copy. One dollar a year.

HOEY AWARDS: James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice presented annually to a white and colored Catholic lay person for outstanding contributions to interracial understanding.

CONFERENCES: Staff members are available to conduct group discussions on interracial justice at Council headquarters or other locations.

RESEARCH FACILITIES: Available 9:30 to 5:30 weekdays. Evenings and Saturdays by special arrangement.

CLAVER INDEX: Bibliography of 40,000 entries on race relations.

LIBRARY: Current and standard works on race relations. Reports, statistics, pamphlets.

CONSULTATION: With staff members on various aspects of race relations. Information to religious and secular press. Assistance in the preparation of theses, articles, talks etc.

SPEAKERS' BUREAU: Well-informed speakers on interracial topics for meetings, breakfasts, etc.

Contributions to the Catholic Interracial Council are tax exempt.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF NEW YORK

Catholic Interracial Center
20 Vesey St., New York 7, N.Y.

We invite inquiries relative to the establishment of Interracial Councils

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CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

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NEWS SERVICE

EDUCATIONAL INTEGRATION IN BELGIAN CONGO, AFRICA

A class of the first primary year of the Sacred Heart Academy (a Catholic school) at Kalina, Leopoldville, Belgian Congo.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

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N.Y.C.

News Service

PRIEST-SOCIOLOGIST STRESSES
ACTIVE PARISH LIFE

New York, Oct. 11 -- "The Catholic parish is a great potential force for bringing the teachings of Christ to the solution of community problems," was the opinion delivered to the Catholic Interracial Forum here last night by the Rev. Joseph P. Schuyler, S.J.

Father Schuyler, who holds a doctorate in sociology from Fordham University and who has devoted himself to Parish Sociology, pointed out that a parish includes not only the priest, religious and faithful of an area, but all the people within its territory.

"Through parish activities and the individual lives of informed parishioners the principles of Christianity should be brought into the marketplace," said Father Schuyler. "And through the mutual appreciation of each person's role in the parish and by according primacy to the Church's basic precepts of love for God and man, the parish can achieve its ideal of being a powerful force for the good of the community." He noted that recent papal pronouncements called not only for the Christianization of individuals, but of social institutions as well.

Father Schuyler expressed strong hope for parishes in growing suburbia. He said this hope was based on the youth of its parishioners, their fresh approach to parish problems and the desire of many suburbanites to create a vital community with opportunity for meaningful associations.

Commenting on the Catholic College graduate and the parish, Father Schuyler urged active participation by the graduate and a realistic utilization of his talents to insure a vital parish life.

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CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

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News Service

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

SOUTHERN INTERRACIAL LEADER
PREDICTS TRIUMPH OF INTEGRATION

New York, Oct. 25 -- Voicing complete assurance in the emergence of an integrated society on the South, Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga., cited the influence of the three major religious bodies as a prime factor in the progress made toward that goal to date. Mr. Fleming spoke last night at the weekly forum of the Catholic Interracial Council.

He paid special tribute to the Leadership, cleric and lay, of the Catholic Church in the South, characterizing it as "forthright and courageous pace-setting". Mr. Fleming named Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel, of New Orleans; Archbishop-Bishop Gerald P. O'Hara, of Atlanta; the Right Rev. Monsignor T. James McNamara, Dean of Savannah; and Paul Williams, co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, as representative of militant action for human and civil rights for all races and classes.

"The Catholic Church in the South is a relatively small religious group," he said, "but it has had a very large impact on social action."

In his analysis of the background of the present integration crisis, Mr.Fleming discussed three major causes: Industrialization and urbanization of the South since World War II, with its attendant upheaval of population; the emergence of a spectacular, new self-image in the Negro population--who they are, what they want, where they are going; and the outbreak of aggrieved and uncertain apprehension among white Southerners, arising from the gradual realization of the passing of their outmoded political and social structure.

"All these add to a tremendous revolution", Mr. Fleming continued. "The white South feels that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 tends to destroy their central psychological point of reference--their identity as white Southerners. It is upsetting a cherished social and political institution based on the subordination of the Negro. There is a consequent sense of loss among white Southerners, a loss which finds outlet in such incidents as that at Little Rock. It is comparable to the emotional state resulting in a Levittown."

Mr. Fleming praised such organizations as the Catholic Interracial Councils, which strive to compensate that sense of anxious loss by "religious belief, conviction and commitment." Such groups, he said, are helping tip the balance toward an "ultimate and inevitable integrated society."

"Despite recent negative developments and misuses of power and authority," he concluded," we of the South have no question about the final outcome. Governmental or private forces may retard and change the manner of attaining the end, but not the end itself. Pressures toward integration are so many, so strong and so powerful that Southern leaders will be forced to abandon all other objectives and to come to terms with the issues involved in integration."

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

Rector 2-5427 20 Vesey St.
News Service N.Y.C.

RESOLUTION

New York, Jan. 10 - The following Resolution was adopted at the Forum of the Catholic Interracial Council held here today.

"We view with alarm the emergence of the pattern of the Klan in the form of the unhooded White Citizens Councils presently spreading a reign of terror in the South.

"We believe that American citizens in other parts of the country would make a grave mistake if they regard the White Citizens Council as solely a local problem of the South and would fail to realize that this fascist group poses an immediate threat to minority groups in other parts of the country.

"Today the Citizens Councils are repeating the course of the old KKK which, in the beginning, was organized to intimidate and arrest the progress of the American Negro. It soon became anti-Catholic, and anti-Jewish and within two years migrated to the North and mid-west.

"We recall that in the heyday of the Klan, in the 1920's, it was strongly organized in the suburban area of New York and solidly entrenched in the state of Indiana. Everywhere its victims were Catholics and Jews as well as Negroes.

WE BELIEVE THEREFORE, that Americans everywhere should recognize that the White Citizens Councils, in launching a campaign of hatred, violence and intimidation in the South, presents a threat to our democratic way of life and to the peace and security of American citizens in other parts of the Nation. This is not a local problem. It is a national problem and one that should challenge the attention and interest of Americans everywhere."

The Resolution was offered by George K. Hunton, executive secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York and seconded by David Hyatt, Public Relations Director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and unanimously adopted.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

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WORK FOR HOUSING INTEGRATION,
COMMUNION BREAKFAST SPEAKER URGES

New York, Nov. 20 -- Catholics have the strongest motivation for the elimination of racial segregation in housing, John McDermott, housing specialist of the Philadelphia Human Relations Commission declared here today.

Addressing the joint communion breakfast of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York and the Catholic Laymens' Union, Mr. McDermott said that this motivation springs from "the very Catholicity and inclusiveness of the Church based on fundamental philosophical and theological grounds."

"Catholic parishes are very often the strongest institutions in many racially-changing neighborhoods and are, therefore, best able to give effective leadership in calming fears, preventing panic selling, countering unscrupulous real estate tactics and promoting friendly relations," he said.

Because Catholic dioceses usually extend beyond city limits into the suburbs, paralleling to some extent the community housing market, the diocese "is in a very sound position to effect the whole evil of racial discrimination in housing," Mr. McDermott stated.

"The church has never hesitated to teach her doctrine because of opposition or reluctance on the part of her hearers within or without the Church," Mr. McDermott declared. This "fearless teaching tradition," he called a "precious asset to the interracial apostolate, especially in housing."

"The goal and hope of Negroes is to be accepted as a full equal, an individual, a person, a fellowman. Today this goal means to be accepted as a neighbor," Mr. McDermott said.

"An effective dynamic interracial apostolate in housing could very well become the bridge, the most fruitful medium, for the Church's mission to non-Catholic Negroes," he said.

The breakfast, held at the student lounge of the downtown branch of Fordham University, followed Mass at Old St. Peter's Church on Barclay Street.

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CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

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AFL-CIO MERGER BOON TO MINORITIES
NEGRO LABOR LEADER TELLS CATHOLIC FORUM

New York, Nov. 18 -- The forthcoming merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations was hailed here by a Negro labor leader as a boon to workers who are members of minority groups.

Benjamin F. McLaurin, national field organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, told the Catholic Interracial Forum:

"I think the rights of Negro workers will be better protected, and I believe Negroes can look forward to real representation in policy making, under the merger."

"I am happy that we are going to have a full-scale committee on civil rights," he said.

Indicating that there are "still a number of unions with color bars," Mr. McLaurin said: "No organization ought to be granted affiliation in the merged movement that does not give full membership to Negro workers."

Mr. McLaurin is chairman of the board of the National Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice, a body composed of Negro and white representatives from both CIO and AFL unions. Meeting in this city last weekend, the NTUCRJ endorsed the labor union merger and called upon the new body to continue vigorous action for civil rights in labor and in the community. It called for the elimination of communism, corruption and racism from labor movements at home and abroad.

In sections of the South, the white working man "finds himself without security," Mr. McLaurin stated. "This indicates the greater problems that Negro workers must face and is a reason why all ought to be concerned and interested in the general welfare of the labor movement."

"Working together we can see to it that not only do we have security for white workers but security for all workers. I think the unity program can secure that kind of thing for all American working people," Mr. McLaurin said. ###

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

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NEWSLETTER VOLUME I, NUMBER I MARCH, 1960

NATIONAL MEETING OF CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCILS TO BE HELD IN AUGUST IN ST. LOUIS

The Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis will host the first official meeting of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, August 25-27, 1960. Patron for the meeting of the 41 Catholic Interracial Councils of the United States will be Most Reverend Joseph E. Ritter, Archbishop of St. Louis.

St. Louis University has made available its facilities for the meeting, and arrangements are being made by the St. Louis Council to keep the meeting cost down to around $25 per person. National Conference board member, Miss Dorothy Mattingly, of St. Louis, will serve as Convention Chairman for this second meeting of the Catholic Interracial Councils. Mr. Elsworth Evans, new president of the St. Louis CIC will serve as co-chairman.

In August, 1958, the Catholic Interracial Councils met for the first time in Chicago, and appointed a committee to study and plan a form of closer association among the Councils which would help improve their work, and increase their impact on the interracial problem in this country. This Committee recognized the national character of the American racial difficulties, and founded the National Conference. To date 40 Catholic Interracial Councils have joined the Conference.

See p. 2: August Meeting

NATIONAL CONFERENCE GIVEN TAX EXEMPTION - CONTRIBUTIONS NOW DEDUCTIBLE FROM YOUR INCOME TAX FIRST YEAR'S BUDGET SET AT $30,000

The Internal Revenue Service of the Federal Government has given the National Conference a tentative determination letter stating that contributions to the work of the Conference are tax deductible.

At its November meeting, the Board of Directors approved a budget of $30,000 for a first year of operation.

Contributions of any size are needed and should be sent to the National Conference at 21 West Superior, Chicago 10, Illinois.

The first contribution to the National Conference was made by the Knights of Peter Claver.

TWO NEWEST CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCILS

The CIC's of Stamford-Norwalk and of Northern Virginia were recently formed and raise the number of Catholic Interracial Councils in the U.S. to 41. Presidents and Chaplains of the two youngest Councils are: Joseph A. Keehan, Chairman, Stamford-Norwalk CIC, 80 High Clare Drive, Stamford, Con....Rev. John P. McNerney, Chaplain, Strawberry Hill, Stamford, Conn....Mr. John Phoenix, President, CIC of Northern Virginia, 2921 S. 18th Street, Arlington, Vir-

See p. 2: New CICs

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. (New York) OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) BOARD: Edmund J. Bradley (Indianapolis), Rev. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse), Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago), Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F. (Washington, D.C.), Dennis Clark (Philadelphia), Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore), Lloyd Davis (Chicago), William T. Greenwood (Little Rock), George K. Hunton (New York), Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee), William McCoy (Portland), Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia), Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston), Frances I. Nally (Toledo), Guichard Parris (New York), Very Rev. Harold R. Perry, S.V.D. (Bay St. Louis), Francis C. Shane (Pittsburgh), Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr. (Chicago), Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio), Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego), Paul D. Williams (Richmond)
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann (Chicago)

AUGUST MEETING

The August, 1960 meeting of the CIC's will have special workshops on Council work covering activities in the areas of employment, housing and neighborhood life, school desegregation, civil rights. There will be clinics on how to organize and run Catholic Interracial Councils, public relations, fund raising. Special sessions are planned on techniques of increasing adult education work and on school and youth education programs.

Special sessions are planned for clerical and lay leaders from the South, and the Conference expects a large number of Southern Catholics will participate in the meeting.

Though any number of persons can take part in the August meeting, each Catholic Interracial Council member of the National Conference will have three official delegates at the meeting to plan the work of the Conference and to elect a board of directors. There will be a special session for the Council Delegate members on Sunday, August 28. The new Board of Directors will meet on Sunday also.

Plans for the first meeting of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice were set at a November meeting of the Board of Directors. The meeting will be geared to the needs of the CICs and will provide for maximum discussion and planning.

Inquiries about the meeting can be addressed to the Conference Chairman at the Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis, 5017 Northland, St. Louis 13, Missouri.

NEW CICs

ginia....Rev. John J. McMahon, Chaplain, Saint James Rectory, 905 Park Avenue, Falls Church, Virginia.

The Stamford-Norwalk Council has undertaken a poll of Catholic opinion on interracial situations. Some of the results are: 72% of the respondents said they felt that not enough was being taught from the pulpit on the Church's position on integration; 39% said they thought integration was going too slowly; 19% too fast; 22% were satisfied with the present pace; 50% of the respondents had reservations about integration of housing.

EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY FORMED

At a meeting in Raleigh, N.C., a group of Episcopalians recently formed the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

Officers are: John V.P. Lassoe of New York, president; Mr. Lassoe is Executive Secretary of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. Rev. Joseph A. Pelham of Detroit, vice president; Mrs. L. Lee Hicks of Austin, Texas, secretary; Dr. Luther H. Foster of Tuskeegee, Alabama, treasurer. Rev. John B. Morris of Atlanta, Georgia, serves as executive director.

Father John LaFarge, S.J., Honorary Chaplain of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, has issued a statement of congratulations to the group on its formation. Father LaFarge said improved racial relations "is a cause in which all religious bodies can work together for the common goal of charity and justice."

NOTES ON HOUSING

The Catholic Interracial Council of Brooklyn has called on New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and legislative leaders to adopt fair housing practices legislation. The Council's work against discrimination in private housing has the support of 17 other Catholic lay organizations.

Members of the Catholic Interracial Council of Detroit recently took part in a clinic on open occupancy housing. Members of this Council are active in The Michigan Coordinating Council on Civil Rights to obtain fair housing legislation.

National Conference President, Dr. John O'Connor of Bethesda, Md., is on the National Advisory Board of Modern Community Developers, a builder of interracial housing developments. Information on Modern Community Developers can be secured from Morris Milgram, president, 84 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey. MCD has several completed projects in New Jersey and near Philadelphia. Several other developments underway include one in Deerfield, Illinois, suburb of Chicago, where tremendous community opposition has developed. The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago has been active in educational work in Deerfield.

Twin Cities Catholic Interracial Council is taking part in a Fact-Finding Workshop on discrimination in housing on March 19. The meeting called by the Greater Minneapolis Interfaith Housing Program is to help make possible more cooperation and planning among groups working for the elimination of segregation in housing and neighborhood life. James K. Luger is Chairman of the Open Occupancy Committee of the Twin Cities CIC.

A member of the Philadelphia Catholic Interracial Council, Dennis Clark, is head of the housing department of the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations. The Philadelphia Commission is the first public agency in the country to announce a policy of encouraging and offering assistance to Negroes to move into previously all-white areas.

Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, D.C., in a sermon on the occasion of the 80th birthday of Father John LaFarge, S.J. said: "To the Christian the racial apostolate is not a cause in the abstract sense. It is not even a quest for justice in the abstract. It is profound Christian love for our unfortunate neighbor....This attitude makes a profound difference in our approach to racial problems. Negroes are no longer just a cause, in which we choose sides and seek to exterminate the enemy. They are our brethern in Christ. When a Negro family moves into our neighborhood, Christ has come into our midst. We welcome them as we welcome Him....the zealous follower of Christ will not be content only with the slow and tedious task of forming community attitudes and policies. He will always be on the alert to seize opportunities of personal aid to the unfortunate and for direct works of compassion. Perhaps he can lead in welcoming the first Negro family to move into a previously white neighborhood."

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The University of California Press is publishing the studies and reports of the Commission on Race and Housing. First off the press is an excellent book by Dr. Luigi Laurenti: Property Values and Race. Through extensive studies in Oakland, Philadelphia, Chicago, Kansas City, Detroit, San Francisco and Portland, Dr. Laurenti, a professor of economics at the University of California, Berkely, demonstrates that entry of nonwhites into a previously all white neighborhood resulted in price improvement much more often than price weakening....Also off the press: Housing and Minority Groups by Nathan Glazer and Davis McEntire; Privately Developed Interracial Housing, by Eunice and George Grier. Yet to come is the final report of the Commission on Race and Housing.

Well worth reading: The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, 709 S. Westnedge, Kalamazoo, Michigan has published an excellent, brief study of racially mixed neighborhoods in Kalamazoo. Sections on property values, neighborhood attitudes and reactions. A good little study. Available free from the Upjohn Institute.

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The CIC of Providence, Rhode Island, has a Home Finding Committee to aid relocation from slum and highway clearance areas. This program, headed by committee Chairman

George Lima, is also used as an attempt to make available homes for Negroes in heretofor all white areas. The Providence Council reports little success to date, but they have interviewed a large number of landlords, who have never before given thought to selling or renting to Negroes.

NOTES ON SCHOOLS WORK:

On Saturday, March 12, the Detroit Catholic Interracial Council held its annual High School Human Relations Institute day. A number of CICs have educational programs carried on within the framework of Diocesan school systems. These programs always provide opportunities for interracial contact between students. A number of Councils also have scholarship programs used as a means to help integrate Catholic schools, and to provide minority group students with an opportunity for top-notch Catholic education which they might not be able to afford. In addition to paying for scholarships, some Councils stimulate Catholic high schools to grant free scholarships to minority group students through the CIC.

The Catholic Interracial Council of Brooklyn was active last fall in making possible the transfer of Negro pupils from overcrowded Brooklyn public schools to largely white under-utilized schools in Queens.

Southern School News has reported that Catholic schools in 8 southern states are integrated.

The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago is sponsoring its 7th annual Midwest College Conference on Human Relations, March 25-26-27. The Chicago CIC expects 300 student and faculty leaders from 45 or 50 midwest colleges and universities to attend the three day conference. Theme: "Migration to Cities: Minorities in Perspective." Leading papers are being given by Dr. John Kane, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Notre Dame University; Dr. Arnold Rose, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of Minnesota. Main speakers include Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois; Dr. Frederick Routh, Director of the Michigan State FEPC; Mr. Donald Thorman, managing editor of Ave Maria and President of the National Catholic Social Action Conference. The meeting will treat of problems of discrimination in housing, employment, public accommodations, higher education....

RANDOM NOTES

National Conference Board member John Nelson, of New Orleans, teaches a course on interracial relations at the Institute of Social and Industrial Relations connected with Loyola University of New Orleans.

The Twin Cities CIC has an American Indian Committee working on problems of the integration of Indians into the life of the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

The Catholic Interracial Council of Wilmington, Delaware has reprinted in pamphlet form Father George H. Dunne's "The Sin of Segregation." In a preface to the pamphlet Most Reverend Edmond J. FitzMaurice, Bishop of Wilmington states: "I believe there is a positive obligation upon all of us, including the State, to eliminate unjust discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations and to protect in these matters those who are least able to help themselves...let there be no misunderstanding, discriminatory actions on the part of Catholics are contrary to the teaching of the Church and may well serve as a source of serious scandal. The teaching of the Catholic Church on this issue is clear and certain; individual Catholics, lay and religious, have not only the obligation to accept that teaching but to carry it out in practice."

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

A Statement of Intention: Report of the National Interim Committee of the First National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

We establish a National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice to meet the challenge of interracial relations in the life of the Mystical Body and in our communities here and in other parts of the world.

We are formed of representatives from the Catholic Interracial Councils, dedicated to work for justice and charity in interracial relations.

We will work to implement the principles found in the doctrine of the Church and in the traditions of the American democratic life.

We emphasize the autonomy of local operations of the Catholic Interracial Councils, and establish this Conference because we recognize the mutual concern for each of the Councils in all the parts of our Country, and their common interest in the general Catholic interracial movement.

We take upon ourselves the following tasks:

1. To enunciate the philosophy of the Catholic interracial movement and to relate this philosophy to decisive issues of the day.

2. To encourage the Councils to develp courageous programs, to address their activities to their civic community as well as to their fellow Catholics, and to cooperate with all responsible community organizations in constructive work on problems of human relations.

3. To serve as a clearing house and channel of communication for all existing Councils, and thus to assist mutually in growth and development.

4. To make literature, program aids, technical skills and consultation available to local Councils.

5. To encourage and assist in the creation of new Catholic Interracial Councils.

6. To represent the cause of interracial justice at the national and international meetings of other Catholic organizations, as well as other organizations in the field of human relations and civil rights.

7. To establish relationships and share our experience of years with organizations and movements in other parts of the world, and to participate in endeavors to secure world wide interracial justice.

8. To plan for annual or biannual national meetings of Council representatives.

The Indiana Catholic and Record, paper of the Diocese of Indianapolis, has complained that the society pages of daily newspapers slight the Negro community.

The Race Relations Committee of the Detroit Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women has been holding a series of interracial programs throughout the Archdiocese of Detroit. The Wage Earner of Detroit reported that the plan followed the resolution adopted by the first national meeting of Catholic Interracial Councils that "parish instruction on interracial justice be carried on with regularity and vigor." Those interested in programs for their own Dioceses may contact Mrs. Hope Brophy, committee chairman.

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Bishop Albert L. Fletcher of Little Rock has asked Catholics of his diocese to take the Catholic Teaching on Race Relations "as applicable here in our state" for a topic of special study during Lent.

"Peaceful, just and charitable race relations must fundamentally be accomplished by a meeting of the minds and hearts on the basis of truth," Bishop Fletcher said in a pastoral letter. "Furthermore, race relations, in order to be lasting and satisfactory, must begin in ourselves. To be in this way is a civic and moral obligation of every citizen....There is need of a positive approach by men of good will."

******

A new Journal of Intergroup Relations is being published by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. The first volume, winter 59-60, carries some of the papers given at the NAIRO meeting last Fall. NAIRO's fall meeting, a decade ahead look at human relations problems, and the papers are well worth reading. Lloyd Davis of Chicago was program chairman for the fall NAIRO meeting. The Journal is published at 426 West 58th Street, New York, New York. Quarterly; $6.00 per year; $1.75 per issue. Catholic Interracial Council members are eligible to join NAIRO, which is the professional association of intergroup relations workers and board personnel.

National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Not for Profit Organization

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.S.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Form 3547 Requested

14-1-60

JC - For our mailing list?

HCA

PRESS RELEASE

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior St.
Chicago 10, Illinois

DE-7-1025 FOR RELEASE: Immediately

The following story should be released with a Washington, D.C. dateline. It is being released through our office here, at the request of Dr. John J. O'Connor of Washington, D.C., Chairman of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Int list

Washington, D.C. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice today stated its support for the "right of Negro Americans to protest unjust treatment accorded them." The Conference referred to the student protest movement now going on in a number of southern states.

Dr. John J. O'Connor of Washington, D.C., Chairman of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice issued the statement, and also said that the Conference "would back the suggestion of President Eisenhower that interracial conferences be created in every southern community to resolve difficult interracial problems."

The text of the statement on the student protest movement follows:

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice supports the right of Negro Americans to protest unjust treatment accorded them. We look upon the new movement of protest in some of our states as bespeaking a healthy consciousness among Negroes of their dignity as human persons. As put so aptly by one: "We want a treatment for our persons which at least equals the treatment given our dollars."

The past two months Americans have been witness to a new movement of student protest which indicates forcefully the change occurring in our patterns of race relations. The student protest movement which began in Greensboro, N.C., in early February has already prompted business and other leaders of the affected states to begin private dis cussions to resolve the patterns of discrimination which are at the root of such demonstrations. Fortunately, to date, the action of most police

departments in the South has been of the highest quality, in an attempt to maintain law and order.

We recognize that no one has a moral right to discriminate against a Negro because of his race. It is unfortunate that Negroes are forced into boycott and protest as a means to gain and safeguard the respect and rights due any human being.

The human relations problems of our southern states are serious, as they are in the North, and they call for frankness and hard work to resolve. The current protest movement should clearly demonstrate to all clear-headed Americans that movements of restriction by legislation or by police action or by more violent methods only avoid and make more difficult the institution of those just relationships necessary to a continuation of our democracy.

All of our citizens in all of our states must learn from these events that we have to find methods of according to each of us our rights as human persons, and an opportunity to move freely through our society on the basis of our individual merit. It will be hard work; the distance before us is long. But together we will do it.

end

VIA AIR MAIL

August 8, 1960

Mr. Matthew Ahmann
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Ahmann:

Thank you for your letter and the tentative agenda and program of the St. Louis meeting. I shall be glad to serve as a resource person for the workshop on the South.

Ordinarily, I prefer to speak from notes rather than a prepared text. If I should have an opportunity to do a mansucript in time, I will be glad to send you an advance copy.f

I will appreciate your reserving accommodations for the night of August 25. Since I am likely to arrive quite late, perhaps a hotel room would be best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
DELAWARE 7-1025

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RECTOR 2-5417

Chicago, Illinois
July 28, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a copy of the tentative agenda and program of our meeting. We are still working on several weaknesses and gaps. In addition to the people listed on the program to date, there will be others you will undoubtedly know. You will note that we have taken the liberty of listing you as a resource person for the workshop on the South, in addition to listing your talk.

If you plan to use a text for your talk, would it be possible for us to secure a copy by the 15th or 20th of August?

Do you wish me to reserve a hotel room, or dorm space for you?

Sincerely yours,

Mathew Ahmann

Mathew Ahmann

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. (New York) OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) BOARD: Edmund J. Bradley (Indianapolis), Rev. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse), Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago), Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F. (Washington, D.C.), Dennis Clark (Philadelphia), Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore), Lloyd Davis (Chicago), William T. Greenwood (Little Rock), George K. Hunton (New York), Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee), William McCoy (Portland), Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia), Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston), Frances I. Nally (Toledo), Guichard Parris (New York), Very Rev. Harold R. Perry, S.V.D. (Bay St. Louis), Francis C. Shane (Pittsburgh), Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr. (Chicago), Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio), Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego), Paul D. Williams (Richmond)
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann (Chicago)

Reviewed Aug. 15

June 8, 1960

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Ahmann:

Your invitation to speak to the national meeting of the Catholic Interracial Councils of the United States is greatly appreciated. I accept with pleasure.

As the time of the meeting approaches, I will appreciate any further information and guidance you may care to give me.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
DELAWARE 7-1025

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RECTOR 2-5417

Chicago, Illinois
June 6, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
6363 Auburn, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Catholic Interracial Councils of the United States will hold their first national meeting since the formation of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, August 25 - 28, 1960. The meeting will be hosted by the Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis, and held on the campus of St. Louis University, St. Louis Missouri

I'm happy to be joining with the program committee in inviting you to address the meeting in the early afternoon, Friday, August 26, on the South today. Your speech will proceed an extensive workshop on the activity of Catholic people in the South, and we hope you will be able to sit in on that workshop also, as well as any of the rest of the meeting you like. We are making a special effort to invite Catholic priests and laymen from the South. We are also asking Rev. John Morris of the Episcopal Society of Racial and Cultural Unity and Rev. Will Campbell to sit in on the workshop with us.

We sincerely hope it will be possible for you to share with us the experience of your work with the Southern Regional Council, and your broad vision on the South and interracial relations.

Sincerely yours,

Mathew Ahmann

Mathew Ahmann

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. (New York) OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) BOARD: Edmund J. Bradley (Indianapolis), Rev. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse), Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago), Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F. (Washington, D.C.), Dennis Clark (Philadelphia), Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore), Lloyd Davis (Chicago), William T. Greenwood (Little Rock), George K. Hunton (New York), Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee), William McCoy (Portland), Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia), Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston), Frances I. Nally (Toledo), Guichard Parris (New York), Very Rev. Harold R. Perry, S.V.D. (Bay St. Louis), Francis C. Shane (Pittsburgh), Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr. (Chicago), Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio), Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego), Paul D. Williams (Richmond)
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann (Chicago)

MF -

Please put this with the corresp about my part in the St. Louis meeting in Aug.

H. Ahmann

file Matthews Catholic "gen"

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
5017 Northland Ave.
St. Louis 13, Missouri

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

ST. LOUIS
19-60

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. S.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Segregation in our country has led to oppressive conditions and the denial of basic human rights for the Negro . . . These problems are vital and urgent. May God give this nation the grace to meet the challenge it faces. For the sake of generations of future Americans, and indeed of all humanity, we cannot fail.

—The Catholic Bishops of the United States, November, 1958

You are invited . . .

NATIONAL MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCILS

St. Louis, Missouri

August 25, 26, 27, and 28, 1960

HOST: Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis

PATRON: Most Reverend Joseph E. Ritter, Archbishop of St. Louis

COST: $25.00

PRE-REGISTRATION DEADLINE: August 15, 1960

The 1960 meeting of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is being held on the campus of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri. This is the first meeting of the Catholic Interracial Councils since the founding of their National Conference.

The meeting will begin early Thursday evening, August 25, and sessions will run through Saturday evening, August 27. A special meeting of appointed delegates from Catholic Interracial Councils will be held on Sunday, August 28.

Talks on work for interracial justice in parishes and neighborhoods . . . Interracial Relations, a World Wide Movement . . . the relationship between discrimination in areas of housing, employment, civil rights and education. A specal sermon will be preached at a Pontifical Mass which Archbishop Ritter will celebrate.

(*over*)

Send your check and registration, or write for further information to

Miss Dorothy Mattingly, Convention Chairman
Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis
5017 Northland
St. Louis 13, Missouri

Dear Miss Mattingly:

Enclosed is my check, or money order, to cover the costs (checked on back) of the meeting of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice this August 25-28.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY ZONE STATE

ORGANIZATION

Catholic Interracial Councils all over the United States are committed to the cause of interracial justice. They believe that effective education, as well as interracial communication and friendship, is absolutely necessary to solve interracial problems.

The Catholic Interracial Councils founded the **NATIO JUSTICE** *as an educational organization to serve and help the North as well as the South.*

- **The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is dedicated to work for justice and charity in interracial relations. It seeks to implement the principles found in the doctrine of the Catholic Church and in the traditions of the American democratic life.**

- **The National Conference serves as a clearing house and channel of communication for all existing Catholic Interracial Councils.**

- **The Conference makes literature, program aids, technical skills and consultation available to local CICs and other interested groups.**

- **The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice encourages and helps develop courageous and practical educational programs on the local level.**

There is a need for increased activity of churches in work for interracial justice. Ultimately, religious values can provide the basis for interracial communication in those places where it has broken down. Religious values will give people the courage to take public positions contrary to the demands of an organized minority of hate groups. Religious convictions—the desire for justice and love—will give people the courage to continue the interracial association and cooperation so essential to a truly integrated social order. Catholic Interracial Councils have a role to play in stimulating and educating the Christian conscience.

Racial discrimination violates the law of God. It places men and groups of men in bondage and limits their freedom to seek the good things of life. Interracial injustice seriously impairs the moral leadership of the United States in a changing world.

ATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL
help improve the activities and programs of the local CICs in

- **The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice encourages Catholic Interracial Councils to address their activities to their civic community as well as to their fellow Catholics, and to cooperate with all responsible community organizations in work on human relations problems. Whites and Negroes, Catholics, Jews and Protestants must work together on the problems that our great democracy must solve.**
- **The National Conference represents member Councils in work with other organizations on the national level.**
- **The Conference acts as a spokesman on the philosophy of the Catholic Interracial Council movement as it relates to some of the decisive issues raised in our nation.**
- **The Conference provides assistance in organizing local Catholic Interracial Councils in the South as well as the North.**

In northern states there are many Catholic Interracial Councils located where interracial housing problems represent severe injustice and obstacles to the health of our vital cities. The Catholic population is often large in areas of racial change. Population shifts are leading to heavily non-white cities surrounded by rings of all-white suburbs. Racial difficulties across competing political boundaries would freeze bad social patterns for years to come. Catholic Interracial Councils are needed to help us find a way to conduct the education necessary to integrate the older parts of our cities, and help Negroes find a way to integrate themselves into all suburban areas successfully.

Special workshops and clinics on:

Discrimination and Justice in Employment

Discrimination and Justice in Housing and Neighborhood Life

Discrimination and Justice in Civil Rights, including Restaurant Accommodations

Private and Public School Desegregation

How to Start a CIC

Problems of Running a CIC

Youth Education Programs; the Role of the Catholic School

Adult Education Programs and Projects

Banquet on Saturday Night

Special sessions for analyzing work in southern states (with experts from the South) are planned.

☐ **$25.00 Package (Includes registration fee; double room in men's or women's dormitory for Thursday, Friday, Saturday nights; all meals on Friday and Saturday including banquet.)**

☐ **$28.00 Package, if you want a single dormitory room.**

☐ **$20.00 Registration and Meals only (including banquet)**
(I will be staying in a private home or in a hotel)

Air conditioned hotel accommodations are available across the street from St. Louis University. If you do not plan to stay in a University dormitory, you must make your own reservation. Write:

Coronado Hotel
3701 Lindell Boulevard
St. Louis 8, Missouri

or

Melbourne Hotel
Grand & Lindell Boulevard
St. Louis 8, Missouri

You can help continue and strengthen this movement so vital to our democracy

- *Send your contributions to support this expanding work to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. The Conference is a tax exempt, not-for-profit educational organization, and your contributions are tax deductible.*

- *No contribution is too small or too large. Needs are great and varied in many parts of our country.*

- *If you have a family, perhaps you can discuss with them how much you might sacrifice together to help show your love for all mankind.*

For information or contributions, please write the . . .

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
21 WEST SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS

- *Offer some of your spare time, your talents and your energy to the work of your local Catholic Interracial Council.*

- *If there is no Catholic Interracial Council where you live, write the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice for information on organizing one, and for the name of the closest CIC which might help you get started.*

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY
SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI

August 25-28, 1960

HOST: CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF SAINT LOUIS

Press Room at Convention - D114

THURSDAY - August 25th

12:00 Registration - Davis Shaughnessy Lounge

1:00 Meeting of Board of Directors

4:00 Nominating Committee

7:00 Meeting for Workshop and Clinic Chairmen and Discussion Leaders

8:00 Opening General Session:

Address: Civil Rights Legislation of the 1960's

by: Rev. William J. Kenealy, S.J.
Professor of Law, Loyola University, Chicago
Chaplain, North Suburban Chapter, CIC of Chicago

9:30 Informal Reception

FRIDAY - August 26th

7:15-8:15 Breakfast

8:45 General Session

Address: The Interrelationships of Problems of Racial Discrimination

by: Mr. George Schermer, Executive Director
Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations

9:50 Workshops:

Employment

School Desegregation and Education

Housing and Neighborhood Life

Civil Rights (and public accommodations)

12:00 Lunch

FRIDAY - August 26th cont.

1:30 General Session

Address: The South Today and the Future

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

2:30 Workshop:

Workshop for the South

Clinics:

Problems of Running a Catholic Interracial Council

Public Relations for Catholic Interracial Councils:
The Use of the Public Media

Fund Raising for Catholic Interracial Councils

How to Start a Catholic Interracial Council

5:00 Dialogue Mass

6:15 Supper

8:00 General Session

Address: Human Relations on the International Scene

by: Hon Carlos P. Romulo
Philippine Ambassador to the United States

9:45 Resolutions and Report Committee

Informal Reception

Saturday - August 27th

7:15-8:15 Breakfast

9:00 Workshops cont.

Employment

School Desegregation and Education

Housing and Neighborhood Life

Civil Rights

Saturday - August 27 cont.

11:15 Lunch

12:30 General Session for Council Delegate Members
Election of Board of Directors of National Conference

2:15 **Clinics:**

Youth Education and Schools Programs

Adult Education Programs

3:45 Resolutions and Report Committee

5:00 Pontifical Mass - Saint Louis Cathedral

Celebrant: Most Rev. Joseph E. Ritter
Archbishop of Saint Louis

Sermon: Rev. Patrick J. Molloy
Chaplain, Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis

7:00 Banquet & Entertainment - Chase Club, Chase Hotel

Address: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J.

Convention Hi-Lites:

SUNDAY - August 28th

7:15 Breakfast for Council Delegate Members and New Board

8:45 Business Session for Council Delegates and New Board

11:30 Mass for Council Delegates and New Board

12:30 Luncheon Meeting for New Board of Directors

EMPLOYMENT WORKSHOP

Chairman: Mr. Francis C. Shane, Executive Director
Committee on Civil Rights
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburch 22, Pennsylvania
Past President, CIC of Pittsburgh

Discussion Leader: Mr. M. Leo Bohannon, Executive Director
The Urban League of St. Louis, Inc.
3017 Delmar Boulevard
Saint Louis 3, Missouri

Resource People

Miss Margaret Garrity
Executive Director
President's Committee on Government Contracts
Washington 25, D.C.

Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney, Chairman
Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
41 Tremont Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts
President, CIC of Boston

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND EDUCATION WORKSHOP

Chairman: Mr. Wllsworth Evans, President
Catholic Interracial Council of Saint Louis
4925 Northland
St. Louis 13 , Missouri
Principal: Cupples Elementary School, St. Louis

Discussion leader: Rev. Donald F. Miller, C.SS.R.
Associate Editor
The Liguorian
Liguori, Missouri

Resource People:

Dr. Paul Cooke
755 Newton Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Assistant Professor, Teacher's College of Washington, D.C.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. James E. Hoflich
Archdiocesan Secretary of Education
4396 Lindell Blvd.
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dr. Charles H. Parrish
Professor of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD LIFE WORKSHOP:

Chairman: Mr. Richard J. Walsh, Attorney
105 West Adams
Chicago, Illinois
Member Board and Housing Committee, CIC of Chicago

Discussion Leader: Mr. Harold Hunton
349 Marlboro Road
Brooklyn, New York
President, CIC of Brooklyn and Staff Member of
New York Commission on Intergroup Relations

Resource People:

Mr. William Gremley, Executive Director
Board of Community Relations
1404 East 9th Street
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Mr. Charles L. Farris, Executive Director
St. Louis Land Clearance for Redevelopment and Housing Authority
2031 Olive Street
Saint Louis 3, Missouri

Mr. George Lima, Regional Director
New England States
American Federation of State, County, Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO
30 Pemberton Square
Boston 8, Massachusetts
Member, CIC of Providence, and President, Providence Branch of the NAACP

Mr. William F. McKinney, Racial Relations Officer
Federal Housing Administration
315 N. 7th Street
Saint Louis, Missouri

Mr. Charles F. Vatterott, Jr.
Builder and Developer
10259 St. Charles Rock Road
St. Ann, Missouri

CIVIL RIGHTS WORKSHOP

Chairman: Mr. John P. Nelson, Jr. Attny.
312 Civic Center Building
238 Loyola Avenue
New Orleans 12, Louisians
President, CIC of New Orleans

Discussion Leader: Miss Dorothy Mattingly
4031 a Botanical
St. Louis 10, Missouri
CIC of St. Louis, and Co-chairman convention

Resource People:

Miss Anna Holden
934 Dewey Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Former Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council
Secretary, Congress of Racial Equality

Mr. Raymond F. Horn, Jr., President
Catholic Interracial Council of Omaha
506 South 51st A venue
Omaha 6, Nebraska

Mr. J. Francis Polhaus
Counsel, Washington Bureau
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Mr. Chester E. Stovall, Executive Secretary
St. Louis Council on Human Relations
Room 200 - Municipal Courts Building
1320 Market Street
Saint Louis 3, Missouri

Mr. Harris L. Wofford, Jr.
Professor of Law
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana
Legal Assistant to Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, and former staff member of the Commission

WORKSHOP FOR THE SOUTH

Chairman: Mr. John P. Nelson, Jr.
312 Civic Center Building
238 Loyola Avenue
New Orleans 12, Louisians
President, CIC of New Orleans

Discussion Leader: Very Rev. Harold R. Perry, S.V.D.
Rector
St. Augustine's Seminary
Bay Saint Louis, Mississippi
National Chaplain, Knights of Peter Claver

Resource People:

Dr. Beverly V. Baranco, Jr.
Past Supreme Knight
Knights of Peter Claver
Box 2005
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Rev. Joseph Fichter, S.J.
Professor of Sociology
Loyola University
6363 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
6363 Auburn N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. William H. Thompson
1 Edgehill
Little Rock, Arkansas
Vice President, CIC of Little Rock

Clinic: Problems of Running a Catholic Interracial Council

Chairman: Mr. Cha rles W. Wexler, President
Catholic Interracial Council of Detroit
2230 National Bank Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Discussion Leader: Mr. Llewellyn Scott, President
Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, D.C.
38 Eye Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C.

Resource People:

Mr. Elmer Paul Brock, Director
National Conference of Christians and Jews
1029 Clayton Street
Wilmington, Delaware
CIC of Wilmington

Miss Ives Calvet, Administrator
Catholic Interracial Council of New York
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Mr. Henry W. Geerling, President
Associated Typesetting Company
217 North 10th Street
St. Louis 1, Missouri
Member of Board, CIC of St. Louis

Dr. John J. O'Connor, Chairman
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
5115 Moorland Lane
Bethesda 14, Maryland
Member, CIC of Washington D.C.

Clinic: Public Relations for Catholic Interracial Councils;
Use of the Public Media

Chairman: Mr. Guichard Parris, Public Relations Director
National Urban League, Inc.
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York
Past President, CIC of New York

Discussion Leader: Mr. Lee Cavanagh,
4221 Lindell Blvd.
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Resource People:

Rev. Raymond Bosler, Editor
Indiana Catholic & Record
P.O. Box 174
Indianapolis, Indiana
Chaplain, CIC of Indianapolis

Rev. Daniel Moore, Editor
St. Louis Review
4532 Lindell Blvd.
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Mr. Francis I. Nally, Managing Editor
The Catholic Chronicle
1933 Spielbusch Avenue
Toledo 2, Ohio
President, CIC of Toledo

Clinic: How to Start a Catholic Interracial Council

Chairman: Mr. George K. Hunton, Executive Secretary
Catholic Interracial Council of New York
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Discussion Leader: Rev. John F. Finnegan, Chaplain
Catholic Interracial Council of Detroit
11329 Nottingham Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

Resource People:

Mr. James W. Dorsey, President
Catholic Interracial Council of Milwaukee
635 A. West Walnut Street
Milwaukee 12 , Wisconsin

Mr. James A. Leadon, President
Catholic Interracial Council of the Twin Cities
2037 Jefferson Avenue
St. Paul 5, Minnesota

Dr. William McCoy, President
Catholic Interracial Council of Portland
6650 North Amherst
Portland, 3, Oregon

Mr. Joseph A. Mehan, Acting Chairman
Catholic Interracial Council of Stamford-Norwalk
80 High Clear Drive
Stamford, Connecticut

Clinic: Youth Education and Schools Programs

Chairman: Mrs. Dolores Ann Morgan, President
Catholic Interracial Council of Syracuse
546 Cedar Street
Syracuse, New York

Discussion Leader: Mr. Gregory E. Shinert, Executive Director
Missouri Commission on Human Rights
Room 102 State Capitol Building
Jefferson City, Missouri
Member, CIC of St. Louis

Resource People:

Mr. William Liggett, Associate Director
National Conference of Christians and Jews
1615 Chemical Building
St. Louis 1, Missouri
Member of CIC of St. Louis

Mr. Charles Pecke
1028 Chene, Apt. 232
Detroit 7, Michigan
Member of CIC of Detroit

Mr. Albert Nellum
932 E. 44th Street
Chicago, Illinois
Staff: Chicago Commission on Youth Welfare; Former Staff and Schools Consultant, CIC of Chicago

Mrs. Joseph Richardson, Chairman
High Schools Committee
Catholic Interracial Council of the Twin Cities
2037 Jefferson Avenue
St. Paul 5, Minnesota

Clinic: Adult Education Programs

Chairman: Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney, Chairman
Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
41 Tremont Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts
President, CIC of Boston

Discussion Leader: Mrs. Anna McGarry
1724 W. Stiles Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Former Staff, Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations
CIC of Philadelphia

Resource People:

Mr. Edmund P. Bradley
4910 Washington Blvd.
Indianapolis, Indiana
Chairman, Indianapolis Commission on Human Relations
Former President, CIC of Indianapolis

Mr. Elmer Paul Brock, Director
National Conference of Christians and Jews
1029 Clayton Street
Wilmington, Delaware
CIC of Wilmington

Mrs. James E. Brophy
1350 Berkshire
Gross Pointe, Michigan
Vice President, CIC of Detroit
Chairman, Race Relations Program, Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women

Mr. Francis X. Riley, Director
St. Benedict the Moore Apostolate
The Third Order of St. Francis
3532 Washington Blvd.
Indianapolis, Indiana

August 30, 1960

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Ahmann:

My heartiest congratulations to you for the success of the St. Louis conference last week. I was most impressed by the quality of the attendance and the serious and constructive tone of the program activities. My hope would be that the conference will lead to more and better Catholic interracial organization in the South. I needn't tell you that the Southern Regional Council will welcome every opportunity to assist and cooperate with you and your associates, at both the regional and national level.

I am enclosing a statement of my expenses. I only hope that my part in the conference justified the expense and the hospitality, which I greatly enjoyed.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (list of expenses)

EXPENSE SHEET

Convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, St. Louis, Mo., August 25-27, 1960

Airplane fare	$ 84.81
Hotel	17.86
Taxis and Limousines	6.00
Meals	5.25
Total	$113.92

Signed: _____

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council

LWD ✓
PR ✓
MF

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Report of the Executive Director

January 28, 1961

1960 was predominately a year of organization for the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. 1960 also witnessed a developing perception of the needs of our movement and the main outlines of the National Conference's work. Finally, on a sporadic basis some basic services for member and non-member groups were launched. These have been developing on a more regular basis, since the National Conference office was put on a full time basis two months ago.

This report summarizes our work to date, and outlines the main schemes of our work as we see them developing.

Organization and Launching the National Conference

The basic task of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is to service and help strengthen a locally based movement aimed at securing justice and love in human relations.

The National Conference must remain constantly responsive to human needs. If we are to provide genuine inspiration, service and guidance to our specialized movement, and to broader interracial movements in our Church and in the totality of civic life in our country and abroad, we must be willing to explore all program possibilities, even if, at first glance, some of them seem outside the main lines of emphasis in our work.

If we are to provide genuine inspiration and service, we must accept each opening for the development of a program which seems either not to interfere with our hoped for development, or provides genuine help to it. Especially in our early days, we must not set exclusive goals. If we cannot immediately finance some of the projects or services we consider most basic and important, we must be willing to undertake those for which we can get financial assistance. We consider, for example, that specialized services, and even possible demonstration projects in the field of race and housing are perhaps our most important area of work. But such services and projects might prove to be more difficult to finance, than would be a possible field project in the South. In the long run, the contacts gained and the confidence developed by one part of our work will be helpful as we try to move into other areas.

We must have confidence in the importance of our work, be willing to explore all possible openings, and be willing to accept the work which comes our way. Only with an inclusive vision will we be able to develop a measure of vitality.

Until November, 1960, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice was on a part time basis. Through the meeting of the Catholic Interracial Councils at the end of August, 1960, a good deal of our energy was devoted to developing contacts within the Catholic Interracial Council movement, making an accessment of its weaknesses and strengths, and outlining what seemed to be important as the main targets for our work. At the August, 1960, meeting, the Board of Directors adopted a series of brief proposals setting some of our concrete goals and calling for further exploration in other areas.

The National Conference was formally launched at our August, 1960, meeting, hosted by the Catholic Interracial Council of Saint Louis. The meeting was on a pay as you go basis. There were many inadequacies in this August meeting, which we will have to iron out in coming years. But correspondence with and visits to Catholic Interracial Councils since August, indicate clearly that the meeting furnished a new note of vitality and excitement to the work of the Catholic Interracial Council movement.

Services to Catholic Interracial Councils

At present our services to Catholic Interracial Councils, and similar organizations, take several forms. We offer consultation on programs and organization by mail. We offer consultation and stimulation in person by staff visits. We are just now putting a newsletter on a regular basis, to furnish lively and up to date program ideas, information from around the Council circuit, hints as to useful literature, etc. And we are beginning to discover and plan how to meet common literature needs.

Mail Consultation. There is no adequate way of estimating the service we now perform by mail. Catholic Interracial Councils have been turning to the National Conference for program advice, speaker suggestions, and other help. In this service and other work, just since our August, 1960, meeting we have replied to or initiated nearly 700 requests for information or assistance. The office is gradually regularizing the information needed to respond to many requests, and planning to stockpile reference materials, suggestion sheets, etc., to meet the more routine demands.

Staff Visits to Councils, or to Potential Council Groups. Since the beginning of 1960, initial staff visits have been made to 22 Catholic Interracial Councils, or formerly active CIC groups. In addition, visits were made to four potential CIC areas or groups. Expenditures indicate that, of necessity, most of these visits were brief. More intensive staff service must be offered these groups, and the others which have not yet been visited. It would be useful at the present stage in the Council movement, if we were able to send a staff person to work for a week to two weeks in each community where we have a Catholic Interracial Council.

Many CICs indicate that such intensive staff field visits would be welcome and useful. Staff visits of this intensive nature would provide an outside field worker to do ground work in new program areas for Councils; would be able to help a local Council to access its role in the community; would be able to locate and pinpoint new and valuable resources for the Council.

Response from the Movement. The confluence of the August, 1960, meeting in St. Louis, the organization and launching of the National Conference itself, and the brief staff visits, have resulted in a renewed intercommunication within our movement; in a renewed energy and dedication; in the case of many Councils, the beginnings of a re-evaluation of their total program; and in some cases, along with program re-evaluation, the decision to develop a Council program to the point where it would need full time local staff assistance and leadership.

In this effort of the Councils to build more extensive and concrete programs, the consultation role of the National Conference, and the Commissions we are organizing, will play key advisory roles. There has been an eagerness on the part of many Councils to seek information on the experience of other Councils, and to ask the National Conference for help in the development of their organizations and programs.

Literature Needs. A draft of a booklet on "How to Organize a Catholic Interracial Council" has just been completed. It is now being circulated for criticisms and suggestions, before being put into final form. Already, it is in the hands, even in draft form, of a half-dozen groups or contacts beginning to organize Catholic Interracial Councils.

We have discovered, and are planning educational materials which are particularly suited to the general educational programs of Catholic Interracial Councils in cities in the North. A number of Councils have asked for such materials, and the common publication of some basic pieces may serve the needs of a variety of Councils.

We are building a literature service which will supply a variety of general and specific program materials in all the major program areas which concern us in the North and the South. We will stock a quantity of pieces which will be available at discount rates to Catholic Interracial Councils and other interested groups. We will publicize this literature service as it is developed.

Finally, we will plan and assist in the development of certain pieces of literature we find needed by local Catholic Interracial Councils in the development of their own specialized programs. We have already had calls for materials for teachers, and for specialized materials in the housing field. Where we can call on existing resources we will; but we will be developing pieces of literature to meet special requests, and the peculiar needs of our movement.

African Student Scholarship and Service. With cooperation from the Christian Family Movement, we have just secured the financing for a study of needs and program possibilities in the area of academic opportunities and service programs for African students in the United States.

The study is currently underway. It will pull together all the pertinent information needed to assist the National Conference in making its own judgments on the development of programs in this area by local Catholic Interracial Councils, and by Catholic colleges and universities. It will also provide needed information for organizations such as the Christian Family Movement and the Young Christian Students Movement, which presently run some

hospitality programs for these students. And it will provide needed contacts and information for the work of the International Exchange Section of the National Catholic Educational Association, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference Foreign Visitors Office. We are already in contact with the bishops in Africa relative to their problems and needs in this area.

We expect that this brief study will be coordinated closely with the contacts the New York CICs African Student Institute and the Chicago CIC have developed. This project is using funds which would not otherwise be available to us.

Other Work to Date. We are acting in a consultants capacity to a growing number of Catholic organizations. In this capacity we have gradually been building relationships with the National Council of Catholic Men, the National Council of Catholic Women, the Christian Family Movement, the Young Christian Workers, the Young Christian Students, the National Federation of Catholic College Students, the Third Order of Saint Francis with its Benedict the Moore Apostolate. In each of these and other cases, we expect that a growing service relationship will result in increased and more effective programming in the interracial field. In many cases this may be able to have a direct relationship with the local work of a Catholic Interracial Council.

We have also been working with members of the Catholic Press Association, on the development of a workshop on Race Relations and Communication, at their annual conventions. In this connection, also, we have been developing some special services we might offer directly to Catholic weekly newspapers.

Main Outlines of Our Work

Our basic services in assisting the work of Catholic Interracial Councils and similar organizations will demand a variety of programs.

In addition to consultation by mail, one of our most vital services will be the staff stimulation and service we can supply in person. We view the organization of Commissions in such areas as employment, housing, youth education, etc., as vital to the improved impact of our movement. Staff assistance, coupled with the work of these Commissions, can produce articles and studies which will be of use to us in local work as well as in some work on the national level. The Commissions themselves will provide an additional means for communication and the development of programs within our Council movement, as well as another medium for the development of Council leadership.

Our annual meetings, located in various cities, will serve as a vital means of focusing the energy of our movement on timely problems, and of providing an annual center of energy-renewal for the stimulation of Council work. There can be more cross fertilization in a well planned national meeting, than by almost any other means.

In addition we hope to work on the occasional staging of brief regional program seminars, to concentrate on problems in particular program areas, such as housing.

We hope to be able to find an increased role for the many Catholic laymen who have chosen human relations work as their life's vocation, and who work throughout the country with a variety of organizations. We do not intend to lose these resources to our movement, but rather to capitalize on them as far as possible. To this end, this past November at the meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, the National Conference and the Cincinnati CIC co-sponsored a Communion Breakfast and informal discussion meeting for the Catholic members of NAIRO. At that meeting we explored ways of involving more of these people in our work.

One of the most encouraging developments among the Catholic Interracial Councils of late, which we shall center some attention on, is the expressed intention of some of the Councils to develop their programs to the point where they will hire some professional staff. Over the next several years we hope to work to assist at least ten or 12 of these Councils to develop into staffed organizations. This number of staffed Councils can furnish one of the most important boosts to the contribution our movement can make to the life of our Church and our country. This task is one of the targets in our work.

On the following pages is an outline of needed service goals for the National Conference. The demands presently made upon us, and the work obviously in view, easily require the staff and budget needs outlined. This outline is a further development of the resolution of intention adopted by the National Conference Board in its meetin in August, 1960. This report proposes that the needs and goals described serve as the targets for a core program for the National Conference. We have to work to secure financial support for all of these needs.

The basic needs and staff goals cited in the outline do not, however, encompass the whole of the task before our movement. They provide only the main targets for our service work in this country.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
21 WEST SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS

Basic Needs, and Staff Goals of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice January, 1961

Administrative Budget	Annual estimates:
Executive Director and one secretary; travel contact with Catholic Interracial Councils; organizing services; mail consultation with member and other organizations; National Conference meetings; funds for newsletter, and minimal publications; organization and administration of special meetings, seminars for member groups and other Catholic organizations; planning and organization funds for special projects; information service; literature service; speakers bureau; service work with National Conference Commissions in various problem areas; work with other organizations; fund raising.	$ 35,000. -- $ 40,000.
Youth Education and Schools Work	
One professional staff person and one secretary; travel funds; help CICs organize and maintain youth educa tion programs in various dioceses; work with national student organizations, particularly the three national Catholic college student organizations; development of teacher training materials, and work with orders and teacher associations on teacher education; development of youth education resources; help the National Conference, and local CICs, maintain touch with African and Asian student needs, and help develop scholarship and service programs especially for African students; field work with CICs in these areas. Two year pilot project, to be reviewed at end of first year; to be financed by National Conference after second year.	20,000. -- 25,000.

Southern Field Service			
Southern field director and one secretary, based in Atlanta, Little Rock or New Orleans; responsibility for organizing and servicing educational and corrective movements within the Church; two main centers of interest: 1) Louisiana; 2) extension of educational program already begun in Little Rock to other dioceses of the South; main goals in work: 1) organizing and servicing a Catholic interracial lay commission on the South, and stimulating regional meetings on race relations and the Church; 2) organization of local Catholic interracial organizations; 3) work in "Negro" parishes and with Catholic Negro fraternal organizations to encourage Negroes to challenge the dual parish system within the Catholic Community; 4) stimulation of regional priests' movement on interracial justice; 5) encouraging Catholics to take an increasingly active role in civic movements to bring about better race relations. Pilot project; to be reviewed at end of first year.	30,000.	--	35,000.
Housing and Neighborhood Life			
One professional staff person and one secretary; help develop and organize local programs aimed at the housing industry, inner city neighborhood change, suburban integration; work with CICs and diocese; explore organization of experimental or pilot projects in community organization, stabilization and integration; service Housing Commission in stimulation of local program work and in work directed to housing industry and governmental programs at national level. Three year pilot project, to be reviewed at end of each year; to be financed by National Conference after third year.	22,000.	--	27,000.
	$107,000.	--	$127,000.

February 10, 1961

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Matt:

As far as I can tell at this point, I will be in Atlanta on the 27th and will be glad to see you at whatever time you find most convenient. Give me a call when you get in.

It's good news that you are going to be spending some time in the New Orleans-Lafayette area.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
DELAWARE 7-1025

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RECTOR 2-5417

RECEIVED
FEB 10 1961

Chicago 10, Illinois
February 7, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am going to be in New Orleans for a week or so, the very end of this month and the beginning of March. I plan to be in Atlanta on the 27th and would like very much to see you. Could you suggest a convenient time?

Sincerely yours,

Matt

Mathew Ahmann

MA:rmd

PS- going from Atlanta for at least a week if I work in the New Orleans - Lafayette area.

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D. C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Chicago); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis); William H. Thompson (Little Rock) BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); James T. Carey (San Francisco); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); William J. Cousins (New Haven); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); Dr. Eugene Fontinelle (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); William T. Greenwood (Phoenix); Charles Hayes (Greensboro); Harold Hunton (Brooklyn); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); George S. Lima (Providence); William McCoy (Portland); Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston); John J. McDermott (Chicago); Joseph J. Morrow (Stamford); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Francis X. Riley (Indianapolis); Charles A. Robinson (Wilmington); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele (San Diego); Charles F. Vatterott (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh); Rawson L. Wood (New York); EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

LWD

MM

EW

SM

PR

JC

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

MF

FILE

Put on S&C List

Mailing for Minutes & Notices

February 22, 1961

Dr. John J. O'Connor, Chairman
National Catholic Conference for Interracial
Justice
5115 Moorland Lane
Bethesda 14, Maryland

Dear John:

Your letter of February 18 is welcome.

The Southern Interagency Conference is an informal group of agency staff members working in the field of human relations in the South. For several years now these professionals, representing most of the agencies shown on the attached list, have convened about four times a year to share ideas and program plans. The group has no formal structure and takes no action that is binding on the individuals or the agencies with which they are connected; in short, it's a clearing house rather than an organization. At the request of the participants, SRC serves as convener and secretariat for these meetings, which are generally here in Atlanta.

I am sure that a representative of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice would be more than welcome as a regular participant, or

if that is impossible, as an occasional visitor. I will see that your name is added to the mailing list for minutes and notices of the meetings.

This question of coordination is a difficult one, and I can't claim to know the final answer. The Southern Interagency group is certainly one way to help meet the problem, and NAIRO and the other coordinating interagency groups can also do a part of the job in their own normal functioning. Maybe this kind of piece meal coordination is the best solution we can achieve.

As for information, I needn't say that the Council will be glad to supply any information that will be helpful to you and your associates in considering the problems of the South.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Interagency list)

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
DElaware 7-1025

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
REctor 2-5417

February 18, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am presently concerned with the greater correlation of intergroup relations agencies in dealing effectively with Southern crises situations. What I am looking for is a source of accurate information, plus the possibility of doing something, in cooperation with other intergroup agencies, in meeting the crisis.

I have been told that I might appeal to you for information on the Southern Interagency Conference, its role and function, as well as the possibility of participation by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, which is a service agency for about 40 Catholic Interracial Councils around the country, some of them in the South.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially yours,

John J. O'Connor

Dr. John J. O'Connor, Chairman,
5115 Moorland Lane,
Bethesda 14, Md.

P. S. Is there anything more that NAIRO(of which I am a member) can do?

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. Officers: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D. C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Chicago); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) Executive Committee: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis); William H. Thompson (Little Rock) Board: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); James T. Carey (San Francisco); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); William J. Cousins (New Haven); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); Dr. Eugene Fontinelle (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); William T. Greenwood (Phoenix); Charles Hayes (Greensboro); Harold Hunton (Brooklyn); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); George S. Lima (Providence); William McCoy (Portland); Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston); John J. McDermott (Chicago); Joseph J. Morrow (Stamford); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Francis X. Riley (Indianapolis); Charles A. Robinson (Wilmington); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele (San Diego); Charles F. Vatterott (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh); Rawson L. Wood (New York); Executive Director: Mathew H. Ahmann

April 4, 1961

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Matt:

We can supply 150-200 copies of Racial Crisis and the Press at .15 per copy. This is somewhat less than the cost of the pamphlet to us, but we will be glad for it to have the circulation you propose.

Offhand, I can think of nothing else of the sort that is current.

While I am writing, I enclose a copy of a news releast the Council will shortly be issuing. My new work in Washington will be very much in the same field, and I shall hope to continue a close and cooperative relationship with you and the N.C.C.I.J.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
MOhawk 4-8222

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
REctor 2-5417

Chicago, Illinois
March 30, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We are beginning a program of service to Catholic weekly newspapers around the country -- there is one in each diocese. This will include a workshop on race relations and communications at the annual Catholic Press Association convention in May, regional workshops, mailing editors selected materials on race relations and the media, etc.

I wonder what the cost would be for us to secure about 150 - 200 copies of your "Racial Crisis and the Press." And I wonder if you have other papers which you could suggest which intelligently discuss the role of the press in human relations.

Sincerely yours,

Mathew Ahmann

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. Officers: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D. C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Chicago); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) Executive Committee: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis); William H. Thompson (Little Rock) Board: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); James T. Carey (San Francisco); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); William J. Cousins (New Haven); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); William T. Greenwood (Phoenix); Charles Hayes (Greensboro); Harold Hunton (Brooklyn); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); George S. Lima (Providence); William McCoy (Portland); Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston); John J. McDermott (Chicago); Joseph J. Morrow (Stamford); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Francis X. Riley (Indianapolis); Charles A. Robinson (Wilmington); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele (San Diego); Charles F. Vatterott (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh); Executive Director: Mathew H. Ahmann

July 11, 1961

Dr. John J. O'Connor
Chairman
National Catholic Conference for Interracial
Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Dr. O'Connor:

Thank you for your letter of June 27 and its invitation to attend the national convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. It is a little hard for me to say definitely that I can come, but I have put it on my calendar and shall make an effort to be there, at least for the special session on August 26.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
MOhawk 4-8222

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
REctor 2-5417

Chicago, Illinois
June 27, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We would like to invite you to attend and take part in the various sessions of our national convention, being held on the campus of the University of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan, this coming August 24 - 27.

This will be the third national meeting of Catholic Interracial Councils, but only the first since our new National Conference has had an office and a staff. As you can see from the enclosed flyer on the convention, major addresses are devoted to the theme "The New Negro."

We are scheduling a special session at this meeting in which a few of our top leaders can sit down with you and directors of other national private agencies to explore generally how we can be helpful to each other's program at both the national and local levels. This special session will be held Saturday morning, August 26, from 9:50 A.M. to about 12:15 P.M.

We would be very glad to receive from you as soon as possible any suggestions for the agenda of this special session, and we will give your suggestions every possible consideration.

We would be delighted if you, or your representative could join us in Detroit at the end of August.

Very sincerely yours,

John J. O'Connor (rd)

Dr. John J. O'Connor
Chairman

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National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

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CONVENTION
August 24-27, 1961

Theme:
"THE NEW NEGRO"

You Are Invited

Form 3547 Requested

118

Annual Convention of Catholic Interracial Councils

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

August 24-27, 1961 **University of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan**

Host — Catholic Interracial Council of Detroit
Program Theme — "The New Negro"
Pre-registration Deadline — August 1, 1961

Thursday, August 24

12:00 Noon — Registration: Student Union
1:30 P.M. — Board Meeting
2:00 P.M. — Orientation for Workshop and Clinic Personnel
5:00 P.M. — Meeting of Committee on Resolutions and Reports
— Meeting of Nominating Committee
8:00 P.M. — Keynote Address
Have Catholics Met the Challenge of Interracial Justice?
Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S.
National Catholic Welfare Conference
9:30 P.M. — Reception

Friday, August 25

8:30 A.M. — **The New Negro in the North**
Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, *Professor of Psychology*
City College of New York
9:50 A.M. — WORKSHOPS .....
— Diocesan Seminar (Invitation Only)
Moderator: Most Rev. Joseph H. Hodges
Coadjutor Bishop of Wheeling
2:00 P.M. — WORKSHOPS .....
5:00 P.M. — Community Mass
Celebrant: Rev. Paul Marx, O.S.B.
8:00 P.M. — **Inside the Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides: Testimony of a Southern Student**
Miss Diane Nash, Nashville, *Student Leader*
and Executive Director's Report
Mathew Ahmann
9:30 P.M. — Reception

Saturday, August 26

8:30 A.M. — **The New Negro in the South**
Dr. Stephen J. Wright, *President*
Fisk University
9:50 A.M. — CLINICS .....
2:00 P.M. — CLINICS .....
4:30 P.M. — Community Mass:
Celebrant and Sermon by
Most Rev. John Kodwo Ammisah
Archbishop of Cape Coast, Ghana
7:00 P.M. — BANQUET
Speakers: Hon. Arthur J. Goldberg
U.S. Secretary of Labor
Most Rev. John F. Dearden
Archbishop of Detroit, and Patron of Meeting

Sunday, August 27

8:30 A.M. — Official Delegates Business Meeting
— General Session for Non-delegates on "Implementing Conference Ideas Back Home"
11:30 A.M. — **Civil Rights Mass**
Celebrant and Sermon by
Most Rev. Victor J. Reed
Bishop of Oklahoma City and Tulsa
1:00 P.M. — Lunch for Board of Directors
2:00 P.M. — Board Meeting

- **Pre-registration Deadline is August 1, 1961**
- Except for banquet, meals are on a pay-as-you-go basis in in the University cafeteria.
- Masses and Banquet in common with National Catholic Social Action Conference also meeting at the University.

- Registrants should pre-register for 1 workshop and 1 clinic. Materials on the workshop and clinic you select will be mailed to you in advance of the meeting.

Workshops on:

Racially Changing Parish
Housing and Urban Renewal
Layman and Interracial Justice
Employment Discrimination
School Integration
Civil Rights
Discrimination in Medicine

Clinics on:

CIC Housing Committees
Social Action Techniques
Planning Better Programs
CIC Leadership Training
CIC Public Relations
Fund Raising

Tear off and send this pre-registration blank by August 1 with your check or money order to

Rev. Robert Allen, Registration Chairman
305 Michigan Avenue
Detroit 26, Michigan

Enclosed is my check in the amount of $_____ to cover the costs *(checked on back)* of the meeting of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, this August 24-27.

Please make all checks payable to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

Organization_____

I will be staying Thursday _____ Friday _____ Saturday _____ nights.

I want to pre-register for the _____ workshop and the _____ clinic, and understand materials for these will be mailed to me in advance of the meeting.

- "THE NEW NEGRO" has been selected by the nation-wide board of directors of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice as the theme for the 1961 convention of the Catholic Interracial Councils.

- Major papers presented at the meeting will analyze and comment in significant fashion on new movements among American Negroes which have dramatically altered the course of race relations, and in many cases hastened a social order based on interracial justice.

- The Conference presents a national meeting on this theme as a general contribution to those engaged in work to secure interracial justice.

Enclosed is my check to cover the following checked items and amounts:

☐ $_____ *Conference Package*, @ $20 for the whole meeting (Includes twin-bedded room for Thursday, Friday, Saturday nights; Banquet, Registration Fee.)

or

☐ Single room, @ $5 per night

☐ Twin-bedded room, @ $3 per night
Roommate if any_____

☐ Banquet, @ $6
Speakers: Archbishop John F. Dearden
Secretary of Labor Goldberg

☐ Registration fee, @ $5

$_____ TOTAL ENCLOSED

$_____ I will pay at the meeting

(Please make all checks payable to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.)

ANNOUNCEMENT OF PUBLICATION

- The three major papers presented at this 1961 meeting on the theme of "The New Negro," along with two others, will be published in book form in the Fall of 1961. The two additional papers are: "African Nationalism," by Dr. Thomas P. Melady, author of *Profiles of African Leaders*; and "The Morality and Legality of the Sit-ins," by William J. Kenealy, S.J., Professor of Law, Loyola University of Chicago. This will be the first publication for all 5 of the papers.

- Special arrangements have been made between the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and Fides Publishers, Chicago, to present these papers in book form as a major contribution to the field of race relations.

- This book will be available at a special pre-publication price to registrants and friends of the National Conference.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

"Segregation in our country has led to oppressive conditions and the denial of basic human rights for the Negro . . . These problems are vital and urgent. May God give this nation the grace to meet the challenge it faces. For the sake of generations of future Americans, and indeed of all humanity, we cannot fail."

—The Catholic Bishops of the United States, November, 1958

The Catholic Interracial Councils founded the **NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE** *as an educational organization to serve and help improve the activities and programs of the local CICs in the North as well as the South.*

- **The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is dedicated to work for justice and charity in interracial relations. It seeks to implement the principles found in the doctrine of the Catholic Church and in the traditions of the American democratic life.**

- **The National Conference serves as a clearing house and channel of communication for all existing Catholic Interracial Councils.**

- **The Conference makes literature, program aids, technical skills and consultation available to local CICs and other interested groups.**

- **The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice encourages and helps develop courageous and practical educational programs on the local level.**

- **The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice encourages Catholic Interracial Councils to address their activities to their civic community as well as to their fellow Catholics, and to cooperate with all responsible community organizations in work on human relations problems. Whites and Negroes, Catholics, Jews and Protestants must work together on the problems that our great democracy must solve.**

- **The National Conference represents member Councils in work with other organizations on the national level.**

- **The Conference acts as a spokesman on the philosophy of the Catholic Interracial Council movement as it relates to some of the decisive issues raised in our nation.**

- **The Conference provides assistance in organizing local Catholic Interracial Councils in the South as well as the North.**

There is a need for increased activity of churches in work for interracial justice. Ultimately, religious values can provide the basis for interracial communication in those places where it has broken down. Religious values will give people the courage to take public positions contrary to the demands of an organized minority of hate groups. Religious convictions—the desire for justice and love—will give people the courage to continue the interracial association and cooperation so essential to a truly integrated social order. Catholic Interracial Councils have a role to play in stimulating and educating the Christian conscience.

In northern states there are many Catholic Interracial Councils located where interracial housing problems represent severe injustice and obstacles to the health of our vital cities. The Catholic population is often large in areas of racial change. Population shifts are leading to heavily non-white cities surrounded by rings of all-white suburbs. Racial difficulties across competing political boundaries would freeze bad social patterns for years to come. Catholic Interracial Councils are needed to help us find a way to conduct the education necessary to integrate the older parts of our cities, and help Negroes find a way to integrate themselves into all suburban areas successfully.

You can help continue and strengthen this movement so vital to our democracy

- *Send your contributions to support this expanding work to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. The Conference is a tax exempt, not-for-profit educational organization, and your contributions are tax deductible.*

- *No contribution is too small or too large. Needs are great and varied in many parts of our country.*

- *If you have a family, perhaps you can discuss with them how much you might sacrifice together to help show your love for all mankind.*

For information or contributions, please write the . . .

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

- *Offer some of your spare time, your talents and your energy to the work of your local Catholic Interracial Council.*

- *If there is no Catholic Interracial Council where you live, write the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice for information on organizing one, and for the name of the closest CIC which might help you get started.*

August 9, 1961

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Matt;

I am glad that your letter of July 28 was handled in my absence. I believe the various things which we said we would send are going off today. Unfortunately, however, I think I had better rescind the one statement made by Miss Feagans regarding The Louisville Story and The Washington Story. As she said, we have only a handful of copies and we probably ought not to exhaust our stock, especially since we don't have the quantity you need anyhow.

I am not sure I know The St. Louis Story. There is a film available from the ADL about St. Louis, titled, "A City Decides." The Miracle of Social Adjustment and the Addendum, both by Carl Hansen, are first rate. Indeed, I regard them as two of the basic materials on the school desegregation question. Bill Foster's article in the Saturday Review is, in my opinion, the best piece written on its particular subject. So far as I know, it has not been reprinted by anyone. We did buy a few copies of the magazine and have been using them to fill information requests. Perhaps you can still get them. The price was 15¢ apiece for the 100 copies.

Paul Rilling and I are both interested to hear about Henry Cabirac's appointment as Southern Field Representative. Where will his office be?

I think it it is clear now that I shall not be able to attend the Detroit meeting. I am sorry because it was something I had

looked forward to. You will have Ben Muse there, however, and that is good representation.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

August 3, 1961

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Ahmann:

Mr. Dunbar is on vacation, but I thought I would answer the part of your letter requesting some of our publications.

We can send you 70 copies of L-Reports 16, 17, and 6. We no longer have L-Report 8 in stock. We can also send you 70 copies of Desegregation in the Baltimore Schools, and Action Patterns in School Desegregation. We have only 20 copies left of The Louisville Story and the Washington Story, all of which we will be glad to send to you.

The only charge to your fine organization would be just mailing costs.

Yours truly,

hs

Janet Feagans
Secretary to the
Director of Information.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
MOHAWK 4-8222

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RECTOR 2-5417

Chicago, Illinois
July 28, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have reviewed the materials you sent along with your letter of June 22 rather carefully in terms of what we are trying to do with Catholic School Superintendents.

I would be interested in securing about 70 copies of the following, though I would appreciate if someone from your Council could let me know the cost before I make a final committment:

L-Reports 16 ✓
17 ✓
8
6 ✓

The Louisville Story

30 The Washington Story

✓ Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools Ko.

20 The Louisville School Story — Transcript of TV program

Action Patterns in School Desegregation Ko.

I have ordered some of these publications before from you, but have about exhausted my meager supply. I also once secured a number of copies of Action Patterns in School Desegregation from the Phi Delta Kappa, but again am almost out.

I also wonder what your advisors think of the tollowing three ADL handbooks:

The St. Louis Story
Miracle of Social Adjustment (Washington)
Addendum (by Carl Hansen to the Washington D.C. report).

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D. C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Chicago); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis); William H. Thompson (Little Rock) BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); James T. Carey (San Francisco); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); William J. Cousins (New Haven); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); William T. Greenwood (Phoenix); Charles Hayes (Greensboro); Harold Hunton (Brooklyn); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); George S. Lima (Providence); William McCoy (Portland); Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston); John J. McDermott (Chicago); Joseph J. Morrow (Stamford); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Francis X. Riley (Indianapolis); Charles A. Robinson (Wilmington); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele (San Diego); Charles F. Vatterott (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh); EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann

MA - price please

Finally, I am interested in whether or not you know of anyone who has reprinted the G. W. Foster, Jr. article from the Saturday Review of Literature: "1960: Turning Point for Desegregation?"

You will be interested in knowing that we are hiring Henry Cabirac of New Orleans as a Southern Field Representative for our organization, and in September we will be opening an office in the South. Paul Rilling knows Henry if you do not. I would very much appreciate if you could keep both Henry and I posted on significant meetings we ought be represented at, and so forth. I have so much appreciated the help we have received from you people, and I do hope we can continue working closely together.

Sincerely yours,

Mathew Ahmann

LWR

328 - 4:10 8:49 — 62.21

543 ILD 12:20

11:15 / 43.62

105.83

March 16, 1962

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Matt:

Thank you for sending me a copy of Ben Muse's paper. I am glad that you have promoted its publication in Commonweal . I read Ben's paper last summer and I agree with you fully that it deserved publication.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
MOhawk 4-8222

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
REctor 2-5417

Rec'd 3/7/62

Chicago, Illinois
March 5, 1962

Dear Leslie,

Enclosed with this letter, I am sending a copy of the paper prepared for us by Benjamin Muse on parochial desegregation in the deep South. This paper has gone to each of the Catholic school superintendents in the country and each of the Catholic Bishops in the country. In addition, we made an arrangement with Commonweal magazine to carry a slightly edited version of the paper as an article in their issue of March 9, 1962, which will get it to an educated Catholic public of around 60,000 people. I thought you would want to see a copy of this and I think I neglected to send a copy earlier.

Very sincerely yours,

Mathew

Mathew Ahmann

MA:rmd

cc: Henry Cabirac

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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File
Nat'l Catholic Conf. on Interracial Justice
Religious Org.

May 7, 1964

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Matt:

Thank you for your letter of April 23. We are happy to learn that Jack Sisson will be returning to this section, and will look forward to association with him. We have all benefited from the work of Henry Cabirac, and it is good to know that his successor is to be an equally devoted and capable man.

Come see us when you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr.

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

21 West Superior Street · Chicago, Illinois 60610 · MOhawk 4-8222

Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, La. 70113
523-2901

TAV
VJ
LD

April 23, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I think that you know that Henry Cabirac is looking for another job in order to get broader experience in human relations.

Effective May 15, 1964, our Southern Field Service project will therefore be directed by John Sisson, whom I think you know. His background is summarized in the attached advance copy of our press release, and I thought you would want to have it for reference.

He has already done considerable work in Southern states for us, including: Florida, Alabama, parts of Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia. In addition he has been involved in the discussions on our planned Southern regional meeting or leadership Conference.

I'm confident that he will do an excellent job with our program. And I am sure he will be able to be helpful to you. He has considerable knowledge of the Catholic community in the South, and a grasp of our whole program. I'm sure he will be seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew Ahmann
DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

PRESS RELEASE PRESS RELEASE PRESS RELEASE PRESS RELEASE PRESS RELEASE

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior
Chicago, Illinois 60610

For information: Mathew Ahmann: MO 4-8222

For Release: Friday, May 15, or by diocesan weekend papers.

NEW DIRECTOR APPOINTED FOR SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE PROJECT OF NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice today announced the appointment of John P. Sisson as director of its Southern Field Service project. The announcement was made by Raymond M. Hilliard, Chairman of the Conference, and Director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid, Chicago. Sisson will continue the programs of the New Orleans Based race relations office, established in 1961.

Since June 1963, Sisson has been assistant to Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director of the national Catholic interracial agency. The Conference is a federation of some 60 Catholic Interracial Councils and similar organizations around the U.S. Previous to 1963, Sisson lived in Pensacola, Florida, where he was active in human relations work. A graduate of Duke University, Durham, N.C., he also attended St. Bonaventure University, Olean, New York. He is a veteran of World War II, and a member of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

From 1960 to 1962 Sisson was an advertising account executive. In Pensacola he served as a board member of the Escambia County Community Council and was a member of the committee which solved the lunch counter sit-in strife resulting in open lunch counters. In 1962 he served on an ad hoc committee which paved the way for smooth public school desegregation in Pensacola.

While with the Chicago headquarters of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, Sisson had extensive contact with Catholic sponsored human relations organizations throughout the country, and aided in the follow-up on the 1963 National Conference on Religion and Race. Sisson has served as a human relations consultant to Catholic organizations active in race relations, and helped organize the 1963 convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

The responsibilities of the new Director for the Southern Field Service Project of the Catholic conference will be to continue its on-going program of service to affiliated councils, to provide consultation and assistance to Catholic organizations involved in work to secure interracial justice in an area covering 14 Southern and Southwestern states.

He will continue the close cooperation of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice with other religious and civic organizations with similar aims, and work to help create a climate of positive action on racial desegregation and integration.

The latest Southern Catholic sponsored human relations organization to be formed is in Memphis, Tennessee.

File: Religious orgs. Catholics

May 14, 1964

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mat:

Would the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice be able to help with the enclosed?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
Copy of ltr. from Julian Bond (SNCC) re: financial support for the STUDENT VOICE and other printing costs.

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

21 West Superior Street · Chicago, Illinois 60610 · MOhawk 4-8222

Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, La. 70113
523-2901

Rec'd 4/5/65

April 2, 1965

Dear Les:

I want to add my own thanks to Jack Sisson's for the magnificent contribution you made to our meeting in Memphis. We are very indebted indeed.

I would guess that from remarks I heard after the meeting there must have been some mixup over your room or something, and I want to apologize if we did not take the kind of care of you that we should have.

Sincerely yours,

Matt.

Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director

MA/ma

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

April 5, 1965

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mat:

Thank you for your kind note. This is just to relieve you on the score of my room. Jack Sisson had specifically asked me over the telephone once if I wanted him to make a reservation for me; I said no. Any difficulty was, therefore, all my own blame. As a matter of fact, I had no difficulty: Jack Nelson, with whom I shared a room, sleeps quietly.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Jack Sisson

file

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

~~21 West Superior Street~~ · Chicago, Illinois ~~60610~~ 60605 · ~~MOhawk 4-8222~~
1307 S. Wabash Ave 341-1530 } as of ~~Sept~~ Sept. 1965

Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, La. 70113
523-2901

May 27, 1965

To: Mr. Gerard Sherry
Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S.
Rev. Andrew Young
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward W. O'Rourke
Very Rev. Harold R. Perry, S.V.D.
Rev. Eugene P. McManus, S.S.J.
Rev. Bernardine Patterson, O.S.B.

By: Matt Ahmann

Re: Leadership Meeting on Race Relations for Southern Catholic Leadership

I am very happy that you all have agreed to help plan the special conference for Roman Catholic leadership. As you know, the conference will be held in Atlanta, July 29-30-31. It will be jointly sponsored by Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of Atlanta, the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

This note is to confirm that there will be an important planning meeting for this conference next week at:

10:30 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.
Thursday, June 3
Office of the Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta Phone: JA 2-8764

We need your help!

MA/ma
copy to: Archbishop Paul A. Hallinan
Mr. John P. Sisson
Miss Margaret Roach
Mr. Hal Hunton (home and office)

thanks for the meeting space Los.

file - Rel. Orgs. - Catholic

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

21 West Superior Street · Chicago, Illinois 60610 · MOhawk 4-8222

Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, La. 70113
523-2901

File

August 25, 1965

Dear Les:

I want to add my thanks to those Jack Sisson has already sent you for the marvelous contribution you made to our recent conference in Atlanta. We needed your balanced perspective and I am very glad that you were so generous with us.

Enclosed is our check for $200.00 representing the honorarium for your contribution.

While it is sad to see you leave the Southern Regional Council, I know what exciting possibilities must lie before you with the Field Foundation and I'd like to congratulate you on the announcement.

Sincerely yours,

Matt

Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director

MA/ma
enclosure: check #3731 for $200.00

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

(1)

See Pol's. Orgs

July 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Attached is sample of a letter which we addressed individually to thirty-nine bishops in the South and Southwest last week, enclosing with each letter a copy of THE CONTINUING CRISIS.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Sisson
RV.
John P. Sisson

cc: Mr. Ed Stanfield
Mr. Mathew Ahmann

July 1, 1966

Most Reverend Coleman F. Carroll
Bishop of Miami
6301 Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida, 33138

Your Excellency:

We are sending you the enclosed copy of THE CONTINUING CRISIS as an aid in understanding one changing aspect of race relations in the South.

There is a present possibility of racial violence in the South which should cause the greatest concern to all religious leaders. The frustration of Negroes in the South has been obvious since last year, long before the Mississippi March, and many human relations specialists feel that reaction may accelerate unless action is taken by concerned leaders in every locality and by federal officials.

In the short range, there will probably be the need for mediation, for trained and dedicated people to act as communications bridges.

In the long run, the involvement of all churchmen is essential in programs which aid Negroes to reach the goals outlined in the laws passed to aid their advancement and safety, but so broadly disregarded in practice by officials and citizens in Southern states.

The need for staffed and funded programs to assure equal rights and opportunities in all institutions in our society has never been greater. Too many have trusted that the national consensus represented in laws would automatically solve centuries of contrary practices.

Asking Your Excellency's blessing, I am

Respectfully yours,

John P. Sisson

file organizers

Rels

February 13, 1967

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1307 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Matt:

Thank you very much for your interest in the annual report and your good words about it. I particularly also appreciate your comments about the NEW SOUTH. We don't have in writing an outline of program goals for 1967 other than as reflected in the annual report. Should these develop, however, I would be pleased to share them with you.

Enclosed is a brief initial outline of what we hope to accomplish in our study being done in cooperation with AJC.

The person to get information about the Huntsville maids' union is:

Miss Moore
Sisters of Concern Club
327 Church Street
Huntsville, Alabama

We are adding the two persons you indicate to our

mailing list and I am sending Mr. Gibbons a copy of "Public Assistance in the South." The second publication, "The Hidden Jobless in Unemployment Statistics" is not yet available but should be shortly.

It's been too long since you gave us a visit and we would certainly welcome the opportunity to get together again.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

Rec'd 2/8/67

(11)

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1307 S. Wabash Avenue • Chicago, Illinois 60605 • 312-341-1530

Southern Field Service
8017 Palm Street
New Orleans, La. 70125
504-492-5792

February 6, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have just had a chance to finish reading your analysis and report on the Southern Regional Council's 1966 programs. Congratulations. It was quite a year and you deserve accolades. I'd like to state also that the new version of the NEW SOUTH is really one of the best things in the country. I would like to inquire whether you have prepared in writing 1967 program goals or targets. If you have, I'd welcome an opportunity to read these.

I am also interested in getting any kind of summary that may be available of the study the American Jewish Committee and the SRC conducted on Southern white opinion and be informed of the efforts you are undertaking to influence that opinion in specific ways.

I'd also like to get information and a contact on the Huntsville, Alabama, union of maids.

There are a number of specialized publications which your report refers to which I would like to secure. The first is "Public Assistance in the South" and any future related publications; the second, "The Hidden Jobless in Unemployment Statistics." I'd be grateful here if you could add the director of our Employment Services Department and Project Equality, Thomas Gibbons, to your mailing list for all employment information you produce.

Finally, I would be grateful if you could add Mr. Emil Seliga, the director of our Urban Services Department (address: 3500-225 W.Manchester Blvd.; Inglewood, California 90305) to the mailing list of your Urban Planning Department. Congratulations again.

Sincerely yours,

Matt

Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director

MA/ma

file
Rel. Orgs
Nat'l Catholic
Conf for Interracial Justice

April 4, 1968

Mr. Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr.
Project Equality Council
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1307 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

Pat Watters and I will be available on the morning of the 17th should you find you are in Atlanta then.

We look forward to meeting with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Received copy to Pat Watters 3/28/68

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

PROJECT EQUALITY®

Project Equality Council

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

COPY

March 26, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At a recent meeting with Steve McNichols of the Ford Foundation, he suggested that Don Rose, our Public Information Director, and myself might meet with you and Pat Watters on a planned future trip to Atlanta.

You may be familiar with the Project Equality program of NCCIJ. Recently through a Ford grant we were able to increase our national professional staff to include a public information director. Steve thought our operations in reaching our publics might be somewhat similar, and that such a meeting would be beneficial.

I am tentatively planning a trip to Atlanta on April 16 with Jack Sisson, our Southern Field Director. In the event that this date is confirmed by the local bishop, would it be possible to meet with you and Mr. Watters on either the 16th or 17th? I will look forward to your reply.

Sincerely yours,

THB:C

Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr.

CC: Matt Ahmann
Jack Sisson

1307 South Wabash Avenue • Chicago, Illinois 60605 • (312) 341-1530

File
Pets Org -
"National Catholic
Conf. for
Interracial Justice"

Pat - fyi
my - file

April 15, 1968

Mr. Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr.
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
Project Equality Council
1307 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

It is very likely that Pat and I will be available on May 3rd. I hope to see you then.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Project Equality Council

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Rawson L. Wood • Honorary Chairman
Larold K. Schulz • Chairman
James S. Henderson, Jr. • Vice Chairman
Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr. • National Director

April 11, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Due to the death of Dr. King, our meetings in Atlanta have been cancelled for next week. They have tentatively been rescheduled for May 3.

Would it be possible to meet with you and Mr. Watters some time on May 3, or Saturday, May 4? I will confirm these dates as soon as I have heard from Jack Sisson of our Southern Field Service.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas H. Gibbons (t)

THG:C

Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr.

cc: Don Rose
Jack Sisson

1307 South Wabash Avenue • Chicago, Illinois 60605 • (312) 341-1530

file
Relig. Orgs
Catholics: Conf for
" Nat'l Cath. Int'l Justice

April 23, 1968

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1307 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mat:

Thank you for the copy of your report. It reflects a substantial amount of work, and you and the National Conference are to be commended.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1307 S. Wabash Avenue • Chicago, Illinois 60605 • 312-341-1530

file

Southern Field Service
New Orleans, La.

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Dr. Starks J. Williams *Kansas City*

CHAIRMAN,
PROJECT EQUALITY COUNCIL
Rev. Larold K. Schulz, *New York*

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew H. Ahmann

December 27, 1968

MEMO

To: Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

By: Matt Ahmann

I am sure you will want to take some action vis-a-vis Nixon relative to the attached shocking story from the 11/24/68 DES MOINES REGISTER.

MA/ma
attachment

NIXON AIDES WITH COURT'S SCHOOL STAND

Questions 'Freedom Of Choice' Decision

By Nick Kotz
(Of The Register's Washington Bureau)

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WASHINGTON, D.C. — President-elect Richard Nixon is in disagreement with the U.S. Supreme Court and the Johnson administration on the key issue involved today in Southern school desegregation, a Nixon aide has confirmed.

Patrick Buchanan, who has been named by Nixon as a special assistant, told The Sunday Register that Nixon disagrees with a May, 1968, Supreme Court decision on the crucial issue of "freedom of choice" school plans.

Hinges on Issue

The 14-year fight to implement the court's 1954 decision outlawing segregated Southern school systems now hinges on the issue of this 1968 decision. In the 17 Southern and Border states only 14 per cent of Negro children attend integrated schools. In Deep South states, less than 5 per cent do.

Nixon's position, as explained by Buchanan, who is one of his key "issues men," coincides with the view of Southern politicians and school officials who are seeking relief from this Supreme Court decision and from Johnson administration application of it in withholding federal aid funds from southern school districts.

Nixon's viewpoint on this one issue — school desegregation guidelines as administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) — could be the determining factor on whether Southern Democratic congressmen are co-operative with his administration on legislation.

If Nixon implements the viewpoint ascribed to him by Buchanan and outlined in general terms by Nixon himself during the campaign, his administration will immediately clash with virtually every civil rights leader in the country and eventually with the Supreme Court.

What is involved was little understood by news media or the general public during the presidential campaign.

The issue, simply stated, is how much integration must Southern schools have to comply with the Supreme Court decision, and to avoid having federal education aid funds cut off by HEW.

The crucial issue today involves the acceptability of the "freedom of choice" plans which have been adopted by virtually every Deep South school district in an effort either to comply with court action from the 1954 decision or else to comply with HEW guidelines implementing Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Law. Title VI stated federal funds were to be withheld from discriminatory school districts.

In these freedom of choice plans, each student and his parents are given the choice of which school he will attend. As a practical matter throughout the South, white children have continued to attend previously all-white schools, Negro schools are still all-Negro, and a few Negroes now are attending the previous all-white schools.

The crucial question is whether Southern school districts have done enough merely by offering "freedom of choice" to the Negroes.

Here is where Nixon's view is in sharp disagreement with both the Supreme Court and the Johnson administration.

The court ruled on May 27, 1968, in a case involving Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas school districts, that a "freedom of choice" plan was not satisfactory unless it resulted in actual integration and complete dismantling of the former dual "black" and "white" system.

85 Per Cent

In the New Kent County, Va., situation, the court noted that 85 per cent of Negro children still attended the formerly all-Negro school and 100 per cent of the white children and 15 per cent of the Negroes now attend the previously all-white school.

"Rather than dismantling the dual system," the court said, "the plan has operated simply to burden children and their parents with a responsibility which Brown II (the 1955 court decision) placed squarely on the school board. The board must be required to formulate a new plan . . . and fashion steps which promise realistically to [illegible] 'Negro school' but just schools."

The court said that a school board that "opened the doors of the former 'white school' (by the freedom of choice plan) to Negro children and of the 'Negro school' to white children merely begins, not ends, our inquiry whether the board has taken steps adequate to abolish its dual, segregated system."

HEW is following this ruling in withholding funds to school districts in which a freedom of choice plan hasn't resulted in actual substantial integration in both the "Negro" and "white" schools.

At present, 115 school districts have been cut off federal aid, 600 other school districts are being investigated by HEW, and another 349 districts are being desegregated under court order.

Nixon Disagrees

Asked how Nixon will approach the question of HEW school guidelines in light of this decision, Buchanan said the president-elect "disagrees with the decision."

Buchanan said Nixon "agrees with the thrust" of a Washington Evening Star editorial criticizing the May, 1968, decision.

In its editorial on June 23 entitled "Our Judges Should Stick to Their Judging," the Star said that the Supreme Court decision unconstitutionally commanded compulsory integration.

The Star said the court decision commanded that some white children go to the previously all-Negro school and more Negro children go to the previously all-white school, but that the court doesn't have "the foggiest notion" what the percentages of black and white children should be.

The Star noted the court made no claim "the plan did not offer a truly free choice."

The Star editorial concluded: "Federal judges have a constitutional duty and competence to strike down any law which imposes school segregation. They have neither the duty nor [illegible] compulsory integration and to run the schools by judicial fiat. The sooner the judges recognize that, if they ever recognize it, the better it will be for our system of public education."

Campaign Statements

Buchanan pointed to repeated Nixon statements during the campaign in Norfolk, Va., Nixon replied to a questioner:

"If freedom of choice is implemented in such a way that there is no question of its being used as a subterfuge for perpetuating segregation or for providing for segregation, then freedom of choice in my view would be within the legislation as passed by the Congress of the United States (referring to Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act).

This Nixon quotation could be interpreted as in agreement with the Supreme Court position.

Commenting on such Nixon quotations, Buchanan said: "He has no qualms about freedom of choice plans so long as they are not a subterfuge for continued segregation."

In other words, Nixon is not concerned whether freedom of choice actually results in an integrated system so long as Negroes have the choice to integrate the white schools. However, the Supreme Court says the test is only whether the dual system is dismantled, which requires integration.

"Gone Further"

Buchanan said that Nixon feels that HEW officials in the Johnson administration "have

NIXON —
Please turn to Page Three

Des Moines Sunday Register
Nov. 24, 1968
General Section 3
1968

Court Trying to Destroy Old 'Dual System' of the South

gone further than the intent of Title VI" in withholding funds if freedom of choice plans actually did not produce integration.

Buchanan said Nixon has stated he will appoint as secretary of HEW "an individual who will look for more strict construction of the legislation."

Mrs. Ruby G. Martin, director of HEW's Office for Civil Rights, told The Register that acceptance of all freedom of choice plans would halt school desegregation.

She said: "School desegregation would come to a complete and grinding halt in most school districts in the South if all schools had to do was offer Negro children the choice of a school."

The action that Nixon takes on HEW school guidelines will be crucial early in 1969 because the 1968 guidelines require schools to desegregate completely by the opening of the school year in September, 1969. Schools are given another year if construction of new facilities is required.

Immediate Action

The Supreme Court, in its May, 1968, decision, also demanded immediate action by the three school boards involved in that case.

The court said that the original 1954 decision permitted "all deliberate speed" because of the complexity of changing a traditional system but said that 14 years later "such delays are no longer tolerable."

It might appear that Nixon would be violating a Supreme Court decision, but such will not be the case early in 1969. The court's pronouncements on "freedom of choice" plans strictly involve its enforcement and interpretation of its own 1954 desegregation decision.

Nixon's actions in deciding whether or not to withhold federal school aid will come from his interpretation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. However, the issue of how HEW must administer Title VI eventually will come before the court.

If Nixon decides all freedom of choice plans are acceptable, civil rights leaders will appeal to the courts. At present, Southern school districts are appealing their cut-off of funds.

HEW officials really are contending that most "freedom of choice" plans are inherently discriminatory because the whole purpose of such plans is to discourage integration while at the same time trying to comply with the law forbidding segregation.

HEW officials point out that freedom of choice school plans are not used anywhere in the United States except in the South and that northern city school officials, for example, would find it impossible to permit each child to pick his choice of school.

Howe Testifies

Explaining why these plans do not work, former U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe testified before Congress:

"Many school authorities contend they have complied with the law as long as a choice is offered to Negro students to attend white schools. In most cases, however, this leaves virtually unchanged the same dual school system.

"When our field workers investigate free choice plans which are not producing school desegregation they find that in almost all instances the freedom of choice is illusory.

"Typically the community atmosphere is such that the Negro parents are fearful of choosing a white school for their children. Sometimes the hostility is expressed outwardly . . . Often, the community opposition to a truly free choice of schools is expressed in more subtle ways."

The other methods include zoning to produce neighborhood schools, closing Negro schools and using only the former white schools, dividing schools so that, for example, all children in grades one through four attend one school while children in grades five through eight attend another.

If Nixon wants to legalize all "freedom of choice" plans, he can do so either administratively by changing the HEW guidelines—and then be subject to court challenge—or he can seek to change Title VI of the Civil Rights Law.

An undercover effort to change this law was made during the last Congress and was only narrowly defeated.

Representative Jamie Whitten, (Dem., Miss.) succeeded in the Appropriations Committee in attaching a rider to a huge appropriations bill. The rider would have precluded HEW from cutting off funds to any school district that permitted children and their parents to choose their own school. In other words, his rider would legalize all freedom of choice plans.

A bipartisan group of civil rights supporters only beat the Whitten rider by votes of 176-167 and 167-156. On these votes all but four or five Southern Democrats voted with Whitten.

Iowa Votes

Among Iowa congressmen, Democrat John Culver voted against both similar Whitten proposals and Republican William Scherle split on the two votes.

Democrat Neal Smith and Republicans Wiley Mayne, H. R. Gross and John Kyl supported Whitten. Republican Fred Schwengel was absent.

To: Chairmen, Discussion Leaders and Resource People, August, 1960, Meeting, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

From: Program Committee

Meeting For Workshop and Clinic Chairmen, Discussion Leaders and Resource People

We are moving up the time of the preparatory meeting to 6:00 p.m. on Thursday, August 25 in order to allow adequate time to talk with you about the program details. It is important that all program people attend this meeting.

To assure maximum participation and productivity at our convention we make the following recommendations:

Friday Workshops 9:50 - 11:45 A.M. Observation, analysis and definition of the problem.

The object of the Friday morning workshop is to increase the understanding of participants in the specific topic area under consideration through:

A. The chairman's overview of the topic.
B. Analysis of problems tried by CIC's and other groups.
C. Consideration of programs that might be developed.

The Friday workshop will focus on specific problems faced by the various councils by means of a problem census that will be conducted shortly after the opening of the session. The session will close after developing a plan of action for the next day's meeting.

Agenda

A. Chairman introduces resource people and discussion leader and gives brief outline of what he sees as the basic problem areas that the workshop might concern itself with (5 to 10 minutes).
B. Each council or other organizations defines its major related problem or question after 10 minute buzz sessions.
C. Discussion leader assigns resource people to the four or five small groups that will each meet to consider a specific problem.
D. Small groups report their findings to the general workshop session.
E. Discussion from the floor with opportunity for resource people to make comments.

Saturday Workshops 9:00 - 11:00 A.M. Group Solutions to Problems

The goal of the Saturday workshop is to develop and record program ideas that might be used by other councils and to prepare recommendations for the National Conference on what services in the program area it should provide for local councils.

Agenda

A. Chairman summarizes what was accomplished in Friday's session and defines goal for Saturday meeting.
B. Workshop breaks into three or four groups as on Friday. Each group develops and records specific program ideas for local councils and recommendations for national.*
C. Recorders from each of the small groups summarize the program ideas at the closing general workshop session.

* The number of small groups or buzz sessions will be determined by the discussion leader, dependent on how many participants appear for his workshop.

CLINICS

The clinics meet for one session each. They are more formally structured than the workshops and involving 5-8 minute talks by each of the resource people. The object of the clinic is to develop, record, and discuss information on problems of CIC work, some of which can be later printed by the national office as pamphlets and brochures on "How To Start A CIC", etc.

Agenda

A. Chairman introduces discussion leader and resource people, gives brief content outline slanted toward eliciting definitions of problems from each council.
B. Discussion leader calls for problem census from participants.
C. Resource people each give 5-8 minute presentations relating their talks to the areas defined in the problem census.
D. General questions from the floor.
E. Resource people meet in buzz sessions to get the help of small groups in writing their final report.
F. Presentation of final reports to the general session.

DUTIES OF CHAIRMAN, DISCUSSION LEADERS AND RESOURCE PEOPLE

CHAIRMAN

Workshop

The primary responsibility of the workshop chairman is to maintain a high content level in his workshop. He should prepare a brief outline of the basic problem areas to be covered in the workshop. This outline should be distributed in advance to his discussion leader and resource people and will serve as a basis for his ten minute introductory remarks at the beginning of the Friday workshop.

The chairman should also assume responsibility, with the workshop recorder for preparing a summary of preceedings and making this summary available at the meetings of the resolutions and report committee.

At the Saturday workshop, the chairman will open by summarizing the important happenings of the Friday session and spelling out the goals of the Saturday meeting.

In both the Friday and Saturday workshops the chairman may also serve as resource person, when called upon by the audience.

Clinics

The clinic chairman should contact his resource people immediately indicating the topic areas he would like covered.

At the outset of the clinic sessions the chairman will give a brief outline of the topic area and ask for questions and statement of problems from the participants.

DISCUSSION LEADERS

Workshop

The discussion leader has been chosen for his practical knowledge of group process. He will see to it that the participants contribute to the fullest and are made to feel that their ideas count.

In the workshops the discussion leader will be responsible for setting up the buzz sessions for the local councils represented in his workshop in order to get them to spell out four or five major problem areas. It is also his job to assign resource people to the four or five small groups that will meet around each of these problem areas. He will see to it that the resource people are properly briefed on how to lead their small group discussions.

He will also have to make the judgment on whether or not the workshop group will break into small discussion units (this will depend on the number of people who show up for the workshop) - more on this at the Thursday afternoon briefing session.

If the discussion leader decides not to break into small groups it will be his function to see that everyone has a chance to contribute in the general session and that his resource people and chairman do not monopolize the session.

CLINICS

The clinic discussion leader will have three major responsibilities: (1) Conducting the problem census (2) Moderating the five minute presentations of the resource people (3) Setting up the buzz sessions if his clinic draws a large number of participants.

EVALUATION

Finally, the discussion leader will be responsible for working with the Program Committee in conducting workshop and clinic evaluations. Evaluation forms will be provided at the Thursday afternoon briefing session.

RESOURCE PEOPLE

Workshop

Workshop resource people need not prepare any formal presentation but will sit in on the discussion, commenting, clarifying, and giving information when necessary. The resource person should convey to his small group that "as a resource person I am someone you might want to call upon rather than someone you feel that you have to call upon."

Clinics

Resource people for the clinics will each give a talk on one area of the clinic topic. Your chairman will notify you concerning this area. You should be prepared to adapt your talk to questions that are developed by the audience during the problem census. The total length of your presentation must not exceed five to eight minutes.

Guide For Resource Person - Small Group Sessions

A. Introduce yourself and appoint a recorder.
B. See that everyone is comfortably seated in a circle if possible.
C. Ask each person to introduce himself.
D. You might get the discussion started by raising a question about your small group's problem or sub-topic. The point is to get the discussion rolling.
E. Participants should be encouraged to raise questions and every effort should be made to discuss these questions through inter-action of theparticipants. If the discussion gets into a rut shift it to a related issue.
F. Try to get everyone involved. Remember that every contribution is an important one and make the person speaking aware of your appreciation of what he or she has to say. However, don't let any one person dominate the discussion.

Note - A large number of questionnaires concerning the program from those who plan to attend the convention have just been received by the St. Louis Council. In order to satisfy the questions of these people, we have made the following program change:

We have added one workshop.

PARISH AND THE CHANGING COMMUNITY

Chairman: Rev. John LaFarge, S. J.
329 West 108th Street
New York 25, New York

Discussion Leader: Mrs. Ann Neiderlander
CIC of St. Louis

Resource People:

Miss Ramona Horn
CIC of Omaha
4214 Lafayette
Omaha 31, Nebraska

Mr. Frank Demers
CIC of New York
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, NewYork

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Hugh A. Dolan, Chaplain
CIC of Greensboro
109 West Smith Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mrs. Helen Otey
CIC of St. Louis
5142 Ashland
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Mr. Archibald LeCesne
CIC of Chicago
McCoy, Ming & Leighton
123 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois

Final line up for CLINIC ON CIC FUND RAISING

Chairman: Dr. Edward L. Grant
CIC of St. Louis
4225 a Finney Avenue
St. Louis 13, Missouri

Discussion Leader: Miss Gloria Franchi
CIC of Chicago
3941 North Troy
Chicago, Illinois

Resource People:

Mr. Francis Shane, Executive Secretary
Committee on Civil Rights
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania
CIC of Pittsburgh

Dr. Walter A. Young
CIC of St. Louis
4903 Wabada
St. Louis, Missouri

WORKSHOPS: Content

Employment: Motivation and guidance of minority group youth (Youth Training Incentives); apprenticeship programs; referral services, employment agencies, etc.; responsibility and possibility for employers; function and service of FEP legislation; discrimination by government contractors, labor unions and private employers; discrimination by employers or unions on building or maintenance contracts with Church organizations; shifting employment picture - manpower needs and technological change.

School Desegregation: Public school integration; private school integration; Asian and African students in Catholic colleges in U. S. (70 sub-Sahara African Students in U. S. Catholic colleges last year, out of total 5200 foreign students in these colleges); unequal education, or compensating programs to make up for deficient background; Catholic schools to be encouraged to reach out and seek Negro students; discrimination in higher education; human relations in curriculum.

Housing: Neighborhood racial change, the factors; education and action techniques to meet neighborhood racial change; the housing market, role of builders; realtors (no real estate board in the U. S. admits Negroes as members); practice of mortgage industry both as regards the inner city picture and as regards the all white suburban picture; housing supply, governmental financing assistance and their contribution to segregation or integration; conservation, urban renewal and relocation; open occupancy legislation.

Civil Rights: Voting and voting registration; public accommodations (can in the South be viewed in a deeper perspective as being the center of a more basic movement with a concern for equality across the board, essentially a recognition of human dignity); role of police function of the state.

The Parish and the Changing Community: What should be the response of a parish, its members and its organizations when first experiencing racial change in an area bounding on the expanding ghetto, or in an all white suburban area? What can we say about interracial education which can be done in parishes prior to racial change? What should be the relationship between the parochial community and the geographical community, or what is the relationship between the Church and community life. In what ways can parishes support and participate in community organization movements. In neighborhoods with bi-racial occupancy with a tradition of segregation in parishes, what steps can we take to create a single integrated parochial system.

Workshop on the South: What is the role of the Church in securing interracial justice in the South. What Catholic activity exists at present in the South; where are there Catholics playing helpful civic roles in the desegregation and community organization processes; what is the role of the 'moderate;' what is the role of the catalyst; what has been the effect of the 'sit-ins' and what can we learn fromthem; what are our problems within the Church and how can we be of service in correcting them; how can we develop educational programs in our locales; would some increased com unication among us be useful in our common task in the South; how can we help Catholics perform civic tasks. Would some sort of Commission on the South attached to the National Conference be helpful to maintain communication and improve and service the work of Catholic lay people in the South?

PR

NEWS RELEASE

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior
Chicago 10, Illinois

DE-7-1025 For Release: Immediately

A Catholic Interracial Council has been formed in Little Rock, Arkansas. The Little Rock Council is joining the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Formed to conduct fact-finding and education on interracial difficulties in that city marked by racial difficulties over the matter of school integration, the Little Rock Council has already assisted in a statewide educational program on segregation and interracial justice and charity. This program was conducted in all the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine discussion groups in the Catholic diocese of Little Rock.

The formation of this new CIC in Little Rock comes at a time when Bishop Albert Fletcher has written a pastoral letter to Catholics in Arkansas saying that silence on interracial relations is harmful to constructively facing and solving problems. He called for the Confraternity group discussions, and prepared for their use "An Elementary Catholic Catechism on the Morality of Segregation and Racial Discrimination". In the catechism Bishop Fletcher says racial segregation "as we know it in Arkansas is immoral."

Bishop Fletcher goes on to discuss correct moral values on racial matters, and offers some preliminary suggestions to help remedy racial prejudice.

The Little Rock Council will join with the other 40 Catholic Interracial Councils in the founding meeting of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in St. Louis, August 25 - 28.

PRESS RELEASE

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior
Chicago 10, Illinois
DE-7-1025 FOR RELEASE: Immediately

The 40 Catholic Interracial Councils in the United States will hold their 1960 national meeting in St. Louis, Missouri, August 25-28. The Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis will host the meeting, the first since the Council movement founded the new National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Patron of the convention, to be held on the campus of St. Louis University, is Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter. Convention chairman is Miss Dorothy Mattingly, Board member of the National Conference and of the St. Louis CIC. Co-chairman of the meeting is Mr. Ellsworth Evans, President of the St. Louis Council.

At the meeting the delegates from CICs, and other interested persons, will take part in special sessions on public and private school desegregation, civil rights, discrimination in employment and housing.

There will be special workshops for Catholics from the southern states to plan methods of strengthening their interracial work there. At the same time other Councils will take part in discussions on youth and adult education techniques.

A spokesman said special attention would be given to increasing the participation of Catholic lay people in educational work for integration of city and suburban neighborhoods, as well as work in the South. Catholics will be encouraged to work with those of other faiths to secure interracial justice.

This will be only the second time the Catholic Interracial Councils have met together. They first gathered in Chicago in August, 1958. At that meeting they appointed a national committee which recommended the formation of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, a federation of the various CICs. The National Conference was founded to provide local Councils with increased communication with each other, special program services, and greater national impact on interracial problems.

- end -

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NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
FOR
INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

MATHEW H. AHMANN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

21 WEST SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
DELAWARE 7-1025

118

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
21 West Superior
Chicago 10, Illinois

MOhawk-4-8222

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1961

NEW NEW ORLEANS CATHOLIC ORGANIZATION FORMED TO WORK FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Editors: Attached for your information is a release prepared by an organization formed last night, March 23, 1961, in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Organized by Catholic laymen, with the approval and blessing of New Orleans Catholic Archbishop Rummel, the organization is called the CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS. It was formed to work for better race relations in all aspects of community life.

The release of this new organization and its statement of purpose is attached.

President of the new organization is Mr. C. Ellis Henican, prominent New Orleans attorney, and a Knight of St. Gregory in the Catholic Church.

Secretary of the organization is Mr. John P. Nelson, Jr, also a New Orleans attorney. Mr. Nelson is a vice chairman of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Mr. Nelson is also a vice chairman of the New Orleans "Save Our Schools Organization" formed to keep the public schools open on an integrated basis.

Working with the group as Chaplain appointed by Archbishop Rummel, is Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Plauche, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

The organization was formed at an interracial meeting of about 300 laymen. In its statement of purpose, the Council invites non-Catholics to consider approval of their objectives and working with the organization on community wide projects.

For Release: March 23, 1961
CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
P.O. Box 4366
New Orleans, Louisiana

Not to be released until
10:00 p.m.

A group of Catholic laymen have established an organization designed to promote interracial justice and charity in the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

At a meeting March 23, at Notre Dame Seminary, approximately 300 laymen and lay women voted to establish the Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

They elected C. Ellis Henican, New Orleans, their president. Other officers elected were: First Vice-President, Dr. Paul Hebert, Baton Rouge; Second Vice-President, Dr. Leonard Burns, New Orleans; Secretary, John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans; Treasurer, Mrs. Thompson B. Burk, New Orleans.

Members of the Board of Directors are: Francis C. Doyle, Harry Charbonnet, Shelly Schuster, Dr. Nick Accardo, Miss Iona Berteaux, William Joseph Rouchell, Charles DeBlieux, James Gilly, Miss Norey Smith, Numa Rousseve, Basil Moss, Ben Canaday, Charles Denechaud, Elliot Keyes, all of New Orleans; Senator J.D. DeBlieux, Dr. B.V. Barranco, Andrew Bahlinger, John Burk, A.A. Lenoir, Herman Scluter, Dr. Myron Walker, all of Baton Rouge; Dr. John Fisher, Cut-Off; Thomas Ragusa and Frank Cucchiara of Hammond; Dr. Charles Daunis, Vacherie; . . J.R. Schoen, Covington; Edward Lapeyrouse, Houma; Dr. Richard Dawes, Gramercy.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Plauche stated that the Council was formed with the approval and blessing of the Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans.

Mr. Henican said the purpose of the organization is to improve relationships among peoples of all races and national origins in the Archdiocese. He added that it will promote the teachings of the Catholic Church on interracial justice and charity and will work to correct the mistaken image that some persons have of the Church's official position on these matters.

"While this is a Catholic laymen's organization," he said, "we invite all citizens of good will to consider the approval of the objects of the newly created Council and to join with the Council in this community wide undertaking."

It is the Council's hope, he said, that attitudes of Christian charity will permeate all phases of community life. Its aims are fourfold:

(a) To promote good relationships among peoples of all races in the Archdiocese of New Orleans;
(b) To make known the teachings of the Catholic church on matters of interracial justice and charity, particularly as summarized by all of the cardinals, archbishops and bishops throughout the United States in their statement issued in 1958 and entitled "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience"; and the application of these principles to everyday living experiences;
(c) To work in cooperation with public and responsible private agencies, in strengthening the fabric of America's democratic way of life through the promotion of good human relations; and
(d) To exhort all of the clergy, religious and laity to offer their daily prayers, good works and sacrifices for the peaceful and

charitable solution of all problems of human relations.

Msgr Plauche said the responsibility for these aims lies with the Catholic layman as well as well as with the clergy.

Mr. Henican reported that Council members will conduct a program of education within the Catholic pariehes and will promote the Council's ideals in all phases of community life.

Mr. Henican says anyone interested in further information, please call 866-4455, or write P.O. Box 4366, New Orleans, Louisiana.

He released the attached statement on the Council's purposes and aims:

cf following pages

March 23, 1961, Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans

Statement of purpose:

The Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans has been established under the guidance and direction of the Most Reverend Archbishop of New Orleans.

According to Article II of the Charter of the Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, the objects and purposes are stated to be:

(A) To promote good relationships among peoples of all races in the Archdiocese of New Orleans;

(B) To make known the teachings of the Catholic Church on matters of interracial justice and charity, particularly as summarized by all of the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops throughout the United States in their statement issued in 1958 and entitled "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience"; and the application of these principles to everyday living experiences;

(C) To work in cooperation with public and responsible private agencies, in strengthening the fabric of America's Democratic Way of Life through the promotion of good human relations; and

(D) To exhort all of the clergy, religious and laity to offer their daily prayers, good works and sacrifices for the peaceful and charitable solution of all problems of human relations.

We have been motivated towards the formation of this Council out of a deep sense of the demands of the great Christian law of love of neighbor and respect for his rights, taught to us by Christ both by deed and word. These demands have been spelled out for us by the authoritative statement of all the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops of the United States issued in 1958, and entitled "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience." No document can better express both the reasons for the formation of this Council of Human Relations, and its goals. Here is the official statement of this newly formed work in Christ's Church. And it is only right and proper that is should be so, for as Catholics we believe that by the disposition of Christ Himself, the Roman Pontiff for the whole Church, and the Bishops for the faithful entrusted to their care, are the properly constituted shepherds of the flock of Christ; to them has been divinely given the right and duty to teach, rule, govern and sanctify those in their charge. As Pius XII stated, in his allocution of May 31, 1954: "Besides the lawful successors of the Apostles, namely, the Roman Pontiff for the Universal Church and Bishops for the Faithful entrusted to their care, there are no other teachers divinely constituted in the Church of Christ." (The Authority of the Church in Temporal Matters, NCWC, Washington, p. 2). As loyal and faithful Catholics we must, then, accept the authorative teaching of the American hierarchy and respond to their call to action.

The Bishops have taught us that "Discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color, and as such injurious tohuman rights regardless of personal qualities or achievements, cannot be reconciled with the truth that

God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity." (Paragraph 12). They have further stated that: "Legal segregation, or any form of compulsory segregation, in itself and by its very nature imposes a stigma of inferiority upon the segregated people. Even if the now obsolete Court doctrine of 'Separate but Equal' had been carried out to the fullest extent, so that all public and simi-public facilities were in fact equal, there is nonetheless the judgment that an entire race, by the sole fact of race and regardless of individual qualities, is not fit to associate on equal terms with members of another race. We cannot reconcile such a judgment with the Christian view of Man's nature and rights." (Paragraph 16). Finally they add that: "It is a matter of historical fact that segregation in our country has led to oppressive conditions and the denial of basic human rights for the Negro. This is evident in the fundamental fields of education, job opportunity, and housing." (Paragraph 17).

Faced with such authoritative teachings, the Catholic laymen forming this Council on Human Relations, will to answer the call to action of the American Bishops. Together with the Bishops, we as Catholics and southern citizens of the United States, realize that the problems which face us in the domain of human relations in the Archdiocese "are rooted in Decades, even centuries, of custom and cultural patterns" and that "changes in (such) deep-rooted attitudes are not made overnight." (Paragraph 22). We know that our action must be both prudent and courageous, quiet, prayerful and decisive. But act we must. We equally deplore a "gradualism that is merely a cloak for inaction" and a "rash impetuosity that would sacrifice the achievements of decades in ill-timed and ill-considered ventures." (Paragraph 23). We must "seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist," (Paragraph 24), "Root out of our hearts bitterness and hatred. The tasks we face are indeed difficult. But hearts inspired with Christian love will surmount these difficulties." (Paragraph 25). It is our prayer that this Council on Human Relations will, with God's grace, meet full face the challenge of our times and under the direction of the Most Reverend Archbishop of New Orleans yield fruit a hundred-fold.

While this is a Catholic laymen's organization, we invite all citizens of good will to consider the approval of the objects of the newly created Council and to join with the Council in this community wide undertaking.

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

PR
17 J-file

February 21, 1962

Mr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

You might be interested in knowing that Bishop Hallinan of Charleston, South Carolina, who has a favorable attitude towards us, has just been appointed Archbishop of the new Archdiocese of Atlanta. I don't know what areas this will encompass, or when he will arrive, but the news media will probably have this information shortly.

I am looking forward to seeing you at the Southern Inter-Agency Meeting in April.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

4

PRV

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PAV - see Ahmann's letter,

we ought to remember this for future SRC reporting

MJ - file

Rev Toole

denied entrance Fri

saw him Sat

Jones - not adequate

Rec'd 3/1/62

COPY

February 27, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Executive Director
Catholic Council on Human Relations
of the Archdiocese of New Orleans
1046 Baronne St., Suite 2
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Your letter of February 7 arrived soon after my departure on a Southern tour, from which I have just returned. I am reminded also that I have never really answered your letter of last fall.

About three weeks ago I visited Bishop Hallinan in Charleston. I was tremendously impressed with him in all respects, and particularly with his wise and courageous attitude in the field of racial justice. I was overjoyed to learn two weeks later of Bishop Hallinan's elevation to Archbishop over a new province, embracing the two Carolinas, Georgia and Florida!

With reference to the questions raised in your letter of last September as to the most appropriate activities upon which to embark, you have no doubt found your way by now to a good program. I would be hesitant in any case to offer much advice without more familiarity with your situation and problems. These observations may be offered, nevertheless, in a general way:

I think it will help for your council to join with other human relations groups in exposing housing injustices and bringing pressure to bear in this area. For immediate results, a more promising field for direct action would be that of employment practices. As a result of the forceful policy of the Administration in the matter of government-contract industries and a number of other factors, there is a real awakening to the evil and manpower waste of racial discrimination in employment. In South Carolina I found that a number of leading state personalities are beginning to speak out on this. Many are ready to move now in this area who are impervious to the human relations appeal in other areas. I believe that this is an especially propitious time for a push on the equal employment opportunity front.

Nothing would seem more important or appropriate than the work of merely expanding your field of influence, correcting error and misapprehensions, and spreading truth and Christian doctrine in the matter of race relations among the Catholics of the New Orleans archdiocese. Here dissemination of helpful literature would seem to be indicated and the cooperation of the clergy may present both a great opportunity and a problem.

Generally speaking, while cooperating with other human relations groups in the broader field, it would seem to be the first duty of a Catholic organization, expecially in an area of such heavy Catholic population, to address itself to Catholic attitudes and aim at bringing about the desegregation of all Catholic facilities.

I would suggest a close contact with the new archbishop's office when it is established in Atlanta. In the meantime, the pastoral letter issued jointly on the first Sunday of Lent, February 19, 1961, by the Bishops of Charleston, Savannah and Atlanta, would be helpful reading for New Orleans Catholics. This is a splendid review of the attitude of the Church toward race relations addressed to dioceses of strong race prejudice. You may be familiar with it. Copies of this and other material from Charleston could be obtained from Father Fleming McManus (who was in our Detroit seminar), Diocesan Superintendent of Schools, 119 Broad St., Charleston, S. C.

The course of instruction in racial justice which Bishop Hallinan introduced in the diocesan schools last year is particularly remarkable and should be useful in some way in New Orleans. I am enclosing a copy of a summary of the syllabus for teachers with this letter.

In answer to the inquiry in your letter of February 7 as to the possibility of my going to New Orleans to counsel with you in the event ~~that~~ the desegregation of parochial schools there is scheduled for the fall of 1962, let me say that I will be at your disposal insofar as it appears that I can be of help. This is an important facet of the fight for racial justice in the South to which our organization is dedicated and no fee would be required from you. I have "unfinished business" which will bring us (my wife travels with me) by car to Alabama and Mississippi in any case. Your council might contribute to the extent of my subsistence expense during our stay in New Orleans.

How long? It is hard to say without knowing more about the manner in which you would expect me to help. Maybe three or four days, maybe a week. I think there should be some flexibility about the length of my stay in any case.

I hope we may soon have the good news from Archbishop Rummel. Please keep me informed.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

COPY

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. Superior St.
Chicago 10, Illinois
MOhawk 4-8222

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
REctor 2-5417

Chicago, Illinois
February 9, 1962

Dear Ben,

Yesterday we mailed the enclosed paper you prepared to each of the U. S. bishops and Catholic school superintendents. I thought you would want several copies. We have made some distribution before this.

Today we secured the agreement of Commonweal to adapt your paper to an article they hope to carry in early March. I think you will be hearing from Jim O'Gara of the Commonweal about this. I imagine that they will pay you for the use of it in this manner. After, or rather as it is published in Commonweal, it will also be released to the Catholic and secular press.

I hope you do not mind the liberty we took in calling you a consultant to us and to Henry Cabirac's Southern Field Service. That is how we regard you.

Very sincerely yours,

Mathew Ahmann

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

The Problem of Integrating
Parochial Schools in the South

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

The Problem of Integrating Parochial Schools in the South

January, 1962

The Problem of Integrating Parochial Schools in the South

by Benjamin Muse

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE.....

presents this significant paper by Benjamin Muse in an effort to clarify and assist the development of policy surrounding problems of delayed school integration in the Catholic community of the United States. The paper is an outgrowth of discussions held with Catholic school superintendents at the August, 1961, national meeting of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

The August seminar for Catholic school superintendents involved discussion on school integration problems both in the North and in the South. The main theme running through the discussion, however, was the imperative decision to integrate the schools, whatever their location.

In the coming months, the Conference plans to produce reports on case histories of Northern and Southern integration, as well as a report on Catholic school segration problems in the North. We also plan to issue a report on human relations education programs which can be helpful in Catholic school systems.

Along with these reports, the services of the Conference are available on a consultant basis in working out integration plans, and in the development of educational programs for Catholic youth. We can call on the services of our national staff, and our Southern Field Service staff, as well as others experienced in the field of race relations and education.

A word about Benjamin Muse. Mr. Muse is presently Director of the Southern Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council. He is a former Virginia State Senator, and a former candidate for Governor of that state. For the SRC, he serves as a leading consultant on school integration for Southern public school systems. Mr. Muse's latest book is Virginia's Massive Resistance. He is a Catholic layman, deeply interested in interracial justice, and serves as a consultant to the Southern Field Service of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
MO - 4 - 8222

Southern Field Service
Suite 2
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana
523 - 2901

THE PROBLEM OF INTEGRATING PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH

The discussion of the parochial school integration problem offered here is based upon considerable observation of public school desegregation and the general state of race relations in the South, but upon very limited personal knowledge of the parochial school systems. This experience, however, and this perspective, may lend some value to the observations submitted below. It is earnestly hoped that they may be helpful in some measure to those bearing the difficult responsibility of administering Catholic parochial schools.

Advantageous Position of Parochial Schools

Two major differences between the parochial schools and the public schools in relation to the integration problem strike us at once. First, the public schools (except in the Archdiocese of New Orleans) serve a vastly greater number of pupils than the parochial schools; and, second, Negroes represent a much higher percentage of the total enrollment in public than in parochial schools. The massive dimensions of the public school problem have in themselves a bearing upon procedures which would have to be followed even with good will (which rarely exists). The problem of a few closely knit parochial schools is obviously simpler.

The large element of Negroes in the total public school enrollment, a majority in some counties, leads to inordinate fear on the part of many white Southerners of "mass" integration. I do not think a massive influx of Negroes into mixed schools is in prospect under any circumstances in the forseeable future. For legally correct and morally proper reasons I do not expect Negroes

to rush, or swarm, in this sense, to schools with white children. But the fear of "mass" integration is there, and it is a major obstacle to compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings. This is an aspect which is of relatively little concern to the parochial schools with their tiny minorities of Negro pupils, although some fears of "mass" integration might have to be allayed in New Orleans.

There are other factors aiding the parochial school administrator which are denied to the administrator of public schools. One is the relative freedom of parochial schools from political scrutiny, controversy and interference. Much of the public agitation and race feeling which has impeded public school integration has been incited by politicians. The parochial school, under diocesan control, is able to encourage tolerance and interracial understanding in a manner which is forbidden in most public schools. In many areas a public school teacher who would dare to teach integration or interracial brotherhood, or even to urge orderly acceptance of the law of the land, would be in danger of public reprimand or dismissal. The close relationship between the church and the parochial school is another favorable circumstance. The priest speaks directly to the parents and children affected both at Mass and in his visitations.

Urgency of Parochial School Integration

I stress the advantages of the parochial school administrator over the public school administrator in the face of this challenge, because there are grave reasons why the adjustment should take place in Catholic parochial schools, not later than or even simultaneously with, but before the action is taken by public schools. To announce that parochial schools will be desegregated "not later than the desegregation of the public schools" is an abdication not without

a tinge of shame. It makes a step dictated by conscience and Christian doctrine contingent upon an act of governmental compulsion.

From the standpoint of the public interest, parochial school integration in the South would be beneficial in its effect upon attitudes toward public school desegregation. The integration of parochial schools illuminates the moral principle and can serve to some extent as a pilot operation for the public schools which follow them. It can help in smoothing the broad path of a great and inevitable social change. Catholics can take pride in the record of the Diocese of Richmond, which announced parochial school desegregation before the Supreme Court decision in 1954 and put it into effect the following September. This demonstration of orderly adjustment in parochial schools helped condition the public for Virginia's later abandonment of massive resistance to public school desegregation.

Integration Plans

In their piecemeal integration such public school districts as have acted have followed a variety of plans: one-grade-a-year from the bottom up; one-grade-a-year from the top down; several grades at a time, or the admission of a small number of Negroes to formerly all white schools without any overall plan. Even when the desegregation of an entire grade is announced the number of Negro applicants for transfer is generally scaled down to a ludicrous minimum through a series of screening devices.

In some instances of extensive integration, notably in Louisville and Nashville, the transition has been softened by an arrangement by which pupils of the minority race in a school are permitted to transfer to another school. In Nashville which is beginning the fifth year in its one-grade-a-year plan practically all white children transfer when they find themselves assigned to a

school which is predominantly Negro; many Negro pupils have also opted for transfer to predominantly Negro schools. In Louisville, where the school board followed a plan of desegregation everywhere at once, with sensational success, the parents of 45 per cent of the Negro children assigned to what had been white schools and the parents of 85 per cent of the white children assigned to what had been Negro schools requested transfer. The purpose of this arrangement is to permit compliance with the wishes of school patrons as far as is compatible with good faith desegregation. This system of positive assignment with later adjustment by voluntary transfer has the advantage of making desegregation effective without forcing the Negro pupil to take the onerous initiative of applying for admission in each case, while at the same time permitting those Negroes who prefer a predominantly Negro school to stay in one.

This transfer arrangement would probably have little value in most parochial school situations. Parochial school administrators are better able to determine informally what Negroes might prefer to stay in predominantly Negro schools. In dealing with white pupils in parochial schools it might be a mistake, starting a train of difficulties, to cater to prejudice by allowing any white pupil to transfer from a school merely because of the presence of Negro pupils in it. At the same time it would seem to be a measure of justifiable prudence to avoid as far as practicable placing only a handful of white pupils in a predominantly Negro school.

Unreasonable Fear of "Mass" Integration

The point which the transfer system emphasizes is that many Negroes at this stage do not want to attend school with whites. I think many whites who fear "mass" integration miss this point, which is an important factor militating against wholesale integration. I think practically all Negroes want the right

to be assigned to schools without regard to race, and many, vastly more than are now being admitted to white schools, would ask for this privilege now. But I do not think there is any moral or legal duty to place a Negro in an integrated school against his will.

Abolish Race Criterion

This applies, of course, to the parochial school problem, and, I think, lightens it. In situations where the status quo is sincerely preferred by Negro pupils, no wrong is done by leaving them undisturbed. It is, nevertheless, necessary to abolish the criterion of race and accord Negro children precisely the same privilege as white children, similarly situated and similarly qualified, to attend the parochial schools which they prefer.

Pupil Qualification

This brings us, incidentally, to the question of the pupil's qualifications to attend the school of his choice. Half a dozen states and some public school districts have set up pupil placement plans ostensibly to test the qualifications of the student applying for admission or transfer, (though intended in most cases to prevent Negroes from entering white schools). The principle of examining prospective pupils to determine their qualifications, of course, is sound, and has been upheld by Federal courts -- provided the same tests are applied to white children. The average of Negro scholastic achievement in most Southern states is several years behind that of white pupils of the same age, though the few Negro pupils applying for admission to white schools are generally well above the average. Sweeping integration would involve serious problems of adjustment apart from the question of race prejudice.

Track Plan

The District of Columbia met the problem of differences in scholastic achievement by adopting its somewhat famous "four-track plan." Under this plan pupils are divided into four separate "tracks" according to talent and achievement. Though the plan was adopted in the first instance to cope with the sudden amalgamation of relatively retarded Negro pupils with more advanced white pupils, it provides a mechanism for adjusting to inevitable differences in pupil capabilities regardless of race. Some Negro pupils were found qualified for the highest tracks and some white pupils were relegated to the lowest.

Discussing the "track" system, the principal of a Southern high school once said to me: "We have always had a 'track' system. We just don't call it that." He meant merely that his teachers found ways informally to separate the backward students from the more promising and see that the latter were not held back by the former.

Similarly it would seem that informal means can be found for dealing with a small minority of initially retarded Negro children in a predominantly white parochial school. In the rare instances where Negroes might form a majority, or a substantial part of the student body, something like the "track" system might be indicated. In a few years the differences, insofar as they are identified with race, could be expected to disappear.

Gradualism Versus Total Integration

Two questions are raised in the matter of timing desegregation. One is: Should integration be gradual, that is, for instance, one grade at a time, or one school at a time? The other is: How much time should be allowed for preparation before integration begins?

Gradualism has a widespread, but I think, deceptive, appeal in this context. We are dealing here with a very unusual social phenomenon. From a purely practical point of view, there is little to be gained by delay either for the sake of a gradual schedule or to permit a period of so-called preparation.

A grade-by-grade plan has the disadvantage in some cases of separating brothers and sisters. Often a fourth grade girl is in the habit of accompanying her first-grade younger brother to school. If the first-grader is integrated ahead of her, the necessity for getting the little brother to school may impose a certain hardship; it may also require an extra stop for a school bus. If anything in the way of disorderly segregationist protest is feared, dispersal of the operation over the entire school system is preferable to singling out a single school around which the disgruntled might congregate. In any case, I believe there is less likelihood of serious protest in a parish if all schools are integrated simultaneously; then the white patrons of one school are not able to ask: "Why are we obliged to have integration when others are not?"

Preparation and Integration: What is Prudent

The idea of following a long program of preparing children and parents for school integration has also a specious appeal. Surely the doctrine of Christian brotherhood as it applies to people of different races should be preached often in Southern parishes and taught in parochial schools. The fallacy of the theory of innate Negro inferiority and the cruel injustices which it causes should be pointed out. The blasphemous myth that God has condemned the Negro race to a condition of servitude should be demolished wherever a vestige of it is still found. We should endeavor to remove race prejudice from the hearts of men. But that is a duty which will remain with us for long years to come.

Segregation must go much sooner than that. If segregation is a result of race prejudice, it is even more a cause of race prejudice. All the intellectual preparation that can be given is not equal to actual association with attractive Negroes as an antidote to prejudice. The presence of a few Negroes in white schools does more to explode myths and allay fear and hysteria than any possible program of indoctrination.

Experience in public schools has proven abundantly that the best way to desegregate is to desegregate. A degree of bold resolution in this area is actually the course of prudence. Actual desegregation marks more often the end than the beginning of serious trouble. The aftermath of desegregation is always anti-climactic. The presence of a few Negroes in formerly all-white schools soon ceases to attract attention. Opposition simmers down.

I do not think parochial schools should move surreptitiously. A dignified public announcement of coming desegregation should be made. But care should be taken otherwise to keep publicity to a minimum. Elaborate "preparation" may cause harmful publicity. It tends to magnify the difficulty, and may even be taken as a kind of challenge to hostile elements in and out of the Church.

Some quiet preparation is in order, of a kind which the school administrator will know best how to make. Private conversation with some dissident parishioners will doubtless help. But as far as possible integration should be anticipated and carried out in a spirit of matter-of-fact routine.

Benjamin Muse

June 8, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
National Catholic Conference for Interracial
Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Thank you for your letter of May 28 and the clip about Russell Long's rebuke of Perez. Things are looking up.

We do get the Augusta Courier and have seen Roy Harris's weekly screams. He ran all this, you know, some years back at a time when he unfortunately had more influence than he fortunately has now. We do not intend to take any note of what he has written.

Our policy about reacting to these Communist smears has evolved over the years and seems to us sound. If the smear is libelous we protest, and do so as effectively as we know how. For example, a radio station in Birmingham said that we have known Communists on our Board. We are getting a retraction.

If a smear, non-libelous, appears in a responsible or widely read paper or magazine we will usually seek a retraction. For example, a few years ago some southern paper reprinted a

series of silly articles from a New Englaad paper, one of which smeared us. Most of the papers which carried this series were not the type we could appeal to for fairness and so did not. But when the Richmond Times-Dispatch carried the series we did protest and we got an apologetic editorial.

If the smear, non-libelous, is carried in an organ of the opposition (e.g., Augusta Courier) or is carried in a non-descript newspaper) we think the best thing to do is ignore it. Some months ago we, against our better judgment, but in deference to some anxious pleas from our friends in Alabama, protested some remarks by a columnist of the Montgomery Advertiser. The only result was that he used our protest as a pretext for writing another column.

In general I think that, in 1962, we do the racists a favor by noticing them. If they cross the border line of libel, we believe in keeping them honest. But, otherwise, they are the only gainers from public argument.

I, intturn, would welcome your thoughts.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

May 28, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1962

Dear Leslie:

You will find enclosed a copy of a news article describing how Perez was rebuked by the Democratic Committee of Louisiana. It is particularly interesting to note Russell Long's statement: "People are getting tired of being called a Communist just because they don't agree with you . . . It gets to be respectable to be called a Communist after a while . . . when the call Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, Archbishop Rummel, Pope John Communists."

I'm not sure whether or not you would want to use this article in any manner, but I did think that you would be interested in learning that Perez is losing some of his prestige since he was excommunicated. This doesn't mean that he has become powerless, but it is an indication that he can't call all of the shots.

Do you get the Augusta Courier? If you do, you should see the May 17, 1962 issue whose red headlines proclaim that "SRC FINANCED BY FORD EXPOSED AS HAVEN FOR COMMIES." By now you are probably used to being called a Communist, however, I do know of a Protestant minister in California who sued the John Birch Society for $50,000 for calling him a Communist. Perhaps if more of this were done, it might prove expensive for these crackpot organizations and publications to go around branding everyone a Communist.

I would welcome your reaction to this idea.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

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November 26, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Max Hahn of the Field Foundation spoke to me on the telephone regarding your request, and I was able to say the good word that way. He seemed fairly noncommital about it, so I have no intelligence to offer. But all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

November 12, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

Matt Ahmann informed me that he has a proposal pending with the field foundation for our Southern Field Service. As you know we have managed to stay in existence but believe that we would be able to accomplish much more with an adequate budget. Would it be possible for you to drop Field Foundation a note of recommendation for us before their next board of director's meeting?

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC/mw

file

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

December 5, 1962

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Before going to the NAIRO convention in Washington, I visited Hahn in New York. I thought I should let you know since you were kind enough to put in a good word for us. Thanks again; I'll let you know if it materializes.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC:kv

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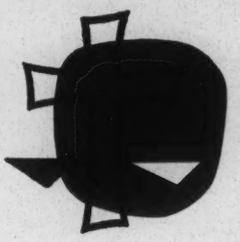
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901



MJ - send copy to Charles Jones
Dave
file

January 8, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Congratulations on the Nashville consultation. The tremendous need for something like this was indicated by the fact that some groups seemed to be so far apart. This conference laid the groundwork for what I hope will be future conferences of this type.

If we are fortunate enough to have such a conference in the future, do you think it might be possible to break the group up into smaller groups for buzz sessions or something of the sort whereby everybody has an opportunity to participate actively and to make recommendations as to what they may do in their own area? If there is any way we can help with this, please let me know.

Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

HC:kv

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3/20/63

BC MMJ

Bernice,

Please send twenty-five (25) copies of Ben Muse's comments on RACE AND REASON to Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr. (Label attached.)

thanx, mmj

March 20, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

I have your letter of March 18. The confidential report was not enclosed, however, and the envelope arrived here unsealed.

We are sending the requested copies of Ben Muse's comments on Race and Reason -- no charge.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

March 18, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Not enclosed is letter not sealed

You might be interested in a Confidential Report which I prepared for our National directors. Because some of the people involved have experienced severe financial losses, none of this material must ever be published but you might find it helpful in supplementing your knowledge of the various southern areas, particularly New Orleans.

Could you please ask your secretary to send me and bill me for 25 copies of Benjamin Muse's comment on Race and Reason. Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:kv

ENC.

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April 26, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for — file
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

We have given thought to your suggestion of a survey of Atlanta response regarding the opening of Catholic schools and hospitals. I'm afraid we shall have to pass. Actually, we have little experience in opinion surveys. It is a fact, however, that to do this kind of thing well is both expensive and time-consuming beyond almost any other form of research. Our employment studies were of a different kind. We were seeking there to find out some facts about the situations; finding out what people think or think they think, is a different beast. Also, commitments we already have, both of money and effort for research, are pretty heavy.

As I told you, if you would want us to call a few people to sample reactions, informally, I am sure we could do it for you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

PA ✓
SBV
MJ - file

May 1, 1963

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks for responding so promptly to my recent request regarding a survey in Atlanta. I can certainly understand why you wouldn't want to undertake such a thing.

This matter is now under discussion with my home office and as soon as I have heard from them will be in a better position to tell you whether or not I'd like to take you up on your offer to talk to a few key people to get some idea of the feelings of the people in Atlanta. I do appreciate this offer and will let you know whether or not I want to take advantage of it.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC/ej

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

FROM THE DESK OF
HENRY A. CABIRAC, JR.

file

June 19, 1963

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Thank you for sending me so promptly a copy of Leslie Dunbar's speech.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

Henry Cabirac

HC/ej

June 7, 1963

Mr. August Meier
Associate Professor of History
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. Meier:

That is an awfully good article you wrote. It is a picture which I have seen myself in almost exact detail. All of this has something more than an interest of curiosity for us; through the Voter Education Project we are working with it daily.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

June 7, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

Enclosed is a copy of Mr. Dunbar's National Civil Liberties Clearing House speech of last March which you recently requested.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

MJ photo

June 4, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern REgional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Would you be able to send me a copy of your speech to the Civil Liberties Clearing Union. Paul Anthony was quoting some of it and it sounded extremely intersting. I would very much like to see the entire thing if it is possible.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC:ej

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

Free

December 31, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Paul Anthony tells me you will be here very soon for a meeting of the steering committee of the Southern Interagency Conference. Could we get together than to think about names of the kind of people you mention in your letter of December 6?

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LWD:

Henry will likely be in Atlanta early in January for a meeting of the steering committee of the Southern Interagency Conference. Would suggest you talk to him then about his needs and give suggestion accordingly. His present request is, I think, much too vague to respond to intelligently.

PA

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

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National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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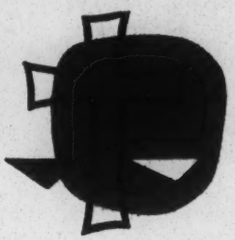

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

December 6, 1963

PA advice, please

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Strret, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Harold Fleming strongly suggested asking you to give me the names of white business men, politicans, labor leaders and professional men who had been able to successfully overcome some of the obstacles in their own fields in order to achieve interracial justice. My purpose in asking this is for our Leadership Conference to be conducted in Atlanta April 30, May 1-3 at which we will hold workshops according to occupations. Our purpose in doing this is to make these as menaingful and practical as possible and try to remove as many of the fears as possible from power structure people who could be influential in effecting changes in their own area.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

fl

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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PA
MJ. file

January 3,

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Les:

Thanks for your note. I will be happy to check with you on a suggested list of power structure people to invite to our Leadership Conference when we meet for our Southern Interagency Steering Committee meeting.

Happy New Year!

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

fl

file "Religious organizations"

Free Religious orgs.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

File

January 13, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Les:

You will find enclosed a copy of our confidental annual report, which I thought might be helpful to you in becoming more familiar with the role we are trying to play. Whatever comments and suggestions you have on it, I'd appreciate hearing.

You will note Bishop Gerow's letter on page 7 forbidding us from working in his diocese. Within the past week, we have been successful in memding our fences with him, and he has agreed to send his administrators to our Southern Leadership Conference in Atlanta.

Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

fl

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March 25, 1965

Mr. John Sisson
Director
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Jack:

I enjoyed the occasion; sorry to have missed you.

My expenses were:

Airplane (tourist)	$51.77
Private car to and from Atlanta airport, 40 miles -- @ 8¢ mile	3.20
Airport parking	1.00
Airport transportation, Memphis	2.80
Meals	5.50
	$64.27

I noticed a tape recorder going during my talk. Was it your's or the College's? In either event, if a copy of the tape could be had we would be glad to pay for it.

All best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

$64.27 ck to be endorsed
~~3/31/65~~ 4/1/65 enclosed L.K.
L.K. enclosed returns

File Relig. Orgs.

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March 29, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a check for $64.27 to cover the cost of your expenses in coming to our convention. I assume that you received your honorarium.

It seems that every loose end connected with the convention attached itself to you - from your room not being available to you to poor promotion for your talk and a number of other things which you are probably not aware of. Some day I hope that we will be able to sit down and go over them and have a laugh. In the meantime, I hope that you will accept my apology for any inconveniences you may have suffered.

Actually, we all felt that the convention was a smashing success and of the utmost significance to our future work in the South.

The complete proceedings of the convention will probably be published by Social Digest with copies available to everyone who attended plus another general distribution. We wish to include your talk in these proceedings. I am in the process of getting a transcript made of your tape (that is, the Memphis Committee is supposed to be doing this) and I will be glad to have a copy made of the tape for your own use. I am sure that the expense of this will not be too much. I just wish I had been able to hear your talk. I understand that it was excellent.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson, Director

fl
enc

February 25, 1965

Mr. John Sisson
Director
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Jack:

Thank you for your letter of February 20. I am enclosing the requested five copies of my vita. We have only two copies of a photograph and I am sending both of them to you. Please return; and we have been using these prints for years.

All best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures

Rec'd 2/23/65

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National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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February 20. 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

The title of your address to be given at the Christian Brothers College, Memphis, 8:00p.m., Saturday March 20, THE SOUTH's DEBT TO THE NEGRO REVOLT, sounds great.

Father Louis J. Twomey will not be able to be in Memphis that evening so he will not be on the program that evening. We will need five copies at least of your biography and a similar number of photographs; and when you have worked out a paragraph or two concerning your talk we will use that as a basis for a press release. As we discussed, we are glad to offer expenses and an honorarium of $150.

I am sure that some emphasis in your talk on the Mississippi situation will of great interest to those who are there. As I said also, the promotion for attendance will be through all the churches in Memphis as well as to the general public.

Mr. Herbert Robinson, 5038 William Arnold Road, Memphis, phone 653-2469 will be in charge of arrangements in Memphis.

We will also invite to your address all those who are attending the Friday night meeting at which Brooks Hays will speak which will consist of all those groups that have been active in Memphis in improving race relations.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson
Director

cc: Matt Ahmann
Herbert Robinson
Mrs. Agnes Jaynes

fl

Recd 2/23/65

CONVENTION

RELIGION AND RACE IN THE SOUTH: CATHOLIC PERSPECTIVES

Memphis, Tennessee

March 19-21, 1965

Sponsor: National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Host: Memphis Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Diocese of Nashville

This meeting is designed especially for members of Catholic Human Relations Councils in the South and Southwest and for other Catholics interested in working for interracial justice and charity. However, non-Catholics are invited and most welcome.

The convention will provide opportunity for contact with numerous specialists, and will emphasize your personal involvement in seminar-type workshops of limited size. The workshops will concentrate on practical programs.

SCHEDULE

Friday, March 19

1:00 p.m. Registration opens
5:00 p.m. Mass
6:00 p.m. Reception
7:00 p.m. Banquet — Keynote Address
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Josiah Chatham, Pastor, St. Richard's Church, Jackson, Mississippi
9:30 p.m. Hospitality rooms open

Saturday, March 20

9-10:45 a.m. Opening Address — Religion and Race in the South: Catholic Perspectives
by The Very Reverend Harold R. Perry, Southern Provincial Superior of the Divine Word Fathers
11-12:30 p.m. Workshops
1- 2:00 p.m Lunch
2- 4:00 p.m. Workshops continued from morning with same participants
2- 4:00 p.m. Institute for nuns of the Memphis area
4:30 p.m. Mass
5:30 p.m. Reception room opens
8:00 p.m. Public Address at Christian Brothers College Auditorium

Sunday, March 21

8:45-
11:15 a.m. Workshops
11:45 a.m. Mass and Homily — Most Rev. Joseph A. Durick, Coadjutor of the Diocese of Nashville
1:15-2:45 p.m. Luncheon and Final Address, Summary

CONVENTION ACCOMMODATIONS: SHERATON MEMPHIS MOTOR INN

The new 115-room Sheraton Motor Inn (889 Union Street, phone 526-8481) is situated near downtown Memphis. Limousine service to and from the airport.

CONVENTION ROOM RATES: Single—$9.00 per night; Double—$12.00 per night

You will be sent a reservation card when you pre-register. You will be responsible for your own reservations. If you wish a roommate assigned to you, please indicate this.

TEAR OFF TO MAIL IN

TEAR OFF TO MAIL IN

CONVENTION COSTS

Make all checks payable to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Registration	$10.00	Includes all speeches and workshops but no meals
Banquet Friday	4.00	Includes keynote address
Luncheon Sunday	2.25	Includes final address and wrap-up

Register by mailing this sheet to: Mrs. Mary K. Tolleson, 228 East Parkway North, Memphis, Tennessee

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

AFFILIATION _____

Enclosed is a check for $_____ Will pay on arrival _____

Indicate workshop preferences by listing 1st, 2nd and 3rd choice. Assignment to workshops will be in the order in which registration is received. You will be able to attend two complete workshops. (Description of all workshops above.)

1____, 2____, 3____, 4____, 5____, 6____, 7____, 8____, 9____, 10____, 11____, 12____.

WORKSHOPS

Each will include a substantive paper, reports of actual programs and several hours for active participation by all. The size of each group will be limited. Assignments will be made in the order in which registration is received as indicated on the form below, or when you arrive if you do not pre-register.

Saturday

1. Catholic Human Relations Councils — Will include organization, programming, public relations, speakers bureaus, membership building, outline of community organization skills; and will detail some successful Council programs. Of special interest to Council members and those interested in starting a Council.

Sunday

2. Discrimination and the Family — Review of the effects of discrimination on family stability and development including moral and psychological stresses and effects of cultural deprivation. Will cover some of the church and community services available to aid these families.

Sunday

3. Interfaith Cooperation — Explore the opportunity afforded by an interfaith Conference on Religion and Race and of Catholic-Jewish-Protestant dialogue programs. Workshops will include reports of a number of successful interfaith efforts in the South.

Sunday

4. Discrimination and the Spanish-speaking — Definition of the extent and kinds of discrimination encountered in various parts of the South and Southwest and the progress of programs and actions designed to alleviate the effects of prejudice.

Saturday

5. Mediation Opportunities in Tension Situations — Analysis of the role and procedures of "third parties" in the resolution of racial strife referring to opening of schools, public accommodations, housing, employment, etc. And will detail several actual cases.

Sunday

6. National Parishes — Examination of the future of these "mission" parishes, their effect on white and Negro Catholics and examination of the status of members of these parishes according to Canon Law. Also included will be examples of fruitful inter-parish cooperation.

Sunday

7. Catholic Institutions: Schools — Discussion of curricula and text needs; integration of faculty, administration and parish school organizations; means for accomplishing desegregation; and a consideration of the effects of integration of schools.

Sunday

8. Medicine — Study of the effects of discrimination in patient care, nursing and technical staffs, administration hiring and medical staffs and societies. Will outline steps which have been taken to afford equal care and vocational opportunity for all.

Saturday

9. Employment and Purchasing by Church Institutions — Review of positive programs taken by government, private agencies and companies to assure equal job opportunities. Explanation of the new NCCIJ program to creatively engage the purchasing power of the Church.

Saturday

10. Radical Groups of Left and Right — Examination of nature and workings of "ultra" groups. Will outline ways to counter their effects and recommended sources of professional assistance.

Saturday

11. Programs to Meet the Challenge of Poverty — Practical presentation of programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity and VISTA (domestic Peace Corps); how to start a Community Action Program; outline of active rural programs in Louisiana and Mississippi. Will include efforts underway by several Diocesan Commissions on Poverty.

Saturday

12. Civil Rights: Government Action—Federal, State and Local — Explanation of opportunities afforded by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Community Relations Service and the Civil Rights Law—especially Title II (Public Accommodations) and Title VI (Non-Discrimination in Federally Assisted Programs)—and by other federal laws and agencies.

Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans, La. 70113

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MEMPHIS CONVENTION
MARCH 19-21, 1965

Register Now!

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street · New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 · 523-2901

April 15, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Enclosed is the copy of your speech at Memphis for you to edit. We want to publish this in the current issue of Social Digest and would appreciate it if you could return this to us, corrected, no later than April 26th.

Returned 4/20/65

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson
Director

fl

enc

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Mathew Ahmann

DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

Rel. orgs. Make photo copy for this office + Chi. office Done 5/27 JS

April 21, 1965

Mr. John Sisson
Director
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Sisson:

In February Mr. Dunbar sent to you two (2) glossy prints to be used for press purposes in connection with your Memphis meeting. We have not yet had them returned to us. Mr. Dunbar will be speaking in Virginia very soon, and I will need to send the prints - the only two that we had here in the office - for advance publicity. May I ask you to have someone return them to us within a day or so?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

File Religious Orgs

April 30, 1965

Mr. John P. Sisson
Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Sisson:

I have your letter of April 22, and have also received the copy of Mr. Dunbar's picture which you had sent. Thank you. I expect the paper in Memphis will soon be sending the one which it is holding.

As to Mr. Dunbar's Memphis speech. It was mailed from this office several days ago, and should have, by now, reached you. Please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street · New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 · 523-2901

April 22, 1965

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Under seperate cover we are forwarding to you one copy of Mr. Dunbar's picture. Mrs. Agnes Jaynes in Memphis will have the paper there send the other to you immediately.

We have had the printer make a cut to go with the speech which Mr. Dunbar is editing and which we hope he will return shortly. (his Memphis speech, that is)

Good for

Sincerely yours,

John P. Sisson

John P. Sisson
Director

fl

cc: Mrs. Agnes Jaynes

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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 • 523-2901

Rec'd 5/7/65

May 5, 1965

Lwd-bpi

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

This will acknowledge receipt of Mr. Dunbar's speech. Our letter and his speech apparently crossed in the mail.

Sincerely yours,

Florence Landry

(Miss)Florence Landry
Secretary to Mr. Sisson

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Rec'd 6/11/65

File: Relig Orgs
Nat'l. Cath. Conf for International Justice

FA
M.I. file

June 9, 1965

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Smith:

On behalf of ourselves and Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of Atlanta I would like to invite your consideration of giving a main presentation to a conference of Catholic leaders from across the South in Atlanta on July 29 or 30 at the Hilton Inn. The theme of the conference will be human relations in general but the area we would like to ask you deal with is the change in the South in economics, legislation and politics, poverty programs. Your presetation would be followed up by a panel presentation made up hopefully of Dr. Dunbar of SRC, Msgr. O'Rourke of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Hyman Bookbinder of OEO, and Rev. Andrew Young of SCLC.

I could go into more detail about the presentation and the conference except that I would like to get this letter into your hands by the time that I call you to discuss some of the details and need to get it out in the afternoon mail.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson, Director

fl

cc: Mathew Ahmann
Dr. Leslie Dunbar

file - Rels orgs

June 23, 1965

Mr. John P. Sisson, Director
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
~~1046 Baronne Street~~
New Orleans, Louisiana 70113

Dear Jack:

I have vowed that I will not accept any further commitments unless they are entirely unavoidable for the rest of the summer. I hope to be on hand in the audience during your convention in Atlanta, but I will have to ask you to excuse me from the panel.

I am sorry you could not get Frank Smith. He would have been good.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 • 523-2901

Rec'd 6/21/65

June 17, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

We would like to invite you to participate on a panel following an address on the new South in conjunction with our convention in Atlanta on Thursday, July 29, 1965 at 9:30 a.m.

The convention at the Hilton Inn starts Wednesday, July 28th and will end on Saturday, July 31st. The purpose of the convention will be to provide an opportunity for diocesan officials to assess present diocesan structure and policy and their adequacy in meeting the present problems of human relations.

The panel on which we would like you to serve will be proceeded by an address by Ralph McGill* (rather than Frank Smith) entitled "The Changing South". Others who will be invited to participate on the panel will be Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward W. O'Rourke - who will of course be asked to cover the rural aspect, Hyman Bookbinder - economic aspect, and the Rev. Andrew Young - movement aspect. Each panel member is asked to speak approximately ten minutes.

If you accept this invitation will you please send us some biographical information which we could use for making an introduction and also two glossy photographs?

Naturally you are welcome to attend as much of the convention as you wish.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

* has not accepted yet.

John P. Sisson
Director

JPS:dd

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Jice - Rel. orgs
Nat'l. Catholic Conf. for
Interracial Justice

June 30, 1965

Mr. John P. Sisson
Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Jack:

Enclosed are the galleys. They were very good, and I have made only a very few corrections.

Will you PLEASE show by a footnote or in some other appropriate way that this is the transcript of an address -- that it was not a written out paper.

Frank Smith was wondering why you never called him back.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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Mathew Ahmann

DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

June 28, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a copy of the galley proof of your speech given in Memphis as it will appear in SOCIAL DIGEST, just now about ready to go to press. Father Schiffer has proofread this but I though you might want to see it before it went to print.

Will you be so kind as to return this copy to me; Father Schiffer needs it as one of the two copies he must submit to the Chancery for the Archdiocesan Imprimatur.

Sincerely yours,

John P. Sisson
Director

fl

enc

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 • 523-2901

Rec'd 7/6/65

Saturday
7-3-65

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

Dear Les:

Frank Smith told me this afternoon that he had talked to you on the morning of the day I called him . He simply cannot be in Atlanta on Thursday morning, July 29 to give the address on the Changing South.

Enclosed is a copy of the proof of the brochure which will be printed on Tuesday after we add your name, Hyman Bookbinder on Saturday noon (Talking on the challenge of poverty in America), and Bishop Carroll of Miami (not confirmed yet) speaking at 6pm Friday.

Bookbinder said that he would have someone from OEO on the panel following the talk you're going to give. I am asking him for an economist. If he cannot provide one I know tha t I can get one.

The talk on the Changing South is meant to provide understanding of the New South in terms of new legislation, Negro Movement, voting changes, new economy, urbanization, poverty programs, etc.

Let me express our gratitude for taking on this task in the face of many responsibilities.

I would like to offer you an honorarium of $200 and trust that this will be satisfactory.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson

cc:Ahmann

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James A. Leadon, *St. Paul*
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Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur *Lafayette*
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William H. Thompson *Little Rock*

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew Ahmann

DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 • 523-2901

Pals. or go

Rec'd 7/9/65

July 8, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Enclosed for your information is the program for our Conference in Atlanta, July 29-31, 1965.

You willnote you are scheduled to speak on "The Changing South," Thursday, July 29 at 9:30 a.m.

May we request that you forward to us a biographical sketch and glossy photo for publicity purposes?

We would also appreciate receiving an advance text or summary of your remarks by Monday, July 26.

We look forward to your participation in the Atlanta Conference.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Peggy Roach

Peggy Roach
Conference Coordinator

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Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 • 523-2901

Director
John P. Sisson

Rec'd 9/1/65

PA
MI - file

August 30, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Mr. Sisson asked that I write and thank you for your help in making the Atlanta Social Change Conference a succes.

He wanted to write personally but due to the after effects of an automobile accident it appears he will be out of the office for another month.

Sincerely yours,

Florence N. Landry

Florence N. Landry
Secretary to Mr. Sisson

June 30, 1960

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Vice-President
National Federation of Catholic
College Students
Osage, Iowa

Dear Mr. Valder:

I can think of only a few people who have first-hand knowledge of integration in higher education. By coincidence, one of these is to be found in Louisville -- though he will probably be working temporarily in Atlanta when your conference is held. He is Charles H. Parrish, head of the sociology department at the University of Louisville and the first Negro faculty member employed after that institution was integrated some years ago. Dr. Parrish serves as a consultant to the Southern Regional Council and is deeply familiar with race relations throughout the region.

A second possibility, white, is Dr. Guy B. Johnson, sociologist, of the University of North Carolina. He, too, is a long-time student of Southern race relations and, because of his special studies of higher education, is generally conceded to be the leading expert on desegregation in that field.

As you probably know, New South is a monthly publication, and the content varies from issue to issue; I am sending you the last couple of issues

separately, together with other materials that may be of interest. In quantity, we could supply copies of New South at ten cents each and other publications at cost.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS

National Office, Youth Department, N. C. W. C.
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

June 26, 1960
Osage
Iowa

Episcopal Moderator
Most Rev. James A. McNulty, D.D.
Bishop of Paterson

National Director
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph E. Schieder
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

National Chaplain
Rev. Thomas A. Carlin, O.S.F.S.
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

National President
Bernard H. Martin
Manhattan College
New York 71, New York

Executive Vice-President
William E. Scheckler
University of Notre Dame, Box 181
Notre Dame, Indiana

Regional Affairs Vice-President
David A. Offutt
University of Notre Dame, Box 181
Notre Dame, Indiana

Student Affairs Vice-President
James T. Smith
Manhattan College
New York 71, New York

Religious Affairs Vice-President
Thomas A. Geil
University of Notre Dame, Box 181
Notre Dame, Indiana

Social Action Affairs Vice-President
James T. Conneen
St. Peter's College
Jersey City 6, New Jersey

International Affairs Vice-President
Thomas E. Cronin
College of The Holy Cross, Box 195
Worcester 10, Massachusetts

CURA Administrator
Mary Margaret Fogarty
College of New Rochelle
New Rochelle, New York

Executive Secretary
Loretta M. Gallagher
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Member of
National Council of Catholic Youth
Pax Romana (IMCS)
Young Adult Council, NSWA

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

At present I am acting as Social Action Affairs Vice-President for the National Federation of Catholic College Students. In this position it is my duty to set up and conduct a two day seminar at our National Congress in Louisville, Kentucky in late August.

The seminar deals entirely with Human Relations, with special focus upon the Negro problem in the United States. One of the most important topics of the seminar, and of special interest to the attending students, is that of "Race Relations in Higher Education in the U.S." This topic concerns such matters as admission policies, housing, employment, social relations, and so forth. For this topic I am in search of an informed and effective speaker, preferably someone from the South, and, although not necessarily, a Negro.

I wonder if you could reccommend to me two or three people whom you would consider to fill the above qualifications. Since we will need one speaker, would you please list them in your order of preference?

Would you also forward to me a copy of your New South. Please bill me for it, and indicate prices for quanity orders. If this publication contains information which will be of value to our Congress delegates I shall probably order additional copies. Thank you for your interest and time.

Sincerely,
Robert S. Valder

Robert S. Valder; Vice-President
Social Action Affairs; NFCCS
Osage,
Iowa

August 3, 1960

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Vice President; NFCCS
Osage, Iowa

Dear Mr. Valder:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, the requested copies of our May, 1960 issue of NEW SOUTH.

If we can be of further service to you, please let us hear from you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) B. C. Cook
NEW SOUTH CLERK

C

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS

Return to M. F.

National Office, Youth Department, N. C. W. C.
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

Episcopal Moderator
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1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Member of
National Council of Catholic Youth
Pax Romana (IMCS)
Young Adult Council, NSWA

August 1, 1960
Osage,
Iowa

Mr. Halold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Ind.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the information concerning possible speakers for our Social Action Seminar in Louisville. I am sure that it shall prove quite useful.

Enclosed is $4.80. money order RHA Would you please forward to my addresses 40 copies of the May, 1960 issue of New South? This issue appears to contain many items of interest. With each copy @ $.10 the additional $.80 should cover those issues which you have already sent and mailing charges.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,
Robert S. Valder
Robert S. Valder
Vice-President; NFCCS
Osage, Iowa

posted & sent 8/3/60 BCC
4.80 - money order

March 24, 1961

Mr. Gene Bronner
Social Action Secretariat Representative
National Federation of Catholic College
Students
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart
Purchase, New York

Dear Mr. Bronner:

Enclosed is a reasonably complete listing of our publications. We work closely with students doing research and will be happy to cooperate by sending publications on request. Our research files are also available for this purpose.

The Council has several copies of the film, "The Face of the South," narrated by George S. Mitchell. It is available from the Anti-Defamation League, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta 3.

The Council works with all other agencies in the South concerned with race relations. By request, SRC serves as secretariat of the informal Southern Interagency Conference, a collection of some forty organizations working in the South. The group meets quarterly.

We will be happy to respond to specific requests for information or materials from any interested students.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF 3/16/61

PA

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FILE

SOCIAL ACTION SECRETARIAT
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart
Purchase, New York

March 11, 1961

Dear Dr. Fleming,

The Social Action Secretariat is compiling a list of resources in the field of civil rights for the National Federation of Catholic Students. We would appreciate it very much if you could supply us with the following information.

1. What printed material do you send out?

   If you could indicate the specific titles it would be very helpful to students doing research.

2. Do you have any films which groups can rent or borrow?

3. Do you work with any other agencies in the civil rights field? Could you give us a list of these?

Thank you very much for your cooperation. Any information that you can give us will be very valuable to students who wish to do research or to plan action.

Very truly yours,

Jane Bromer

Social Action Secretariat Representativ

NEWS RELEASE

from MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE OF THE SACRED HEART

Office of Public Information
White Plains 6-9600
From: Jean Fox

Purchase, New York

LWD
We sent them some info.
H.
PR

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1961

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PURCHASE, N.Y., March 10

Plans for the observance of Interracial Justice Week (March 19-26) have been announced by the Social Action Secretariat of the National Federation of Catholic College Students. The Secretariat is located at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Purchase, New York.

Ideas for practical programs, lists of reading materials, discussion guides, and Manhattanville's own schedule of events for Interracial Justice Week have been assembled in a kit and mailed to all NFCCS units in more than 150 Catholic colleges throughout the country. The goal of Interracial Justice Week is active concern for, and participation in, the promotion of civil rights by the whole student body on these college campuses.

Among the suggested programs is a Work Week, during which students would perform services for other students, turning the money they earn over to a fund to be used for a scholarship for a Negro student at their own college, or to be sent to Catholic Scholarships for Negroes, in Springfield, Massachusetts.

The schedule of the Week's events on the Manhattanville campus include: a Mass on Sunday, March 19, for the intention of interracial justice; a smoker-discussion on typical objections against Negroes, with sociologists and educators present as resource persons, on Tuesday,

(MORE)

March 21; a student-body forum on "Discrimination in Employment in New York City," on Wednesday, March 22; and on Thursday evening, March 23, a showing of the film "Burden of Truth," obtained from the committee on civil rights of the United Steel Workers of America. A discussion guide for this film is enclosed in the kit for distribution to all member colleges, as well as copies of a prayer for interracial charity; the Catholic Bishops' statement, "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience"; a news release on the NAACP from the Catholic Interracial Council; answers to the most-asked questions about Negroes; and a poster giving the dates of Interracial Justice Week, to be used in publicizing the event on college campuses.

The Social Action Secretariat, whose national chairman is Lani Phelan, a Manhattanville senior from Yonkers, New York, also publishes and distributes booklets on interracial problems for study by campus human relations groups. Among the topics are: "Social Action—the Students' Commitment"; "The Union of Brotherhood"; "Travel via Equality Lines"; and "The Sit-Ins: Non-Violent Youth Movement." A list of these and other booklets is part of the interracial justice kit. They may be ordered directly from the Secretariat at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart.

Information about these booklets and about other matters related to Interracial Justice Week may be obtained from Miss Phelan, chairman of the Social Action Secretariat, or from Mother M. Clark, NFCCS moderator, at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Purchase, New York. (Tel: WHite Plains 6-9600)

#

SOCIAL ACTION SECRETARIAT

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS

MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE OF THE SACRED HEART
PURCHASE, NEW YORK

SOCIAL ACTION SUMMARY

Vol. I, No. 2
April, 1961

Lani Phelan
Editor

The following Resolution is proposed for adoption by all Regional Councils and for publication in local papers by May 15th.

RESOLUTION

TITLE: Concerning the two major encyclicals on Social Action, the Rerum Novarum by Leo XIII and the Quadragesimo Anno by Pius XI.

FACT: The executive committee of the National Catholic Social Action Conference announced there will be a "fitting commemoration" of the anniversaries of these two famous papal encyclicals on the Social Order. The 70th anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical "on the Condition of Workers" and the 30th anniversary of Pope Pius XI's encyclical "The Reconstruction of the Social Order" occurs on May 15.

PRINCIPLES: Both the Rerum Novarum and the Quadragesimo Anno express the spirit and purposes of the Christian community and our oneness in the Mystical Body of Christ. The basis of a just social order rests in Leo's statement: "The earth even though apportioned among private owners ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all. We must remember that only when all and each receive an adequate share in the goods of this earth is there a sound social and economic system." As is obvious this statement would presuppose an adequate opportunity for all in our social and economic life, devoid of the many facets of discrimination on the basis of race, creed, or color which plague our modern society. "Then only will it be possible to unite all in harmonious striving for the common good when all sections of society have the intimate conviction that they are members of a single family and children of the same Heavenly Father, and further that they are one body in Christ and everyone members."

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STATEMENT: The _____ Region of the National Federation of Catholic College Students wholeheartedly supports the commemoration of this event and will endeavor to publicize the importance of these two encyclicals. Our efforts will be joined to the National Council of Catholic Men, the National Council of Catholic Women, the National Catholic Council on Interracial Justice, the Third Order of St. Francis, and the Catholic Press Association, who are among the board members of the NCSAC commemorating this all important anniversary.

IMPLEMENTATION: The _____ Region of the National Federation of Catholic College Students will make known its intention to commemorate this event by notifying local newspapers and community councils, appropriate labor unions, and legislative committees.

Lani Phelan

A YEAR OF PAINFUL DECISION

1960 was a year of crucial decision for Negro rights and white supremacy in the South, with the sand of time trickling out just a little faster for the rule of the latter.

Lunch Counters. It was the year of the sit-ins, when Negro students - and some whites - braved arrest and expulsion to passively resist the curious logic which dictated that negroes may buy merchandise in a store, but not their lunches. By the end of November, twenty-eight Southern cities had opened lunch counters to all customers. By the year's end, executives of the Kress, Woolworth, and Grant chain stores reported to U.S. Attorney General Rogers that racial segregation had ended at lunch counters in their stores in 69 Southern cities, but in none of the cities of the deep South.

It is hopeful to note that in the 70% of the localities desegregation took place without sit-ins and without national publicity. The remaining 30% came tougher. For example, in Sumter, South Carolina, Recorder Raymond Schwartz told a meeting of Sumter's White Citizen's Council that it should have been formed "not five years ago, but twenty" and did his best to make up for the time lag by levying heavy fines on six C.O.R.E. members peacefully picketing (no noise or any kind of physical contact) a Kress store.

But the sit-ins will continue and more refined methods of economic boycott will join them to peacefully discomfort the South to luncheon equality.

Schools. On the second front, the education problem, integration has proceeded with all deliberate slowness with some inroads made. In Virginia, two negroes were admitted to previous all white schools in Richmond; 6 in Roanoke; 13 in Pulaski County; 5 in Fairfax County. In all Virginia, 169 negroes attend integrated schools. In North Carolina only 60 attend. Texas has integrated no more than 100 of its 700 school districts, and Tennessee and Arkansas "integrated" schools have only the smallest token Negro enrollment. Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina have resisted all integration so far, with the exception of the war of law and nerves now raging in New Orleans.

Overall, only 6% of eligible Negro students students are in integrated schools, six years after the memorable Brown decision of the Supreme Court.

In the North. More subtle is the situation northward. In New Rochelle, New York, zoning expansion has very effectively isolated Negro students in the Lincoln School, reducing their representation in the city's other schools. Questioned on Lincoln's 94% Negro enrollment, Dr. Herbert C. Clish, Superintendent of Schools, admitted that he had never implemented any plan to relieve the racial im-

balance. Housing segregation is still as prevalent as ever in the North and it further affects race proportion in elementary and secondary schools.

Perhaps the brightest highlights of the past year were political; the Kennedy appointment of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, prominent New York housing expert and Chairman of the Board of N.A.A.C.P. to an important Housing Administration position, and the victory of education over segregation in the New Orleans' School Board elections. The keynote of 1960 was struck, however, by the sit-ins, which more than anything focused the glare of national attention on discriminatory local customs. Perhaps, in the new year the spectacular will not be necessary to draw our concern to the gross inequality of opportunity still so massively present.

Fairfield University's Stag

ADDRESS OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

On February 10, five members of the Social Action Secretariat attended an address given by Dr. Martin Luther King at New York University. For the benefit of NFCCS members we would like to present a summary of Dr. King's Address.

Directing his speech to the future of integration, Dr. King presented past and present circumstances to clarify the understanding of the future of the situation. He described the three periods of the struggle up to now. Period One (1619-1863) was the time of complete slavery. The Negro was reggrded as a commodity, not as a person. Period Two (1863-1954) was the time of Restricted Emancipation. Technically there was no slavery; however, segregation was a basic practice. Period Three (May 12, 1954-) is the period we are in right now. It is the time of constructive integration.

Certain forces stand in the way of the progress of integration: public officials use official powers to halt it, the KKK opposes it, as do white citizens' councils. All of these forces use unethical, intimidating, untrue, crude, bigoted, and violent methods in their opposition. Another more general stumbling block is general ignorance, lack of understanding and knowledge.

As for the future, reactionaries cannot last because the Old South is gone; innovations in the way of life are continually weakening segregation, i.e., more industry, more purchasing power in the hands of the Negro. Other important factors opposing segregation are federal legislation, increased activites of human relations agencies, and a stronger stand on the part of the Church.

As for the Negro himself, his attitude is changing, he is reevaluating himself. Complacency and isolation are disappearing. He is no longer feeling inferior to the rest of men, he has obtained a new dignity. He sees that the fundamental qualities of the soul measure the man. He wants freedom, and wants to achieve it non-violently. His end is peace among all men; therefore his means must be conducive to peace. His opposition appears in the form of long-suffering and endurance, physical force with soul force. He believes that endurance will wear down violence. He hopes that his victory will be freedom, but also an appeal to the consciences of men that will not go unheeded.

Terre Bronner

CARDINAL MEYER'S STATEMENT ON INTEGRATION

Recently in Chicago, the fact that Catholics are not actively supporting integration was shown up by statements of some priests at a coucil meeting. Catholics, to be in accord with Church doctrine, should feel a special obligation to

cooperate with integration. And yet Reverend Rollins E. Lambert, the first Negro priest in that archdiocese, point d out that the Negroes have many doubts about the sincerity of the Church in this matter. Why? When people think of the sin against the fifth commandment, hating one's neighbors or anyone for that matter, how many of those people think it also wrong to hate a Negro? To the Negro's way of thinking, there are very few! Many may think the Church hypocritical when it tolerates racial prejudice and segregation.

Cardinal Meyer said that, to remove the taint of racial discrimination and segregation, there must not be discrimination "in Catholic schools, hospitals, and fraternal and parish organizations as well as parishes." Why discriminate against someone who has no control over their race or color? Priests should form rather than follow public opinion. There has been a great influx of Negroes into Chicago but no increase in th percentage of Negro Catholics. If, as Reverend Joseph Richards believes, the Negroes amount to half the population of Chicago in twenty years, something must be done. We must never lose sight of their needs as human beings.

This situation is just a prevalent, and even more so, in the South. In New Orleans, although the priests have made many statements as to the immorality of racial segregation, segregation remains. It is hoped that Church men will take the initiative and set examples for others to follow. Some White Catholic racists have actually boasted that they have kept the Archbishop from carrying out his plans to desegregate Catholic facilities gradually. By their interference they have, on two occasions, defied the Church to the point of almost being excommunicated. Their example has been followed by others. Four of the five man White Citizens' Council, being Catholic, complained to Rome about the Archbishop's teaching on race. These men are "good" Catholics who send their children to Catholic schools and attend church regularly.

Yet all is not dark. Charlayne Hunter, one of the first two Negroes to enter the University of Georgia, although later suspended for her own safety, was given a warm reception by the Catholic students there. The girls in the Newman Club looked her up and helped her as much as they could. She feels that college students are adjusting to integration. Those who are not, are at least not resisting in any outward manner. Recently, college students in the New York area met Charlayne when she was the honored guest at the Catholic Interracial Council of New York.

The example of the girls in that Newman Club is one to be imitated. Prayer and Faith alone will not solve the problem. We must use the law as our implement to a certain extent. The removal of racial discrimination will best be implemented through "intelligent and carefully planned and executed social action." (Commonwealth, Fe. 3) Even little things count. Points of common courtesy, such as holding the door, or saying "thank you" when someone does it for you will help promote better race relations. Never speak disparagingly of Negroes, whether in or away from their presence. Most of all, do what you can through social action to initiate reforms, no matter how big or small! We must unite and give a helping hand to our brothers in God.

Nedra Headen

A CONTROVERSIAL PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT

Early this year, President Kennedy nominated Dr. Robert C. Weaver as Housing and Home Finance Administrator. As was expected this was the first of President Kennedy's nominees to meet with opposition. Dr. Weaver was on the New York City Housing and Redevelopment Board and was nati nal chairman of the National Association for Colored People. If appointed, he would hold the highest Feder-

al office ever held by a Negro. Moreover, Kennedy was thinking of raising the post to Cabinet status. The nomination conequently caused much opposition from the South in particular.

Segments of the building industry in the South were against his appointment. Their disapproval was not so much a personal one, but rather of Kennedy's policy on Federal Housing. He wanted an end to racial discrimination in Federally subsidized and supported housing. Weaver supported open occupancy and non-discrimination. It was claimed that this policy would drive builders away from Frederal financing programs and seriously damage the housing industry, particularly in the South. The opposition was economic, but it was likely to become mixed with civil rights in a way which would confuse the issue. This is what happened.

Weaver stated that every citizen must have equal access to all housing, and he supported integration in Federally assisted housing. Moreover, he advocated that President Kennedy or Congress formulate a national policy on integrated housing. This brought advanced opposition from many Southern Senators led by Senator Robertson, a Democrat from Virginia.

Aside from his stand on civil rights, Dr. Weaver's loyalty was questioned. He had been connected with alleged Communist tainted groups in the 1940's and 1930's which were later listed as subversive by the Attorney General. These were The National Negro Congress in Philadelphia in 1937 and the Washington Cooperative Book Shop from which he resigned in 1941. Dr. Weaver explained his ignorance at that time of Communist intentions to use these groups. It was established that Dr. Weaver had undergone a routine field investigation by the F.B.I. In addition, President Kennedy sent a letter to the Senate stating that the report had been fully reviewed and evaluated and that he had confidence in Weaver's outstanding service. Senators Jacob Javitts and Kenneth Keating from New York also praised his loyalty and competence. The arguments against him were discredited. Dr. Weaver was declared qualified for the position and his appointment was confirmed. Let us hope that in the futre such invalid and unjust opposition will likewise be disregarded.

The Social Action Secretariat wishes to express its sincere congratulations to Dr. Weaver on behalf of his appointment. We remember with pleasure the address he delivered at Manhattanville's Penta-Regional Human Relations Conference last fall concerning the role of the college student in promoting interracial justice. A copy of his speech will be sent to you upon request.

Stephanie Wolf

ATLANTA'S SIT-INS ENDED BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT

After a long duration of sit-in activity and economic boycott, Negro leaders and business men agreed in Atlanta, Georgia on March 7th to a formula for de-segregation of lunch counters and other store facilities. In return for an immediate end to these activities, the stores agreed to end discrimination at the time of desegregation of local schools, expected in the fall. However, according to the Student Voice of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, it is agreed that desegregation will take place no later than next fall, regardless of what occurs in connection with public school desegregation. In the meantime merchants said they would reopen on a segregated basis lunch counters and dining facilities closed for three months as a result of sit-ins and other demonstrations.

The Student Voice reports that the negotiations were initiated to achieve the following objectives:

1. Desegregation of the lunch counters and other facilities by the largest number of merchants within the shortest period of time.
2. Rehiring of those persons who were released from employment during the sit-in and boycott period. A. T. Walden, a Negro lawyer who served as special negotiator said the agreement meant that 500 or 600 Negroes who had lost jobs in stores affected by sit-ins would get them back where practicable.
3. Lifting of all charges brought against students and dismissal of all cases from last March, 1960, to the present.

4. Adoption by the merchants of a policy of upgrading and hiring Negroes in various job categories on the basis of merit.
5. Equal representation and responsibility by Negroes and whites in planning and carrying out orderly desegregation.

Stores included in the agreement are Hach's, one of the South's largest department stores, Sears-Roebuck, Davison's, an affiliate of Macy's; Woolworth, McCrory, S.H. Kresge, H. L. Green, Newberry and Grant variety stores, and Walgree, Jacob's and Lane drug stores.

As is obvious, a great deal has been accomplished through the untiring efforts and sincere dedication of these Atlanta students. Their objectives still remain to be entirely completed. The voice of encouragement from member colleges of the National Federation of Catholic College Students would be deeply appreciated. Letters might be addressed to the

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
197½ Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia.

Lani Phelan

THEATRE STAND-INS

In a recent memorandum, Fred Attea, Social Action Affairs Vice-President, has strongly urged member colleges of NFCCS to participate in the student protest against theatre chains which practice racial discrimination. The Social Action Secretariat would like to reiterate the importance of individual student action in view of the importance of this movement.

In addition to contacting Mr. Leonard Goldenson, President of Paramount Pictures Theatres Corp, 1501 Broadway, New York 36, N. Y. voicing your protest against the policy of discrimination which exists in the Paramount chain, you might direct your attention to the similar policies of Loew's and RKO theatres. According to Mr. Edward B. King, Jr. Administrative Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, all three of these national chains "practice racial discrimination."

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee reports that demonstration and picketing has already taken place in Winston-Salem, High Point, Charlotte, and Greensboro, North Carolina, in Hampton and Richmond, Virginia, in Nashville, Tennessee, in Rock Hill, South Carolina where ten students were arrested for sitting in and elected to serve their 30 day jail sentence, and in Atlanta, Georgia where students numbering 400 marched from campus to downtown Atlanta.

SNCC continues to call for students to join this, the "second phase of the student protest movement;" the Student Voice urges students in the north and west to conduct picketing at theatres belonging to RKO, Loew's and Paramount chains to support the Southern students. If such demonstrations are not possible always remember that the individual protest in your local area, if sufficiently multiplied by interested students, is certain to have some beneficial effect.

REMEMBER FREEDOM VILLAGE

The drive for food and clothing to Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee continues. There is an urgent and immediate need for money, canned goods, staple foods and warm clothing. These are needed by 70 persons living in tents in Fayette County and to the 27,000 Negroes of both counties who suffer constant and severe intimidation.

As you know, these persons in both counties have borne the brunt of eviction, economic reprisal, mass starvation and even death because for the first time in 80 years, they have registered and voted. These counties are part of a 100 mile radius around Memphis on which nearly 3,000,000 Negroes live, 2/3 of whom cannot vote. According to the SNCC the major companies that do not sell to these Negroes are: 1. Wonder Bread - Nation Wide Food Chain, Continental Baking Co.Box 731,Rye,NY

2. Sealtest Milk - Nation Wide Food Chain, National Food and Dairy Products, 270 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
3. Delta Oil Refinery, Memphis, Tennessee.

If any member college has heard that these companies have ceased to practice their discrimination policies we would be grateful to receive the information.
SUPPLIES MAY BE SENT TO:

Fayette: Mr. John McFerren, Route 4, Box 133, Somarville, Tenn.
Make checks out to Fayette County Civic League and send to address.

Haywood: Mr. Odell Sanders
307 West May St.
Brownsville, Tenn.

There are problems which are of along range nature as well as those which need immediate attention. This discrimination can only be stopped through conscious effort on the part of individual students and colleges. The SNCC suggests writing strong letters to your Congressmen, to the President and to influential people in your community.

INTERRACIAL JUSTICE WEEK

In the forthcoming issue of the FORUM, you will find a report on the events which took place on Manhattanville's campus to commemorate Interracial Justice Week (also see New York Times, Sunday, March 26, 1961). We would, however, like to take this opportunity to request that all colleges that availed themselves of our Interracial Justice Week kits and commemorated this event submit a one-page report on their activities to the Social Action Secretariat. All reports received by the Secretariat will be compiled into a pamphlet and distributed at the National Congress. We strongly urge your cooperation in this matter.

NATIONAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE ON INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

The National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice will hold its annual meeting at Detroit University, August 24-27. The theme is "The New Negro". Major papers will be presented on the New Negro in the North and the South. Most of Friday, August 25 will be devoted to workshops. Leadership training clinics will be held on Saturday, August 26. A Civil Rights Mass as well as a Mass in the African Liturgy is being planned.

The NCCIJ has invited NFCCS to send a delegation of 25 or more to the Conference. A special workshop for NFCCS would be held on Friday. Delegates could easily fit into clinics on Saturday as well as the other activities.

If any member college of NFCCS wishes to send delegates to the conference, please contact the Social Action Secretariat immediately as arrangements must be made with the National Committee. We ask that colleges in the Detroit area take particular note of this invitation and earnestly consider the possibility of sending a delegation to this conference.

NAACP CAMPUS UNITS

In answer to the request for information concerning the manner in which a local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People can be established on a college campus, we are presenting the following information from the national office.

In order to organize an effective NAACP College Chapter you should become thoroughly familiar with the basic aims, objectives, methods of operation and accomplishments of the NAACP and its youth and college division. First, read

the background information on the Association contained in the pamphlet "How to Organize an NAACP College Chapter" obtainable from the national office at 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y. Then secure from the local branch or from the youth and college division of the national office the following college chapter literature:

College Chapter Constitution
College Chapter Program Guide
Manual for College Officers
College Chapter Brochure
NAACP, Its Programs and Objectives
Charter Application Form

Review the material very carefully and then discuss the college chapter program and goals with the president of the nearest NAACP adult branch and/o a member of your faculty who may have had some experience in working with the Association.

The NAACP youth and college program has four basic objectives; these may be broadly defined as:

Civil Rights Action
Community Education
Citizenship Training
Leadership Development

The NAACP maintains a series of Regional Offices throughout the country to aid in the direction and coordination of the various units of the Association. Councils may secure youth literature from these regional offices. The three regional offices and their officers are:

West Coast: Mr. Franklin Williams, Regional Secretary
690 Market Street, Suite 626
San Francisco, California.

Southeast: Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Regional Secretary
859½ Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Washington Bureau: Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Director
Washington Bureau NAACP
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

REMINDER: The eight booklets on "Discrimination Today in the U.S.A." published by the Social Action Secretariat are now reprinted for sale at $2.00 a set. The 8th booklet on Agencies is being revised and will be available soon.

If you have any suggestions for campus programs for next year or things that you would like done at the Social Action Affairs Seminar at the National Congress in Pittsburgh, please send all ideas to Lani Phelan until June 1st and after that, to Ann Hesterburg.

ACROSS AMERICA - News Flashes - For a fuller story, consult NEW YORK TIMES

Albany, Jan. 4-Placed before the 1961 Legislature today by Governor Rockefeller: Discrimination- Legislation prohibiting discrimination in the sale or lease of private residential housing in apartments and developments should be approved, as well as a ban on discrimination by real estate brokers or mortgage-lending institutions.

N.Y.C. Jan. 4- Herbert Hill, labor secretary of NAACP said that the AFL-CIO "has repeatedly refused to take action on its own initiative" to eliminate discriminatory practices.

N.Y.C. Jan. - Negroes have now won admission to virtually every business and industry in New York State, the chairman, Elmer A. Carter, of SCAD said yesterday.

Washington, Jan. 16- FROM THE CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT ON EDUCATION:

#1. The commission recommends that the Rederal Government, either by executive or, if necessary, by Congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education are disbursed only to such publicly contolled institutions of higher education as do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion or national origin...

#2. ...that Congress consider the advisability of authorizing the use of three-judge courts under section 2284 of the U.S. Judicial Code to cases presenting a substantial factual issue as to whether persons are being denied equal protection of the laws with respect to public education.

#3...that the Federal Government sponsor in the several states, upon request from the several states, educational programs designed to assist public school teachers and students of native talent and ability who are handicapped professionally or scholastically as a result of inferior educational opportunity and training.....

Wash., Jan. 20-Washington's new African diplomats are uneasy over the continuing housing difficulties and slights they suffer in the United States....

Williamsburg,Jan.18-Church leaders who assembled here for the first annual meeting of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity regard the so-called "kneel-in" movement as a key weapon in combating segregation.

Raleigh,N.C.Jan.20- The right of a restaurant operator to refuse service to Negroes was upheld by the North Carolina Supreme Court again today in cases growing out of last year's lunch-counter sit-in demonstrations.... defendants argued that indictments should be dismissed because the court was employed to enforce racial segregation.

Houston,Tex.Jan.22-Twelve Negro children who entered the nation's largest segregated school system last fall kept pace academically with their white classmates in the first semester, a survey by The Houston Chron.shows.

Atlanta,Jan.29- The Southern Regional Council has urged President Kennedy to adopt a sweeping program of executive action in the civil-rights field. In a 48-page report to the President, the council makes 18 proposals for strengthening the rights of Negroes. "The President holds power under the Constitution and existing statues which, diligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable," the council said.

New York,Feb.- "Mere crumbs from the tables of an abundant society have made millions of black men angry. That's why there was a riot at the U.N. the other day, and why the black nationalist movement is growing and becoming more militant in New York and everywhere else." said James Lawson, president of the United African Nationalist Movement which is opposed to integration. Tehy will settle for nothing less than a separate sovereign state.

Los Angeles,Feb.9- Racial integration took a long step forward here tonight in the field of serious music. Henry Lewis, a Negro, conducted the Los

Angeles Philharmonic. The soprano soloist was his wife, Marilyn Horne. Dean Dixon of New York was the first member of his race to receive an important donducting engagement in this country.

Chicago,Feb.10- Ten Negro physicians filed suit today against 56 nonpublic hospitals and 5 medical and hospital associations in the Chicago area, accusing them of conspiring since 1938 to keep Negroes off hospital staffs. The physicians also charged that their patients were denied admission to the 56 hospitals because of rules at each one barring a patient unless his doctor was a member of the staff.

Wash.,Feb.12- Senator J.K. Javits called President Kennedy's approach to civil rights 'insufficient' today. He urged a broad Federal program to insure equal opportunities for all.

New York,Feb.12- Fifty members of CORE picketed the Paramount Theatre in Times Square yesterday in protest against segregated seating policies at Southern theatres owned by the American Broadcasting-Paramount Theatres, Inc.

Boston,Feb. 12-A downtown movie theatre was picketed today by members of the Boston Emergency Public Integration Committee....50 students...

Chicago,Feb.12-About 30 university students demonstrated in front of 3 loop theatres today in protest against theatre segregation in the South...

Austin,Tex.Feb.12-Hundreds of University of Texas students chose Abraham Lincoln's birthday today to stage mass demonstrations against movie theatre segregation.

Wash., Feb.14-Five Virginia Negroes, declaring their 'patience exhausted' asked the Federal District Court today to bar President Kenned and other official from granting Federal aid to segregated schools.

Rock Hill,S.C.Feb.17-19 Negro coeds picketed Wintrop College at noon today with signs proclaiming a right to attend the state-supported college for white women. Some had tried to enroll at Winthrop.

Wash.,Feb.17-Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg said today the unemployment rate of Negroes was twice that of white workers and the highest in the nation. 13.8 per cent of all Negroes in the labor force were out of work compared with 7 per cent of white workers.

Sumter,S.C.Feb.21-Dozens of Negro students, singing hymns, were jailed today for protesting segregation in a drug store, soda shop and library in this community. At nightfall, 65 Negroes were in jail, charged with breach of the peace.

Villanova,Feb.21-An official of the American Jewish Congress charged today that school boards in the North were perpetuating 'de facto' segregation. He said the responsibility rested with the school boards.

Bal Harbour,Fla.Feb.26-The explosive issue of racial discrimination in unions is scheduled to come before labor's high command tomorrow.

Wash.,Feb.27-Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. told the council today he would use every weapon at his command as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee to end racial discimination in unions.

Bal Harbour,Fla.Feb.28- A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council, told AFL-CIO that its machinery for eliminating Jim Crow practices in labor had 'failed completely.' High unemployment rate among negroes can be traced to exclusion of Negroes from union apprenticeship programs in the building trades and other skilled fields.

Columbia,S.C.March 2-Negro students from a number of S.Carolina cities marched on the State House here today, protesting segregation. The police broke up the demonstration and arrested 188 Negroes, including 65 women, and one white youth. All were charged with a breach of the peace and bonds of $50 each were ordered. About 140 white persons watched the demonstrators. There was no violence.

St.Louis,March 2-The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit ruled today that the Little Rock, Ark. School Board must speed desegregation of the city's schools.

Wash., March 6- The Supreme Court declined to review the convictions of 12 sit-in demonstrators for breach of peace in sitting at a lunch counter in Tallahassee,Fla; the city had contended that the demonstrators did not go through the necessary appellate steps first in the Florida courts (No.671,Steele v. Tallahassee)

Wash., March 6-President Kennedy, in his first major civil rights move, created a new committee today to fight racial discrimination in hiring by the Government and its contractors. In a sweeping executive order he armed the group with a broad range of powers to enforce the policy against discrimination. And he designated the Labor Department as its chief investigative arm. The new group will be called the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. It replaces 2 bodies set up by President Eisenhower: one on Government Employment Policy and one on Government Contracts. Vice President Johnson is to head the Committee, A.J. Goldberg the vice-chairman. The Preident, in announcing the program, said implementation of the policy against discrimination had been hampered in the past by "lack of personnel, by inadequate procedures and ineffective enforcement."

Montgomery,Ala.March 7-The Alabama Court of Appeals set aside today the convictions of a white college professor, a white minister and 7 Negroes arrested while dining together in a Montgomery cafe. All 3 judges joined in ruling that the disorderly-conduct charges against the 9 defendants failed to spell out what offense, if any, they had committed.

Wash.,March 7- Census sets Negro population at 18,871,381, the proportion living in South dipped from 60% to 52% between '50 and '60.

Wash.,March 12- The Kennedy Administration is conducting a drive to recruit Negro college graduates for Federal jobs.

Wash., March 14-This is the only major American city in which Negroes form a majority of the population, the Census Bureau said today.

Wash.,March 14-Glen Echo Amusement Park in near-by Maryland decided today to drop its ban on Negro admissions when it reopens March 31.

Wash.,March 20-Louisiana's various efforts to block the desegregation of schools in New Orleans were held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court today.

Wash.,March 21-A complaint by Mrs. Madaleine A. Williams of East Orange, N.J., a delegate to the Civil War Centennial in Charleston, S.C., led President Kennedy to intervene and tell the national commission that as a government body it had the obligation to see that all invited to the meeting were accorded equal treatment.

New York,March 21-New Rochelle's Board of Education asked the U.S. Court of Appeals yesterday to stay Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman's order for a desegregation plan to be submitted to him by April 14.

Mississippi,March 27-Nine young Negroes staged the first 'sit-in' demonstration in Mississippi's capital city today. They were arrested. The demonstrators, students at Gougaloo Christian College, entered the main city library in downtown Jackson. The police arrived within 15 minutes, ordered them to leave and arrested them when they refused. Dectective Chief H.B. Pierce told the Negroes: "There's a colored library on Mill Street. You are welcome there."

Wash., March 27-Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara ordered the heads of the military services and other defense agencies today to make certain that Negroes and members of other minority groups are given equal opportunity for employment.

New York,March-The Board of Education announced yeasterday it would extend 'open enrollment' next fall to 4,433 pupils in the first and second grades in 12 schools. The pupils who normally would attend overcrowded neighborhood schools with predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican enrollments, will have the option of going to certain designated under utilized and integrated schools.

Wash.,March 23-The A.F.L-C.I.O Industrial Union Dept. announced today that it would act to end any discrimination against Negroes by its unions. Walter

Reuther set up a permanent committeeheaded by James B.Carey to cooperate with President Kennedy's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. 60 unions affected.

Jackson, Miss.,March 29-For the first time in their seven-year history, the Citizens' Councils face significant opposition in Mississippi, the state that gave them birth. The protest is not aimed at the organization's objective of preserving total racial segregation in public education. ..It arises, instead, from the threats, intimidation and character assassination employed by some council members and their allies in forcing white persons to conform with their views.

New York, March 30-SCAD which for many years received virtually all its complaints from the New York City areas reported yesterday a growing use of its facilities by minority groups in upstate areas.

Cincinnati,April 6-The Justice Department won another round today in its fight to prevent the eviction of Negro sharecroppers from farms in Tennessee's Haywood County. The Federal Court of Appeals directed Judge Marion S. Boyd of Memphis to grant a preliminary injunction against the landowners. .. The Justice Department civil rights division had sought the injunction on the ground that the Negroes were being evicted because they registered and voted in 1960. Landowners had refused to renew contracts by which the Negroes farm for a share of the crops. A similar case involves sharecroppers in Fayette County, Tenn. Judge Boyd issued an injunction in that case after the appeals court ruled in December.

Middleburg, Va.,April 8-Negroes were served for the first time yesterday at two counters. Had they been refused service, sit-in demonstrations were planned to coincide with Mr. Kennedy's presence...The Rev. Albert F. Pereira ..served as arbitrator between Negro spokesmen and proprietors of a sandwich shop and two drug stores with counters.

Wash., April 9. - The State Department has apologized to Dr. William Fitzjohn, charge d'affaires of the African state of Sierra Leone who was denied serve service at a Howard Johnson restaurant in Hagerstown, Maryland.

Bridgeport,Conn.April 9-A branch of the NAACP launched a campaign here today to discourage blackface minstrel shows.

Trenton, April 10-A special New Jersey Senate committee heard conflicting testimony today on the merits of a bill to ban racial discrimination in private housing in the state. At present New Jersey bans discrimination in housing supported by public funds. The new bill would extend this ban to housing financed without government funds.

Wash., April 10-The Post Office Department took steps today to make sure that its massive building program would be free of discrimination.

Jackson, Miss.,April 10-The Justice Department began an investigation today of reports of discrimination against Negroes seeking to vote in the counties of Madison, Walthall and Forrest.

Wash., April 11-President Kennedy's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity pledged today a vigorous effort to eradicate discrimination in Government employment and by Federal suppliers and contractors. At its first meeting under the chairmanship of Vice President Johnson, the group promised to attack the twin problems of lethargy and ignorance.

Wash., April 11-Vice Preisent Johnson, chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, met last weekend with a group of Negro leaders in Nashville, Tenn. The VicePresident pledged that the committee would not be a do-nothing agency. ...The Negroes viewed as as important the fact that a national leader had met with them in Nashville

Phila., April 11-The Human Relations Commission accused 19 major hotels, 2 restaurant chains and 3 union locals of practicing discrimination.

NFCCS
Social Action Secretariat
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Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive ~~Director~~
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

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U.S. POSTAGE
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August 24, 1953

Rosary College
River Forest, Ill.

Dear Sirs:

His Excellency, Bishop Waters, mentioned in a letter the other day two of your pamphlets which I hasten to send for. They were called RACIAL MYTH and HERESY OF RACE. He spoke also of a third called A MORAL APPRAISAL OF AN INDIVIDUAL ACT OF RACE DISCRIMINATION.

I would be most grateful if copies of these could be sent to me with a statement of charges.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 18, 1955

My dear Bishop Waters:

This confirms my telephone call this morning, correcting my letter of February 15th.

I had an open contingency with people in Bloomington, Illinois, who are putting on a fund-raising occasion for March 8th, to speak for them. But it seemed altogether likely that they would choose a later date. They popped through today with March 8th. So I have to be there.

But I could still be in Terre Haute at any time on Friday, March 4th, or I suppose in the late afternoon or evening of Wednesday, March 9th.

Again, I am in no wise pressing myself.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Most Reverend Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh
15 N. McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

February 15, '55

My dear Bishop Waters,

I have a Chicago trip coming up, requiring me to be in Chicago at a couple of schools-people meetings March 5 and 7. On the back-run to Atlanta March 8 it would be a simple matter to stop at Terre Haute.

I leave to your judgment whether such a stop should be arranged; you know that I rejoice to try to carry out your wishes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 10, 1955

The Most Reverend Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Bishop Waters:

I am only back this morning from the travel which put me with the Sisters of Providence at Saint Mary-Of-The-Woods last Friday. They were, as usual, most gracious to me -- I am almost handed about just as though I were a Bishop.

They got together a large audience made up of girls at the college, the Novices, and quite a number of the Sisters themselves. Perfectly usual map speech, but they seemed to enjoy it.

On behalf of the Mother Superior (who had to be away in Chicago) they handed me a whole $50.00 to add to the Council's treasury.

I am grateful for the chance to stop and talk with the group, and to make those new friends.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 20, 1956

Most Rev. Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

My dear Bishop Waters:

You delight my heart!

We are shipping separately a bundle of back issues of New South:

May 1955 - 20 copies
June 1955 - 20 copies
July-August 1955 - 20 copies
September 1955 - 20 copies
October 1955 - 20 copies
November 1955 - 20 copies
January 1956 - 20 copies
February 1956 - 20 copies

How very kind of you to subscribe for the group at Raleigh. We are very much strengthened by having these new subscribers. Our Secretary-Treasurer puts in a bill for the new subscribers.

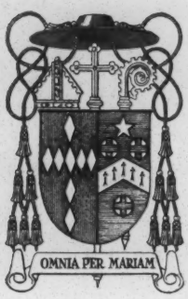
And if later similar bodies in Charlotte, Durham and Greensboro want to get New South, we will be overjoyed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef
Encl.

RECEIVED FEB 17 1956



BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

February 15th, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Would you be kind enough to send me some back issues of the "New South" to distribute at meetings of Interracial Groups which we are holding here in the Diocese?

I am attaching a list of our Raleigh Interracial Group to whom I wish a year's subscription sent. I will later send you a number of names from the Charlotte, Durham, and Greensboro groups.

Kindly let me have bill for payment.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

+Vincent S. Waters

Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh

Enc.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Herbert A. Harkins	15 N. McDowell Street	Raleigh, N.C.
Reverend Francis J. Tait	2903 Anderson Drive	"
Reverend Jerome Tierney, O.P.	1109 New Bern Avenue	"
Mr. and Mrs. Carl Ramsey	3516 Neil Street	"
Mr. Walter M. Kulash	20 Bagwell Avenue	"
Mrs. Orah M. Russell	229 E. Edenton Street	"
C. B. Middleton, M.D.	210 Lincoln Court	"
Mr. Floyd Pope	Nazareth, North Carolina	
Mrs. B. M. Edwards	1109 E. Morgan Street	"
Mr. D. W. Webster	504 Freeman Street	"
Mrs. Albert Sneed	2217 Benard Street	"
Mr. Vincent Bode	2615 St. Mary's Street	"
Mr. W. R. Brush	107 Byron Road	"
Mrs. T. C. Krisulewicz	2401 Greenway Avenue	"

Jan

March 5, 1956

The Most Rev. Vincent S. Waters
15 North MacDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Bishop:

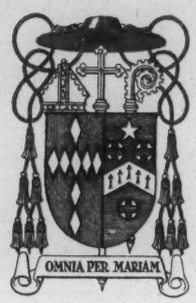
We are very grateful indeed for your kind check.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

RECEIVED MAR 3 1956



BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

March 1, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Check made
Cha

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing check of $28.00 to cover the subscriptions to the "New South" which you are sending to the fourteen members of the Raleigh Interracial Group.

I want also to thank you for the large bundle of back issues of your little magazine which you so generously mailed me for distribution to the various Interracial Groups in the Diocese.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

+Vincent S. Waters
Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh

Enc.

May 1, 1956

Sister Micheles
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Sister Micheles:

I am honored to be asked to have a part in the meeting at Our Lady of the Hills Camp, which begins on July 15th. I will be on hand pretty much all the day of Tuesday, July 17th, and will be prepared to make my speech at 3:00 in the afternoon of that day.

Bishop Waters is most gracious to me, and I am appreciative.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED MAY 1 1956

BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

April 30, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Before His Excellency, Bishop Waters, left town, he requested me to send you copy of the enclosed Assembly Grounds Program.

Kindly note the time you are scheduled to speak and the topic.

If you have any suggestions to make, we will be happy to receive them before we send this rough draft to the printer.

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Sister Michele

Secretary to the Bishop

Enc.

P.S.
You need not return this draft.
S. M.

LITURGY - MISSIONOLOGY - MUSIC - EDUCATION - ART - FAMILY LIFE
RURAL LIFE - CATECHETICS

For a limited number of Priests, Sisters, Seminarians and the Laity

(Reservations in Camp limited - Apply early to:
Secretary Assembly Grounds Program
15 N. McDowell Street, Raleigh, N.C.

Cost per Week:

Seminarians.....$ 30.00
Laity..... 50.00

Reservations in Hotels or Tourist Courts available)

North Carolina Catholic Assembly Grounds Program

Our Lady of the Hills Camp, Hendersonville, North Carolina

Opening Sunday, July 15, with Supper, 6 P.M. - Closing, Sunday, July 22, with Luncheon

Sunday
July 15 - Opening Session 7:30 P.M. Father Eugene Walsh, S.S.
St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md.
OUR LITURGICAL PROGRAM FOR THE WEEK
"Liturgy of the Church"
Introduction of Speakers and Members
COMPLINE, BENEDICTION, NIGHT PRAYERS

Monday
July 16

7:00 Community Mass
Homily
8:00 Breakfast
Recreation
9:30 Miss Barbara Ottinger
THE LAITY HELPING THE CHURCH
Discussion - Questions

11:00 Break
11:15 THE APOSTOLATE IN THE HOME
Mary Perkins Ryan,

12:00 Luncheon

1:00 Recreation

3:00 OUR INDIAN RESOURCES IN CRAFTS & ARTS
Miss Gertrude Flannagan

5:00 MY PRIESTHOOD IN NORTH CAROLINA.
TRAINING-APOSTOLATE & PARISH LIFE
Father Joseph Klaus, Durham, N. C.

6:00 Dinner

7:30 Campfire Program
WHAT WE HOPE TO DO WITH OUR CAMPS
Fr. Thomas Kerin and Fr. Charles McLaughlin

Night Prayers and Benediction

Tuesday
July 17th

7:00 - Community Mass
Homily

8:00 - Breakfast

9:30 - THE APOSTOLATE OF THE SOUTH
Father Alexander O. Sigur,
Editor, Chaplain at Southwestern
Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, La.

11:00 - Break

11:15 - THE APOSTOLATE TO THE CHOSEN PEOPLE
Father John M. Oesterreicher
Seton Hall University, Newark, N.J.

12:00 - Luncheon

3:00 - THE BACKGROUND OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONS
George S. Mitchell, Southern Regional
Countil, Atlanta, Ga.

5:00 - THE NORTH CAROLINA TRAINING APOSTOLATE
Father Frederick Koch

7:30 - Movies on NORTH CAROLINA
and a COMMUNITY SING
Father Thomas Walsh

Wednesday
July 18th

7:00 - Community Mass
Homily

8:00 - Breakfast

9:30 - THE EDUCATION APOSTOLATE IN
THE MODERN WORLD
John A. Ryan , University of Notre Dame ?

11:00 - Break

11:15 - THE MAKING OF A HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER
FOR MODERN YOUTH
Sr. Mary Janet, Catholic University of America

12:00 - Dinner

3:00 - OUR APOSTOLATE TO AMERICAN WOMANHOOD
Miss Janet Kalvin , The Grail Center, N.Y.

5:00 - HOW TO TAKE A REAL CENSUS FROM EXPERIENCE
Father William Wellein, as Seminarian and Priest

6:00 - Dinner

Evening - Take in one of the Out-Door Pageants in the Vicinity.

Optional - UNTO THESE HILLS
THUNDER BIRD, Etc.

Thursday
July 19th

7:00 - Community Mass
Homily

8:00 - Breakfast

9:30 - THAT MANY MAY BE ONE
Father Leo J. Trese, Author

11:00 - Break

11:15 - OUR APOSTOLATE IN NORTH CAROLINA
Bishop James J. Navagh, Charlotte, N.C.

12:00 - Dinner

3:00 - THE CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AND RESETTLEMENT PROJECT
Father Maurice Sheen, C.O.,
Rock Hill, S. C.

5:00 - MY EXPERIENCES IN WESTERN NORTHCAROLIN
Father Joseph Dean, Murphy, N.C.

6:00 - Dinner

7:00 - THE MUSIC OF THE CHURCH
Father Cletus Madsen, St Ambrose College
Davenport, Iowa

Friday
July 20th

7:00 - Community Mass
Homily

8:00 - Breakfast

9:30 - TWO YEARS IN A STATION WAGON
Sister Marie Therese and Sisters,
Mission Helpers of the Sacred Heart Charlotte, N.C.

11:00 - Break

11:15 - OUR RURAL LIFE APOSTOLATE IN NORTH CAROLINA AND THE COMING CONVENTION
Dr. Walter Kulash, State College, Raleigh, N.C.

12:00 - Dinner

3:00 - THE JUNIOR CATHOLIC DAUGHTERS AND THE NCCYA MOVEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA
Father Wm. Wellein & Fr. Chas. McLaughlin

5:00 - THE APOSTOLATE OF SISTERS IN NORTH CAROLINA
Sister M. Stephen, Charlotte, N.C.

6:00 - Dinner

7:30 - MISSIONARY CATECHESIS, ITS NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS
Fr. Joannes Hofinger, S.J.,
Institute of Mission Apologetics, Manila, P.I.

Saturday
July 21st

7:00 - Community Mass
Homily - Father Hofinger

8:00 - Breakfast

9:30 - MISSIONARY LITURGY and WHAT GIVES OUR SERVICES MISSIONARY VALUE

11:00 - Break

11:15 - MISSIONARY LITURGY

12:00 - Luncheon

3:00 - MEDITATION ON MISSIONARY PERSONALITY

4:00 - REMINISCENSES OF NORTH CAROLINA
Monsignor William F. O'Brien, Durham, N.C.

5:00 - Discussion of Above

6:00 - Dinner

7:30 - Talks by Seminarians (All)

Sunday
July 22nd

7:00 - Community Mass
Homily

8:00 - Breakfast

9:30 - OUR COMMON GOALS IN NORTH CAROLINA
Bishop Vincent S. Waters, Raleigh, N.C.

11:00- Discussion of Work of Census

12:00- Luncheon and Graduation

* * * * * * * *

May 29, 1956

Sister Michele
Secretary to the
Most Reverend Vincent S. Waters
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Sister Michele:

Dismally there isn't a glossy in the house. But here is a mat which may do as well.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

RECEIVED MAY 28 1956

Residence Of The Bishop
15 N. McDowell St., Raleigh, N. C.

May 26, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

His Excellency, Bishop Waters, has asked me to write and beg you for a small picture of yourself which we will return to you when it has served its purpose.

no pictures
eob

We are endeavoring to get pictures of all our speakers on the Assembly Grounds Program to run in the "North Carolina Catholic", at the time we run the program.

Thanking you, and with best wishes, I remain

Very Sincerely yours,

Sister Michele
Secretary to the Bishop

BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

May 4th, 1956

RECEIVED MAY 5 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your kind letter of May 1st accepting His Excellency's invitation to speak on the Assembly Grounds program.

I will see that Bishop Waters receives this information immediately upon his return to the city around the middle of May.

Thanking you again, and with best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Sister Michele
Secretary to the Bishop

July 19, 1956

The Most Reverend Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Bishop Waters:

I had a grand time, and I am most grateful to you and all the others for yesterday's occasion at Hendersonville.

I dropped a note to Father Kerin and suggested that he make it his business to seek out either old Dr. W. D. Weatherford, who lives in the cottage Overlook at Blue Ridge, or Mr. Sanders, resident also at Blue Ridge, who managed Blue Ridge for uncounted decades. Weatherford is now mainly in retirement, but still raises money for Berea College. Sanders has younger assistants who manage blue ridge, but he is the presiding genius.

Sanders knows more about mountain assembly grounds than any other creature. Weatherford is a knowledgeable old gentleman. Your time is so burdened that I hardly dare suggest that you seek them out. But if ever there is a time when you can turn your car into Blue Ridge and hunt up one, or both, of them, I am sure you will feel rewarded. I have learned as years have come to me that my older friends do not wait upon my convenience. By the time my convenience is there they have been translated.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 31, 1956

The Most Reverend Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh
15 N. McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

My dear Bishop Waters:

You were extremely generous to send the check for $75.00. I am seldom so well paid for my speech!

And with company and friendship besides!

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

September 13, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 17 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

After his return from the Assembly Grounds Program at "Our Lady of the Hills Camp," at Hendersonville, N. C., Bishop Waters was in Raleigh for only a short time prior to his departure for Europe where he is presently leading a pilgrimage to various shrines. It was, therefore, impossible for His Excellency to write to you personally to express his profound appreciation for your part in making the Assembly Grounds Program the great success that it was, and he has asked me to do this for him.

You may be sure that you gave the priests, sisters, seminarians, and laity much food for thought. Our seminarians, who are eager to learn everything that will make their work as priests of this Diocese effective, were especially benefitted. Both Bishop Waters and Bishop Navagh are profoundly grateful for your efforts.

Wishing you continued success in your work, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

George E. Lynch

George E. Lynch
Chancellor

P.S.
I am enclosing the mat which you were kind enough to lend us for publication in the "North Carolina Catholic."
GEL

Done filed

File

May 14, 1957

Most Reverend Vincent S. Waters
Bishop's Residence
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Bishop Waters:

I have just heard from Mr. Ben Sissel of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., concerning the film of Dr. Mitchell's speech. He writes as follows:

> "The George Mitchell film is completed. We have one copy in our hands. I am authorizing Motion Picture Laboratories (1672 Union Avenue, Memphis 4, Tenn.) to sell prints direct to legitimate purchasers upon order. Our office is not set up to perform any merchandizing or order-taking. My understanding is that the cost of the film will be something in the neighborhood of $115. to $125. per copy. Have not been informed as to the precise cost. Your procedure, therefore, would be to order direct from Motion Picture Laboratories in Memphis."

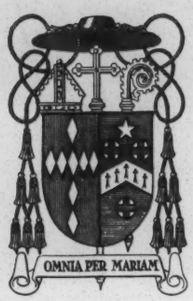
I note that Mr. Sissel says nothing about rental. As soon as I get information about that, I shall pass it on to you.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf



RECEIVED MAY 6 1957

BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

May 3, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Most Reverend

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the information contained in your letter of April 24, with regard to Dr. Mitchell's speech on "Southern Regionalism."

I will appreciate it if you will advise me when you find out when copies of the film are available.

Thanking you for your kindness, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

+Vincent S. Waters

Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
2501 Kensington Place
Nashville, Tennessee
October 11, 1954

RECEIVED 10/26/54 Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

Continuing its policy of presenting opportunities for the discussion of developments on the Southern scene in light of Christian principles, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen is sponsoring a conference to be held Thursday and Friday, Nov. 4th and 5th, at Bethany Hills Conference Grounds near Nashville. This conference is planned with the view of bringing together teachers, ministers, students, and interested laymen for some thoughtful consideration of the problems confronting the South today.

Bishop D. Mar Philoxinos of the Syrian church in India, a delegate to the World Council of Churches meeting at Evanston, Illinois, and George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary of the Southern Regional Council, are two able people who have been secured as principle resource people for the conference. They will focus our thinking on the theme: "The Relevance of the Church to Contemporary Southern Problems". The full program of the conference is enclosed.

No registration fee is being charged for the conference. The Fellowship is assuming the cost of the program and is asking those attending to pay only for their meals and lodging which will be about $5.00 for the total period, Thursday evening to Saturday morning. You may provide your own sheets and blankets or they may be rented at the conference grounds. It will facilitate planning if you can return the registration blank by November 1.

Registration and transportation or directions to the conference site will be provided at Wesley Foundation, 21st and Broadway in Nashville, on the afternoon of Nov. 4th. Bethany Hills is 25 miles West of Nashville on US Highway 70, on the South side of the highway. The entrance is marked by a green and white sign.

We sincerely hope that you and some of your friends will be able to attend this conference and help contribute to its success.

The Conference Committee,

Tom Baker, Executive Secretary, Tennessee Council of Churches
Wilson Welch, Professor, Fisk University
Virginia Grantham, Secretary, Nashville Fellowship group
John Compton, Professor, Vanderbilt University
Andrew H. Porter, Pastor, Greenfield Baptist Church
Marion Fuson, Executive Committee, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Jack Nesmith, Director, Vanderbilt Student Christian Association
Gideon Fryer, Professor, U-T School of Social Work

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen Conference
Bethany Hills Conference Grounds
November 4, 5, 1954

THEME: The Relevance of the Church to Contemporary Southern Problems

Thursday, November 4

1:00 - 5:00 p.m. - Registration, Wesley Foundation, 21st and Broadway, Nashville

6:00 p.m. - Dinner - Conference Grounds

7:30 p.m. - Devotional Period

Address: D. Mar Philoxinos, Bishop of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, Malabar, India

"The South Today", George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

Discussion

Friday, November 5

8:00 a.m. - Breakfast

9:00 a.m. - Meditation Period

9:30 a.m. - Panel Discussion, "The Church's Responsibility in the Southern Scene: New Methods and Approaches in Meeting This Responsibility"

"The Rural Church" - Rev. Eugene Smathers, pastor, Big Lick, Tenn., Presbyterian Church; Chairman, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
"The Church and Social Work Practices" - Gid Fryer, Assistant Professor of Social Work, University of Tennessee School of Social Work
"Inter-Church Cooperation" - Rev. Tom Baker, Executive Secretary, Tennessee Council of Churches
Resource Leader - Bishop Philoxinos

12 noon - Lunch

2:00 p.m. - Panel Discussion, "Reports from Current Social Action Efforts"

"Integration in the Public Schools" - Mrs. Preston Valien, Research Specialist, Southern Education Reporting System
"The Labor Picture, Present and Future" - Dave Burgess, Secretary, Georgia State Industrial Council, CIO
"Trends in Southern Politics" - H. C. Nixon, Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University
Resource Leader - Dr. Mitchell

6:00 p.m. - Dinner

7:30 p.m. - Address: "The Relevance of Social Issues to World Wide Christianity", Bishop Philoxinos

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
2501 Kensington Place
Nashville, Tenn.
October 23, 1954

Attached is the completed program for the Fellowship Conference, Nov. 4th and 5th. It is important that registration be completed as soon as possible; make your reservations on the blank below and get it to Virginia Grantham no later than Monday, Nov. 1, as we must have pretty definite information about how many persons to expect for each meal.

If you are unable to indicate at time of registration what transportation you will need or can provide for others, contact John or Marge Compton (7-1424R) before Thursday, Nov. 4, or call Bet Fryer at registration headquarters (6-0695) Thursday from 1 - 5 p.m. Persons desiring transportation direct from the Fisk area may contact the Department of Religion and Philosophy at Fisk.

If you have any further questions call Virginia Grantham (7-3891W) or Bet Fryer (97-5401).

Registration for
The Bethany Hills Conference
November 4, 5, 1954

Name: _____

Address: _____ Phone: _____

Meals for which I will be present:
Thursday night _____
Friday morning _____
Friday noon _____
Friday night _____
Saturday morning ____

Overnight accomodations: None ____
Thurs. ___
Friday ___

Transportation:
I need transportation for Thurs. ( ); Fri.( ) at _____ o'clock
I can provide transportation for _____ persons Thurs. at approximately ____o'c
_____ persons Friday at approximately ____o'c

Return to: Mrs. Dewey Grantham
2501 Kensington Place
Nashville, Tennessee

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

HOWARD KESTER, *Executive Secretary*
BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA

Eugene Smathers, Chairman
Murray Branch, Vice-Chairman
Mrs. Sadie Hughley, Treasurer

October 31, 1954

RECEIVED 11/2/54
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

By all means fly up to Nashville and back to Atlanta. I will meet you at the Wesley Foundation on the afternoon of the 4th. at 4:00, take you to Bethany Hills and see that you get back to Nashville in time to catch your plane to Atlanta.

It will be great to see you.

In a bit of a hurry,

"Buck"

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Nov 4

October 27, 1954

Dictated October 26

Mr. Howard Kester
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Black Mountain, North Carolina

Dear Buck:

I am going to fly up there and back. Cost you hardly any more and saves me a lot of driving. I will check in at the Wesley Foundation, Twenty-First and Broadway, by 4:00 p.m., November 4, and hope to get a ride with somebody there out to the Conference grounds. I am coming back on a late afternoon plane Friday, November 5, and will need a ride back to Nashville Friday afternoon.

I am primed to make a speech on "The South Today," Thursday night at or after 7:30 p.m.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

HOWARD KESTER, *Executive Secretary*
BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA

Eugene Smathers, Chairman
Murray Branch, Vice-Chairman
Mrs. Sadie Hughley, Treasurer

October 17, 1954

RECEIVED
10/20/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

This very belated note is to confirm my telephone conversation with you several days ago with respect to your coming to our conference at Bethany Hills, near Nashville, on November 4-5.

Our friends in Nashville, and all over, for that matter, are delighted that you are going to be with us, and I am particularly grateful to you.

The enclosed copy of the program will give you a general idea of what is being planned. While Bishop Philexonos will provide a brief meditaion and address on the opening evening, November 4, you are the main dish and our folk are particularly concerned that you have most of the evening at your disposal. What they want at the outset is a presentation of some of the major issues in the region, in addition, of course, to the major concern of desegration all along the line. On the following morning, and probably the afternoon, we'll plan to chew over what you have said and incorporate in the Panel with a view to grounding out some methods of approach, etc. which will be of help to all, but especially the parsons who will be there. I believe that you said that you could be with us for both days.

If you will let me know when and by what means you will arrive we will be glad to meet you and see that you are properly and safely deposited with your host and later at the Camp which is about 20 miles out of Nashville on the Memphis road.

We will take care of your expenses. If there are questions by all means drop me a line. In the meanwhile my warm thanks for your good help.

As ever yours,

"Buck"

Howard Kester

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

HOWARD KESTER, *Executive Secretary*
BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA

December 13, 1954

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Now that we are back at our desks after a number of trips to conferences, to F. S. C. groups and members, I hasten to send you our thanks for your contribution before the year has completely run its course.

Howard is writing a newsletter to cover activities until the end of 1954 therefore I shall not try to give you any news. I do want to tell you that we deeply appreciate your help and all that you have made possible this year.

For three months in the spring, we shall be meeting with local groups and holding one-day conferences in various parts of the South. If you would like to have a meeting in your section, by all means let us hear from you soon.

We wish for you a blessed Christmas season and a meaningful and rewarding year in 1955.

Sincerely yours,

Alice Kester

JAN 13 1955

Mrs. Howard Kester.

I am sorry that illness in the family, the rush of Christmas, etc. has delayed the mailing of this letter. Happy New Year.

A.H.K.

HCF

RECEIVED 12/20/54 Southern Regional Council

THE FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

December Newsletter

Dear FSCer and Friends:

The approaching holiday season suggests to me that it will be both prudent and wise for me to make this letter as brief and as much to the point as possible, and thus hope for it some measure of attention at a moment when there are so many claims upon your time and energies.

As we commemorate the birthday of our Lord, may the Father of all mercies grant to each of us the confident grounds for a stronger hope and a greater faith in those robust and imperishable moral and ethical insights vouchsafed to human kind by Him who was born in a manger. With awkwardness, falterings and stumblings; with pain edged with glory, with anger burnished by love, and dispair sharpened by the sword of hope and faith in God and man, men of good-will are slowly sundering the chains of hate and poverty and the host of evil hells to which the earth's multitudes have so long been enslaved. We of the churches of Jesus Christ, yea, we of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen understand too well the uncertain-certain grounds on which we labor, but at least the Day of Hope dawns again and in dawning beckons us anew to the task so long ago proclaimed and laid upon all men of good-will everywhere. May the good Lord strengthen each of us, together with the instrument we have in labor fashioned, to bring some measure of God's peace to our Southland. Despite all anxiety and forebodings of the Adam which is in man and the atom which he has hammered into an instrument of potential universal destruction, I rejoice that you and I have in our little Fellowship the germ of solid brotherhood. At this Holy Season, it is a blessed thing to be possessed by this assurance.

The truth of these last lines was never so borne in upon me - and, I believe, upon all those who shared the memorable days - than at the recent conference of the Fellowship at Bethany Hills. Here our members revealed what a dedicated group could do when they set their minds and hands to the task. Despite steady rain, excessive cold weather and two or three minor troubles in the heating and culinary departments, our members worked with a will and the people came with enthusiasm. With George Mitchell, Bishop Philoxenos, Gid and Beth Fryer, Wilson Welch, Marian Fuson, Virginia Grantham, Tom Baker, Gene Cox, and many others, there was no shadow-boxing but a grappling with the facts of life as they are and through hard work, courage, and understanding may yet - perhaps in our day - become. Again and again in all the areas of our concern, the brutal reality of life's rawness for so many was impressively driven home, and again and again someone drove home the need for the kind of program of action for which the Fellowship was born. I came away feeling that I had feasted at a table of facts and ideas and that our Fellowship was indeed the movement that could supply many of the answers. For all those who worked so hard to make the conference rewarding, I send my thanks in behalf of the whole Fellowship.

It was a proud moment for me personally, and for all those who have labored through the years that the Fellowship's Executive Committee could hold its fall meeting at the Center in Buckeye Cove. However unmarked by physical comforts our gathering may have been, it was nevertheless an historic milestone in the life of the Fellowship. It rained and it snowed but unlike the men who daily carry the mail, our members attended to the duties Gene Smathers had set for them. We ate heartily, slept soundly, and managed to keep fairly warm, talked

endlessly and occasionally someone talked peacefully in between a comfortable snore!

The discussions of the Executive Committee were focused at the point of developing a realizable and sound program for the coming months. As a result of the deliberations, two main emphases emerged as follows: That the Secretary spend the major part of the winter and spring holding as many one and two-day conferences across the South as time, money and energy permit, and to visit, develop, and organize as many new groups as possible. The purpose of these meetings is to help local folk working on the community level secure information with respect to what various groups are doing and can do in the region at the point of integration, rural rehabilitation, etc., etc., and to encourage and help them in setting their own concerns and plans in motion. In this effort, it is expected that Fellowship members will be available in helping make this effort a most valuable one. Some of you have already volunteered your services, general plans are gradually maturing, and many of you will hear from the office within the next few weeks. In the meanwhile, if you want the Secretary to visit you and your community, please write at once so that your neck of the woods can be included in his schedule now.

The Second main emphasis deals with the further development of the Fellowship Center and in order to continue this effort, the Executive Committee authorized the Secretary to apply for an Ecumenical workcamp for next summer. As I was roughing out this letter, our good and valued friend, Joe Howell, called to say that the Ecumenical workcamp for 1955 had been approved by the U. S. Committee and by Geneva, and that we could look forward to having approximately twenty campers from July 1 to August 13. The Executive Committee took this step not only with the belief that we could satisfactorily discharge our obligations toward the campers, but that in this effort, we would have the undivided backing of the whole Fellowship as we move one step - perhaps the final step - nearer the goal of having the annual conference of the Fellowship at the Center next summer. In any case, the Executive Committee voted to hold the 1955 Summer Conference at the Center if it seems possible, and with your help and backing the goal will be achieved, we hope. As this long postponed event approaches the moment of realization, its promise and significance must be recognized by each member of the Fellowship. We are almost over the hump, and to use the line used by all beginners in typing, "now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of" their Fellowship. I should hope that in addition to your regular contribution toward the general field work, each individual and especially each group would make a special contribution towards this summer's construction program. I will be glad to supply you with specific information regarding our needs if you will write me. Please do!

The Exposition Press, Inc. of New York has recently published, "A SPARK FOR MY PEOPLE", an autobiographical work of one of our members, Mrs. Ella Earls Cotton of Durham. To her we extend our warm appreciation for this stimulating story.

In the beginning, I promised that this letter would be brief and this promise I mean to keep. To each of you - our members, old and new, and to the host of friends across the country - my profound gratitude for your encouragement in these difficult times, and for your continued support of the movement which unites us in hope, purposefulness and Christian stewardship. May the good Lord

bless you and keep you, may He make His face to shine mightily upon you, may He lift up His countenance upon you and give you peace.

From our house to your house, this brings affectionate greetings for a joyous Christmas and a glad and meaningful New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Kester

Howard Kester.

P. S. Early in the New Year, you will receive PROPHETIC RELIGION . . . . . a good beginning about which I am most grateful and about which you will hear more soon. H.A.K.

May 24, 1955

Mr. G. McLeod Bryan
Mercer University
Macon, Ga.

Dear Mac:

Thank you for your letter of May 19th regarding my participation in the summer conference of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen at Black Mountain, N.C. Certainly I will be pleased to participate and will make note of it on my calendar to keep that particular date open for that purpose. I don't know if it will be possible for me to attend the entire conference because of the pressing load of work this summer. Is it possible for the Fellowship to pay expenses from Atlanta up to Black Mountain and back? I would expect no remuneration, of course, but the Council, inspite of its grant from the Fund for the Republic, is not a wealthy organization and our travel budget is now strained to the point where we expect it to snap almost momentarily. In the event that you cannot pay travel, I think it would still be possible for me to attend but a travel allowance would be of great help to us.

Thank you and Bill Kirkland too for the kind remarks about my participation in the Macon meeting. I was much impressed with the people who attended and feel that you have there the sort of group which I wish we had in every Southern community for it was noticeable that you have opened the lines of communication on a thoroughly democratic basis between Negro and white people in Macon. I do not mean to imply that you have solved all the problems of Macon but I would say that you have made possible an honest "look-at" the problems, the resources and the needs of the community, and this is the first real step in any community meeting its problems.

I would appreciate when it is available a schedule of the meeting to be held at Black Mountain so I might best plan transportation and participation. I would suggest as a topic for my contribution, "Changing Patterns in Human Relations."

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR:rnf

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

"...To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

HOWARD KESTER, *Executive Secretary*
BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA
May 19, 1955

Dr. Routh
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Routh:

It suddenly dawned on Bill Kirkland and myself, who are planning the program for our summer conference (for the whole southeastern organization), that you are the person to address us on one part of our program, especially inasmuch as we felt you made the major contribution the other day in Macon. Not only that, but we believe that you could gain from the association with the Fellowship as it gathers for its annual vacation-business session, Aug. 17-21 at Black Mt., N.C. - if you haven't already. Yours would be a part of a significant program consisting of four parts. 1) Mollegen of Alexandria Seminary is key-noter. 2) We're dedicating our encampment as we meet there the first occasion. 3) We're issuing a twenty-year Manifesto on Religion and the South. 4) Experts of the Fellowship in different fields are summarizing the needs and methods of the Fellowship from their view. This last would be your contribution. Ann Queen, of the Friends Southeast, on "college life needs of the South." Wm. Boyd of Atlanta U. on "pol. trends". Eugene Smathers, on "changing agricultural needs." Etc. And you on "changing integration tensions"(or whatever you wish.

We do hope that you can fit us into your schedule. We believe this will attract you, inasmuch as we can provide an audience of the most outstanding southern prophets" whom you can count on to a "t" in your own efforts.

Looking forward to an affirmative answer, and to seeing and working with you again.

Sincerely yours,

G. McLeod Bryan
Mercer Univ.
Macon, Ga.

OK
GM

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
NEAL HUGHLEY *Chairman*
CHARLES JONES *Vice-Chairman*
SADIE HUGHLEY *Treasurer*
MAYNARD CATCHINGS
T. B. COWAN
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BILL PARKER *Summer Conference*
MCLEOD BRYAN *Cooperation With Churches*
FRIENDS OF THE SOIL
EUGENE SMATHERS *Chairman*
FRANCIS DRAKE *Field Secretary*

August 2, 1955.

Mr. G. McLeod Bryan
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mac:

I had expected to hear from you prior to this about the meeting of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen at Black Mountain, North Carolina. I understand that the meeting takes place the week of August 15 through 20 or perhaps even through 27 - a two weeks period.

You will recall that I had promised to spend a day with the group some place along the way. Since I have not heard from you as to a specific date, I should like to come up and be with you on Friday, August 19. Just prior to this, August 16, 17 and the morning of August 18, I will be at a meeting of SRC's executive committee at Mammoth Cave, Kentucky. I could drive over to Black Mountain the afternoon of the 18 and be with you Friday 19, and drive back here on Saturday. I hope this meets with the schedule you had set up. Please write and confirm.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/vc

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

HOWARD KESTER, *Executive Secretary*
BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA

August 11, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Mac Bryan wrote to me recently to ask me to write to the speakers on the program of the Fellowship conference to tell them what was expected of them at the conference. Since I did not know exactly what he had requested of each when he invited you to speak, I felt that I might cause confusion if I did more than send along the printed card about the FSC conference program. Now, Mac has forwarded your letter of August 2 to us and I hasten to enclose another card lest the one I sent you might have gone astray.

You will see that the dates are August 17-20. We begin with supper on Wednesday evening and close after breakfast on Saturday. Howard asks me to say that the time you suggested would be most satisfactory. If you come in on August 18 and can speak on the 19th, that will work out fine. Life is on the primitive side at the camp but a day or two of it might not prove too much. We appreciate your willingness to come to the conference and we are glad that you will stop by en route because our limited budget for the conference makes it impossible to really care for any of the speakers' expenses adequately.

Here are the directions to the Center: When you have driven about nine miles - maybe a little less- on Highway 70 out of Asheville toward Swannanoa, you will see a white wooden bridge on your right over the railroad tracks.* Cross here and keep straight on out that road for about 7/10 of a mile. When you reach a divide in the road at a group of mailboxes, take the right road down the hill and go about 7/10 of another mile. There is an FSC sign that shows that you take a left road off of the gravel highway and from then on, you are on a one-way road to the Center. It eventually brings you to a gate where the FSC property begins. Take courage, and know you have arrived! The road is not good and this rain is not helping it, but we hope it is not too bad at the time of the conference.

* a sign on left says "Buckeye Cove".

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Eugene Smathers, Chairman
Murray Branch, Vice-Chairman
Mrs. Sadie Hughley, Treasurer
Warren Ashby
Charles Jones
Nelle Morton
Melvin Watson

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
David Burgess
E. M. Hoffman
Fellowship Center
Mrs. Marian Fuson
Information and Publications
Anne Queen
Membership
William Sengel
Prophetic Religion
Rosalie Oakes
Student Relations
Gideon Fryer
Twentieth Anniversary

FRIENDS OF THE SOIL
T. B. Cowan
Chairman
Francis Drake
Executive Secretary

If there are further questions, please let us know. If you are coming by car and find it possible to bring your bed covers along, and towels, it will be a real help as this is our first conference at the Center and things are being done on a shoestring. If this is not possible, we shall try to have enough covers on hand. It has been a cool, rainy season so lots of wraps and covers may be necessary.

Sincerely yours,

Alice H. Kester

Mrs. Howard Kester
Office Secretary

PEOPLE AND EVENTS

"The Christian Church, the FSC and the South At Mid-Century"

Platform Presentations and Discussions by:

Eugene Smathers, Calvary Parish, Big Lick, Tennessee, and Chairman of the Fellowship: **The Rural Church and the Plight of the Small Farmer; Some Basic Problems Confronting the Church and the Fellowship.**

McLeod Bryan, Mercer University, Macon, Georgia, and Co-Chairman of the Fellowship Center: **The Church's Responsibility for Social Change.**

Robert Cannon, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nashville, Tennessee: **The Ministry of Peace and Reconciliation.**

David Graybeal, Emory and Henry College, Emory, Virginia: Meditations and Evening Worship.

Neal Hughley, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.: **Recent Changes on the Economic and Industrial Front.**

Anne Queen, American Friends Service Committee, Greensboro, North Carolina: **The College Community and the Church.**

John Ramsey, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.: **Some Basic Problems of Labor.**

Fred Routh, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia: **Programs for Integration.**

Murray Branch, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia: **Christianity, Democracy and Social Change.**

Lewis Everline, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Lincolnton, North Carolina: **Some Basic Aspects of the Fellowship Program.**

Gabriel M. Setiloane, Kroonstad, South Africa: **The Need of a Fellowship of Churchmen in South Africa.**

NOTES ON THE CONFERENCE

The conference will open with supper on August 17. Mornings will be devoted to platform talks, discussion groups, and the consideration of problems of special concern to the Fellowship. Afternoons will be free for work on special Center projects, mountain climbing and recreation. In the evenings we will gather on the mountain side for worship and around the campfire for informal talk and discussion.

The program will be sufficiently elastic to meet both special and general requirements of the members of the conference.

The dedication of the Fellowship Center will take place on Friday, August 19.

Various matters designed to strengthen the organizational structure, increase financial support, broaden the general work will be laid before the conference by the Secretary and others.

The New and Old Executive Committee will meet during the conference; plans for 1956 will be adopted.

The cost of the conference per individual will be based on the actual cost of food and service per dim of one's stay.

Conference members must furnish their own blankets, pillows, linen, towels, etcetera. Bring cots and bed rolls if you prefer them to canvas wall bunks.

A Registration fee of $3.00 per individual or $5.00 per family will be used to defray general conference expenses.

Register by writing to Howard Kester, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Black Mountain, North Carolina, NOW.

Accommodations are limited, so it is important to register as soon as possible, at the latest a week in advance.

Announcing

The Annual Summer Conference

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

Fellowship Center, Buckeye Cove

August 17-20, 1955

"The Christian Church, The FSC, And The South At Mid-Century"

THREE DAYS IN WHICH TO WORK, WORSHIP AND TALK WITH FELLOW CHRISTIANS ACROSS THE SOUTH ON THE MOST VITAL ISSUES OF OUR TIMES.

(See the other side for program and general information.)

Non-Profit
Organization
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Black Mountain, N. C.
PERMIT No. 16

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

April 10, 1956

Dr. Everett Tilson
Vanderbilt School of Religion
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Tilson:

At the request of Howard Kester I am sending you the enclosed copies of pro-segregation writings by Southern Ministers. We have a few other things of this kind in our files that are not susceptible to reproduction.

We are glad to learn that you are undertaking this study and will be glad to assist in any way we can.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o
encs.

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

HOWARD KESTER, *Executive Secretary*
BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA

March 30, 1956

Dear ~~Mr.~~ Bro. Dabbs:

At the Camp Dogwood consultation in January, it was recommended that an effort be made to secure a competent person to undertake to provide a basic study of the biblical basis for integration, and I am delighted to be able to tell you that Dr. Everett Tilson of the Vanderbilt School of Religion faculty has agreed to prepare this most urgently needed material. I am sure that you join me, and the members of the Continuing Committee, in expressing heartfelt thanks to Dr. Tilson for his willingness to assume responsibility for this important study. With a view to providing Dr. Tilson with all possible assistance in this study, we are setting up an informal committee to consider ways and means of adapting the material for use among various special groups and to help us at various other points including the distribution and use of the basic study itself. Dr. Tilson expects to have the general outline ready some time in April and the completed manuscript by the middle of the summer.

In addition to informing you of this effort, I want immediately to enlist your help at the following point, namely that of making available to Dr. Tilson, or to me, any material which you may have available, or can otherwise lay your hands on, that is issued by the various pro-segregation groups, and especially that which uses the Bible to uphold segregation. It is our judgment that some consideration should be given to this use to which the Bible is put by the segregationists, and your help in securing this material will be greatly appreciated.

Dr. Tilson anticipates a book of approximately 100 pages and it is our judgment that his study will represent the most scholarly and adequate treatment of the subject thus far made. On a recent trip through the mid-South I was surprised, though of course delighted, to find on every hand an overwhelming enthusiasm for this project. Surely the signs of the times indicate how acutely is the need for this material at numberless levels and places. We heartily enlist your support in making the above mentioned material available to us and your help in due course in making the study available to our people throughout the Region and nation.

Address the material to Dr. Everett Tilson, Vanderbilt School of Religion, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

Yours sincerely

VINTON EDWARD ZIEGLER
58 BARROW STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

April 19, 1956

RECEIVED APR 21 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I profited greatly, both listening to you at Church of the Master and then in my own apartment a week ago last Sunday.

There were two things which I did not get around to asking you, though I tried to reach you at Hotel Abbey where I learned you had checked out a day earlier than I had expected.

I learned from your borther, my neighbor, that you were to return this past week- end, but ~~I~~ my tries were to no avail.

If you can answer simply without taking much of your time, I'd appreciate knowing who are the Fellowship of Southern Churchman and their position in the present situation.

Also re your remark concerning William Faulkner's "Letter to the North" in LIFE. Wherein do you differ, from his interpretation of the present historical situation or from his personal slant?

I gathered that you thought him alarmist so would like to have this clarified if you will please.

I hope that I shall meet you again soon. Perhaps in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Vinton Ziegler

Vinton E. Ziegler

May 2, 1956

Mr. Vinton E. Ziegler
58 Barrow Street
New York 14, New York

Dear Mr. Ziegler:

I have been away and am only just back to your kind letter of April 19th.

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen may be reached directly through their Secretary, Mr. Howard Kester at Black Mountain, North Carolina. They are a devoted body of white and Negro persons, mostly ministers, but with a sprinkling of good laymen. They meet once a year and oftener sometimes. Earnest devoted people who have the right of it. But the band of people who have the right of it is small and the voice of the band is slight. But write to Buck Kester and he will give you the straight of it.

I do not recall now what Faulkner said. The business about fighting for Mississippi against the rest of the United States was poppycock. I am aware that Faulkner has since differed with his alleged transcriber. Generally speaking, I don't see much that is worth keeping in this be-praised Southern way of life. It seems to me cruel and lacking in dignity and in morality. And Faulkner, I think, said a white man ought to fight for what he takes to be Southern values.

I think there are a lot of people around who will resist change. With some of them I have some sympathy, but the thing to do is to get on with the business of effecting change where it is workable and of pushing in the difficult spots a knowledge of the workability and acceptability of change.

I am but fidgety in New York as you found out.

Come to see us in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by GSM/signed in his absence

January 9, 1957

Mr. Howard Kester
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Black Mountain, North Carolina

Dear Buck:

I should not; just because I am about to leave. My last day of duty for the Southern Regional Council is January 15th. And by the time of the April Conference I will be floating around the Highlands of Scotland.

It is one of the miseries of giving up your job that you have to cut cords that bind you out in 500 different directions. And I don't know anything to do but to just scissors and snip 'em.

In purpose I am with you -- emphatically and for good. But running the Council has to turn into Harold Fleming's business January 16th and I don't think I ought to leave the man with a shadowy commitment hung over for me.

Incidentally Harold is the best of eggs, and will do a grand job.

I congratulate you on all that has been done. Seems most wise and helpful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P. S. You and your nice wife, and any Kesters to the remotest generation, are please sometime to show in Scotland. We intend to build a two-unit motel next door to our croft and every year when it has taken in enough to hit the bottom bracket of British income taxes, I will open her up for free. So come late and stay for good. Proposed site is on a map as Applecross; but I may not be able to find a spot there.

From the Desk of
HOWARD KESTER

7 January 1957

George:

Thanks for sending Dr. Hope to our meeting on December 17th: he was most helpful. Awfully sorry that you are leaving the Council. We will miss you greatly. Hope you- and your successor - will give us such support as is possible to you. Best regards always.

"Bert"

The Call will be amended by a specific reference to integration or it will be adequately covered in the covering letter.

B.

Printing Number
NEWS — 4101

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

HOWARD KESTER, *Executive Secretary*
BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED JAN 9 1957

January 6, 1957

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

The purpose of this letter is two-fold: first, to report briefly on the progress we have made in connection with the Southwide consultation on integration, and secondly, to ask your endorsement and support by allowing us to use your name as a sponsor.

Due to restricted finances, we were unable - as originally intended - to bring together a large number of persons from all sections of the South to share in the planning of the conference, but in answer to what seemed sound advice from numerous concerned persons, we selected Nashville, Tennessee, as the logical place to hold such a conference; and during the summer secured the enthusiastic support of a broad and widely representative group of Nashvillians. We proceeded to establish a Planning Committee of which Dr. A. C. Miller, Executive Secretary of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, was named Chairman. With a view to giving careful consideration to all the questions and problems involved in such a conference, a committee of five persons, of which Dr. Roger Shinn, Professor of Christian Theology at Vanderbilt University, is Chairman, was asked to submit a report to the Planning Committee at a meeting on December 17. At this meeting at which various organizations - The National Council of Churches, The Tennessee Council of Churches, The Southern Regional Council, etc., etc. - were represented, the basic plans for the conference were made and necessary committees appointed. Among those who assumed definite responsibility for the conference are the following: Dr. A. C. Miller, Chairman of the overall Planning Committee; TheReverend Clyde Flannery, Pastor of the Brookmeade Congregational Church, Chairman of the Program Committee; Dr. Roger Shinn, Chairman of the Policy and Procedural Committee; The Reverend Tom Baker, Secretary of the Tennessee Council of Churches, Chairman of the Recruiting and Sponsoring Committee. Following a long discussion as to the best means of achieving the purpose of the consultation, the Planning Committee voted to adopt the following name: A CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN FAITH AND HUMAN RELATIONS. The date set is for the week immediately following Easter Sunday - April 23-25, 1957; the place Nashville, the exact place of meeting to be announced later.

I have been asked by the entire Planning Committee to invite you to serve as a sponsor of the Conference. As a sponsor, we should hope that you would take a definite part in the planning and carrying out of the Conference; we hope to have a full meeting of the sponsors sometime in February to discuss all the details. However, we realize

that distance, time, and finances may make this impossible for some, in which case we shall keep you closely informed of all developments, but we hope that you will allow the influence of your name and the things for which you stand to be used as we prepare for this conference. We should like to use your name on a letterhead and on the Call which will go out following our next meeting on January 15; and we would also be grateful if you will send us names of persons to whom the Call should go.

I am enclosing a copy of the Call which has been prepared by Dr. Shinn, Dr. Everett Tilson, The Reverend Will Campbell, The Reverend Tom Baker and others.

We all hope very much that you will give us your support as we prepare for what could be a momentous meeting of Christian minds and hearts. Please use the enclosed card to advise us of your decision.

Sincerely yours,

"Bud"

Howard Kester,
Secretary to the Planning
Committee for the Conference
on Christian Faith and
Human Relations.

phone - 942-2050

COMMUNITY CHURCH
OF CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
REV. CHARLES M. JONES, PASTOR
CORNER PUREFOY AND MASON FARM ROADS
POST OFFICE BOX 2 -:- CHAPEL HILL

January 30, 1962

Mr. Les Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have had a two-week's siege with a kidney infection and so dumped off onto J. C. Herrin all the work involved with clearing dates for the F.S.C. planning conference. He had to go to Chicago and New York over the weekend and I am following his instructions in nailing down Atlanta, Georgia, as the place, from lunch Friday, February 9th through luncheon February 10th as the time for the planning commission meeting. He may have talked r written you but I am mailing this information out to everyone just to make sure.

We changed the meeting place from Gatlinburg to Atlanta because air schedules into Atlanta were more convenient and also because Drs. King and Mays could be with us if we met there.

We are trying to arrange a place in downtown Atlanta where we may all stay and meet together,--but are only mildly hopeful. So we shall have to give you definite information as to meeting place etc. in a few days.

You may address any questions you may have to J. C. or to me; my address is Box 2, phone 942-2050; J.C.'s Box 188, phone 942-2804.

Sincerely yours,

Charles

Charles M. Jones

COMMUNITY CHURCH
OF CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
REV. CHARLES M. JONES, PASTOR
CORNER PUREFOY AND MASON FARM ROADS
POST OFFICE BOX 2 -:- CHAPEL HILL

January 15, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is a copy of a proposal we made to a foundation for support. We have been encouraged by the foundation "to start clearing dates with people you want for the planning commission."

You are one of those persons. We are suggesting Friday and Saturday of February 2,3; 9,10; or 16,17 as possible dates. Will you let me know if any of these are impossible and your first and second choices among them. We will pay expenses and entertainment.

We expect to have this meeting in Gatlinburg at the Riverside Hotel. We would be isolated from everywhere and everybody and could have three working periods between noon on Friday and noon on Saturday. Gatlinburg is easily accessible via Knoxville, Tennessee. Plane, train and buses run in abundance to Knoxville. However, we shall have to confirm this as a meeting place.

We are very hopeful that you can take part in this planning work. Enclosed is a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Will you use it and give me an affirmative answer soon?

Sincerely yours,

Charles Jones

Charles M. Jones

Attendance Feb 9-10

January 5, 1962

PROPOSAL: A Southwide Conference on THE INTEGRATION OF A DESEGREGATED SOCIETY

Conference to be called by The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, to include leading churchmen, educators, business and professional persons from every section of the South.

In preparation, a Planning Commission would be convened to draw up specific plans for program, personnel, publicity and implementation of the Conference.

BACKGROUND: The Supreme Court's decision against segregation in public schools has evoked two primary responses: First, some sections, yielding to pressures of self-interest from within (political, economic, preservation of public education, etc.), and to legal and moral pressures from without, have begun desegregating schools, transportation, eating and recreational facilities. On the other hand, many other sections have continued resistance to any desegregation whatsoever.

While efforts to extend desegregation must continue, it is now imperative that some thought be given to integration in those areas where schools and other facilities are now opening.

Desegregation is only the first step on the road toward the good society. Desegregation removes the legal and physical barriers to the enjoyment and exercise of the rights and responsibilities of our common life. Integration is the next step, the positive acceptance of desegregation and the glad welcoming of Negroes into the full range of human activities.

If integration does not follow or accompany the legal and otherwise compelled desegregation, the last state of the South may be worse than the first. Drawn into community through the schools, Negro children and their families can be more deeply hurt than before if acceptance and even affection are not forthcoming.

The integrating of a desegregated society will be the more difficult task. Whereas desegregation can be achieved by legal and other forceful means, integration is unforced, voluntary, spiritual achievement. The courts have no power here. But, newspapers, churches, public school teachers, public officials and others do have latent resources if integration as a goal can be made acceptable, and specific means for its achievement outlined.

IMPLEMENTING THE PROPOSAL: From the list below persons would be called together to plan and participate in the Conference.

Liston Pope, Benjamin Mays, Nelle Morton, Les Dunbar, Jean Fairfax, M. L. King, Jr., Herman Long, Aubrey Brown, John Morris, James M. Dabbs, Charles Jones, Warren Ashby, J. C. Herrin, J. Neal Hughley.

14

Charles Jones
Hames M. Dabbs
Ann Queen

Warren Ashby
Neal Hughley
J. C. Herrin

10

Biltmore

Chas. Jones

Carrie Meares

Aubrey Brown

6

Waluhaje

Jean Bairfort

Warren Ashby

~~Aubrey A. Brown~~

Miss Nelle Morton

~~Charles~~

J. T. Douglas

J. M. Dabbs

J. C. Hearen

J. Neal Hughley

Biltmore

Carrie McARES -

Charles Jones -

J.C. Hersey

Walubaje - Thrs + Fri.

Jack. -

Manning

STUAR - 14th.

Thrs [redacted]

10 A.M.

Memo from MARGARET LONG

OK BP

Liston Pope

cancel

Fri & Sat

Thomasville -

TR5-3461

2-0952

Biltmore - Fri & Sat nights

Pope, wife, & child -

January 31, 1962

Mr. J. C. Herrin
P. O. Box 188
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Herrin:

The enclosed letter to the Biltmore Hotel is self explanatory. I trust these arrangements are satisfactory. The Biltmore remains segregated for all but private meetings and meals but I think both the business and habit of handling meetings such as yours will hasten the change. If, by early next week, you know the number to be present I will pass it on to the hotel, although the present minimum-maximum is satisfactory to them.

Sincerely,

PA:bp
enc.

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

January 31, 1962

Mr. Claude Ferri,
Catering Manager
Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ferri:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of yesterday relative to a meeting of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen on February 9 and 10. The meeting will begin with lunch at 1:00 P.M. on Friday, March 9, and will end with lunch at 12:00 Noon on Saturday, March 10. The group will also require dinner on the evening of the 9th at 6:30 P.M.

It is my understanding that each of the lunches will be served at a cost of $3.00 per person, plus tax and gratuities; dinner at $4.00 per person, plus tax and gratuities.

Mr. J. C. Herrin, P.O. Box 188, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, will be present at this meeting and the individual in charge of arrangements. It is my understanding that Mr. Herrin will request a bill for these services following the completion of the meeting.

Fourteen persons have been invited to this meeting and we anticipate that no less than ten nor more than fourteen will be present.

Please call me if further questions arise. We are grateful for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:bp
cc: J. C. Herrin

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia

Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

Claude Ferri,
Catering Manager
Biltmore Hotel -

Room - no charge -

Lunch - 3.00 + Tips
4.00 + tips

~~Harold Twigg~~

~~Hoffman Twigg~~

~~Harold Hoffman~~

Emma Pent Junghout

Box 188

Chapel Hill

942-2804

12
1-
15

lunch Fri 1.00

dinner ~~Sat~~ Fri

lunch Sat 1.00

4095

3990

3990

2 40 25

160 19

475

160

635

350

285

Jack Hudson

Sch Bd

March 16, 1962

Mr. Charles Jones
Community Church of Chapel Hill
P. O. Box 2
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Charlie:

We shall be glad to join the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen in sponsorship of the conference. The only conditions we must attach are that, (1) if we are to be a co-sponsor, we must have some control over the list of organizations and persons who will be invited to cooperate and attend. Perhaps Mr. Dabbs has already spoken to you about this. If this is agreeable, we shall go over the list of organizations in your memorandum, suggest a change or two, and send it to you. I assume that if there would be any difference of opinion between you and us we could talk it out. (2) We cannot commit ourselves to handling any of the administrative chores in preparation for the conference, although we'll try to be as helpful as we can.

You did a magnificent job of getting it all on paper. Yes, I'll serve on the two committees.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PR answer attached
PA " "

PR do you want to
PA talk about this before reply?
Charles

LD

COMMUNITY CHURCH
OF CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
REV. CHARLES M. JONES, PASTOR
CORNER PUREFOY AND MASON FARM ROADS
POST OFFICE BOX 2 -:- CHAPEL HILL

February 26, 1962.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
The Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta 3,
Ga.

Dear Les,

Enclosed is what James, J.C. and I have come out with as we have tried to record essential decisions of the planning group meeting in Atlanta. Please send any corrections, additions or any further comments you may have.

You will note two things that will require some help from you: 1) a decision as to whether the S.R.C. can co-sponsor the conference, and 2) giving Herman Long and Warren Ashby the benefit of your wisdom when Herman gets into program planning.

We in Chapel Hill will also ask you to give us some help when the time comes to select invitees to the conference.

Thanks for your help in the planning group. A little leaven in a group of educators and preachers is a very necessary thing and that you were.

Sincerely,

Charles

Charles Jones.

P.S. As soon as you make a decision as to sponsorship will you let me know so we can proceed with trying to get the cooperating groups informed of the conference and secure their help.

PLANNING MEETING

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE ON "INTEGRATION IN A DESEGREGATING SOCIETY"

Met in Atlanta, Ga., February 9th and 10th, 1962.

Present: Warren Ashby, Aubrey Brown, James Dabbs, Julius Douglas, Les Dunbar, Jean Fairfax, J. C. Herrin, Charles Jones, Neal Hughley, Martin Luther King, Herman Long, Carrie Meares, Nelle Morton, and Benjamin Mays

DECISIONS

1. To have a Conference of about 200 Southern leaders (from business, education, voluntary community groups, religion) who are seriously concerned to move from desegregation into integration and who in so far as we can determine are strongly motivated by moral, religious and spiritual convictions. Invitees would not be confined to the Protestant faith nor need they necessarily be actively associated with any religious institution.

2. This conference, if possible, should be held during the week following Christmas, 1962, from Thursday noon to Saturday noon.

3. Atlanta, Ga., is first choice for a meeting place due to its centrality and the modest progress it has made in desegregation in several areas. Columbia Seminary was to be approached by Benjamin Mays in the hope of securing their facilities. Rather than go to Atlanta U. or any Negro institution, it was thought wise to have the conference elsewhere if Columbia Seminary could not be secured. In case Columbia's facilities are available but not adequate, then Agnes Scott College is to be approached for a dormitory to house delegates to supplement Columbia's offerings.

   Nashville, Tennessee, was the second choice. It is fairly certain that the religious educational institutions, Scarritt and Vanderbilt Divinity School, would offer their facilities. Meeting rooms of the Methodist headquarters building probably would be available.

   Benjamin Mays is to attempt to make the arrangements for facilities in Atlanta calling on Les Dunbar if he needed assistance. In case this did not work out, then Herman Long would approach the Nashville institutions. If needed he can secure the help of Will Campbell or anyone else he desired in the Nashville area.

4. The conference will be officially sponsored by the F.S.C. plus the Southern Regional Council if possible. Les Dunbar is taking this under consideration.

5. In addition to official sponsorship by the two above organizations it is possible that some individual leaders may be asked to join in calling this conference.

6. In addition to the sponsoring organizations some 25 organizations working in the field of human relations will be asked to cooperate with the sponsoring organizations. They are:

   State Advisory Civil Rights Committees
   Local Interracial Councils (Some independent and some affiliates of the Southern Regional Council)
   Certain Y. W. C. A.s (local)

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Merit Employment Groups
NAACP
HOPE (Atlanta)
SOS (New Orleans)
National Catholic Interracial Council
Anti Defamation League
American Jewish Committee
B'nai Brith
United Council of Church Women
Council of Jewish Women
Southern Conference Educational Fund
City Councils of Churches
United Christian Youth Movement
University Campus Student Organizations
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
N. S. A. (Southern Project)
Mayor's Committees (in cities)
Episcopal Society Racial and Cultural Unity (?)
Faculty Christian Fellowship
The Urban League (Aubrey Brown has contact)
National Council of Churches (Campbell)
National Student Christian Federation
National Conference of Christians and Jews
Race Relations - human relations - Social and Moral, Welfare agencies of various denominations
Friends Service Committee (Southeast Area)

Ways in which they will be asked to cooperate are:

a. All of them will be given an opportunity to give the conference financial support.

b. Some of them will be asked to help in the preparation of the program for the conference.

THE PROGRAM

Herman Long, Les Dunbar and Warren Ashby are to serve as the Program Committee arranging and preparing materials for the program at the conference.

Rather than have a program of speakers and/or discussions around topics or questions selected by us, we are to enlist some of the groups listed above in helping prepare materials for study before and use in the conference.

In general the materials prepared by this committee will consist of a record of the experience we are now having in the field of integration at places where desegregation is fairly well under way, a description of the way in which this has been accomplished, a critical look at the existing state of desegregation and the way of achieving it in order to:

1. Determine how much the present progress fulfills what is demanded of the South in terms of its own economic, political and social well-being.

2. Determine the degree to which this present state fulfills or fails to fulfill the moral and religious demands of the faiths we subscribe to.

3. See how the process toward integration now begun in external desegregation can be continued and stepped up from token desegregation to full integration.

4. Examine some of the personal ethical problems posed for leaders in this process.

The preparation of these materials will develop along these lines:

Atlanta (Georgia), Dallas (Texas), Memphis (Tennessee), and some other cities and towns have entered into a measure of school desegregation. It is proposed that a small group of those who helped bring this to pass be asked to meet and prepare some materials on their experience, i.e. how it was accomplished, the extent and meaning of it at the present time, the deficiencies of it etc.

This material will then be taken by Herman Long and with the advice and help of Les Dunbar and Warren Ashby (appointed as the program committee) it will be put in shape for mimeographing or reproduction in some manner for use at the conference.

What will be done with one of the cities in terms of school desegregation will also be done in other areas or cities,-- for example, the Friends have several projects of merit employment.

The selections of other areas and groups to be asked to help in this pre-conference preparation of materials is the responsibility of the Program Committee.

PROMOTION OF THE CONFERENCE

The selection of invitees will be done with the help of the cooperating groups and all work and matters pertaining to this will be the responsibility of the Chapel Hill group: Dabbs, Jones, Herrin and Hughley.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ... GEORGIA
JA... 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 9, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Attached Charles Jones letter

My only thoughts here are:

1. I see no reason why SRC should not co-sponsor a conference, if it must be held.

2. I think it would not be appropriate for HOPE or SOS to be involved in the conference publicly, since their public purposes are somewhat at variance with the concern of the conference.

3. I doubt if many new materials are really need for the purpose of the conference, although some summarizing of available materials might be what is intended.

4. I seriously doubt whether a conference on this topic would be able to draw any axcept those already involved in the various groups noted as co-sponsors.

Memo from PAUL ANTHONY

LWD:

1. question, of course, need for the conference

2. like, PR, agree that none but the faithful would come - any why break into their Christmas season

3. financial support is implied of the sponsor - since all groups are to be "invited" to share the cost - we don't have money for this use

4. under no circumstances should SRC be a co-sponsor of any meeting that involved SCEF, we may find ourselves a participant with the group, but never a sponsor of a meeting to which they are invited

5. if this is brought before the Executive Comm, the list of those to be invited should be given to the committee beforea decision is made

Rec'd 4/19

PRV
PA
MJ-file

MEMO: To members of Atlanta Planning Group
DAT April 18, 1962
FROM: Charles Jones.

HEARD FROM: Nelle Morton who sent a thoughtful list of comments concerning the program. This was sent on to Herman Long, chairman of the Program Committee.

Aubrey Brown, two letters, with suggestions for additional cooperating groups and an offer to be contact person with one of them. Also some clippings which were sent on to Herman Long.

Benjamin Mays, informing us we can expect a decision from a contact he will soon make with Columbia Seminary and Agnes Scott College for a meeting place in December.

Herman Long, two letters with ideas he has in mind for the program and persons in Nashville and elsewhere who will help the Committee.

Maxwell Hahn, who requested and was sent twelve copies of the report of the Atlanta meeting. He wondered about the additional cost to increase the attendance in December from 50 to 200. He questions if we will get large contributions from cooperating groups. Herman Long has already given our first cooperating group - The Race Relations Department - with an appropriation of $100. He also believes most of the contributions from organizations will be less than this, but that some of the national groups may do better. With help he can get locally the Program Committee will need only a modest budget of $100 or less! We in the Chapel Hill area will meet as soon as Easter releases us from many duties, and questions of who shall attend, how invited, how much financial assistance will be offered and how, the added cost to us and how to get it, will all be worked on then.

Fellowship of S. Churchmen

Les Dunbar writes the S.R.C. agrees to join the F.S.C. as a co-sponsor of the December meeting. This you will remember is a closer relationship than that of a cooperating agency. He feels two conditions are necessary. From his letter: " (1) if we are to be co-sponsors, we must have some control over the list of organizations and persons who will be invited to cooperate and attend. Perhaps Mr. Dabbs has already spoken to you about this. If this is agreeable, we shall go over the list of organizations in your memorandum and suggest a change or two, and send it to you. I assume that if there would be any difference of opinion between you and us we could talk it out. (2) We cannot commit ourselves to handling any of the administrative chores in preparation for the conference though we would be as helpful as we can."

As to (2) you will remember we in the Chapel Hill area have been assigned all administrative and promotional chores. As to (1) I should like to hear from you, since the selection of cooperating groups was made by us all. I am sure you know that the S.R.C. in asking for this procedure is not questioning the "patriotism" and "integrity" of any group proposed as a cooperator. The S.R.C.'s method of work is calculated to by-pass emotional responses and make an appeal to reason and they, as I understand it, without denying the necessity and usefulness of organizations whose work may cause conflict and emotional response - try to avoid these responses. Hence some selectiveness is followed in close working arrangements. If you agree in principal to Les' request, then I can send the list of suggested cooperators and follow his suggested procedure of "talking them out." In your answer (which should come quickly), if you approve of granting Les' request, express your opinion as to whether these changes should be approved by the planning group or not.

I would appreciate prompt replies from you on this matter, please. I will keep you informed of progress as we make it.

file
~~Wade Jones~~
~~Chas. Jones~~
7-5-C.

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1962

file

MEMO TO PLANNERS OF SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE ON "INTEGRATION IN A DESEGREGATING SOCIETY":

The memo of April 18th (if you refer to it) asked for counsel from you as to complying with conditions the S.R.C. needs fulfilled if they join us as a co-sponsor of the Conference. Two of you expressed opinions on this via mail and they were thoughtful but not in agreement. I have talked with two others (in addition to the five of us here in the area) and except for one mail response it was felt the condition of the S.R.C. should be accepted. This, however, may not be important in view of discussions our Chapel Hill-Durham people have had, but more about this later.

Thanks to: Dr. Mays for making an effort to get facilities in Atlanta despite the fact they are unavailable to us.

Aubrey Brown for information and newspaper clippings about the Inter-Faith Conference to be held in January.

Herman Long for several letters in answer to our memos and preliminary plans he has made for the program.

Jean Fairfax and Nelle Morton for letters. (Incidentally Nelle goes to Switzerland this summer for a year's residence there. Neal is teaching this summer in Rhodesia.)

A LOOK AT WHAT HAS BEEN DONE...AND IS TO BE DONE...

1. A PLACE TO MEET. Soon after Dr. Mays informed me of unavailability of Atlanta facilities I had to make a trip to Nashville to see my mother who is ill and while there saw Will Campbell (missed Herman Long who was out of town) who suggested the Tennessee Council on Human Relations might take over the responsibility for hospitality and local arrangements. Geo Barrett, President of the Council, was told about it and has expressed interest. We are trying to get a chance to talk with him, Will Campbell and Herman the second week in July to tie this down if possible. Folks in Nashville believe there will be little difficulty in getting accomodations there.

2. THE PROGRAM. Herman has been doing some thinking on this and written us concerning plans to get Will Campbell, Gid Freyer etc. together and also a meeting in Atlanta of this group. Responsibilities for the Race Relations Institute will prevent any concrete work on this until after July 7th or so.

3. OUR THINKING AND PLANNING HERE. Quantatively 1/3, qualitatively more, of our wisdom is not with us due to James Dabbs' return to Mayesville and Neal's teaching in Rhodesia. Warren Ashby, Anne Queen, J. C. Herrin and I have met (I am going to take the liberty of asking Julius Douglas to join us in future meetings.) Here are our decisions:

a. We should be more modest, and we think realistic, in plans for the number of attendants at the Conference, shooting for 100 to 150. While we anticipate our program will be stimulating enough to attract the concerned, the two or three weeks period of this time of the year is saturated with academic meetings of professors, of Y.M., Y.W., denominational college meetings and interdenominational meetings. Many of these meetings will have claims upon the people we want for program and attendance. If when we get our program generally outlined and key persons involved and see the possibility of more, then we can make adjustments in that direction.

b. After thorough consideration we have come to believe that we should have the Conference a co-sponsored affair with the S.R.C. We believe cooperating groups ought to be limited to those which Herman and the Program Committee select to help make the studies of local situations. Other groups whose aims and purposes run in our direction should be asked to help us in publicizing the Conference by news releases we send to them and to make suggestions as to persons who should come. These groups would not be asked to be "officially" linked to the Conference.

The S.R.C. request was not determinative in this decision. The reasoning is: (1) We recalled in our own experience how organizations try to "use" other organizations as cooperating or co-sponsoring groups when really all they want is money, the prestige of the name, and attendance boosters. The long listing of such sponsoring groups is now generally recognized as a gimmick whereby mutual publicity can be exchanged with little sharing of responsibility and work. We believe that few of the people we would be inviting would be swayed by the "official" list of groups that is all-inclusive. (2) We believe we can secure the cooperation we want in terms of people attending and suggestions for attendants and publicity by giving news releases and asking for help in terms of people who should attend in the light of the program proposed. (3) There is the probable loss of contributions if an official list of cooperators is not listed, but with the scaling down of numbers we believe we can manage financially.

c. Warren, J.C. and I are going to Nashville (if Will Campbell, George Barrett and Herman are available) during the week of July 8th and from that trip we ought to have more progress to report to you.

I hope our deliberations and the results strike a responsive chord in you. This is a tremendously frustrating thing to do,--plan a conference with us all so widely separated. We would welcome comments and suggestions.

Charles M. Jones
for the Chapel Hill Planning Group

June 28, 1962

COMMUNITY CHURCH
OF CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
REV. CHARLES M. JONES, PASTOR
CORNER PUREFOY AND MASON FARM ROADS
POST OFFICE BOX 2 -:- CHAPEL HILL

file
7.5.C.

July 16, 1962.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les,

Enclosed is a memo giving the results of a confab in Nashville. My responses to the memo asking for advice on arrangements between the S.R.C. and us for co-sponsoring brought four replies by mail and there were four of us here. All those replying save one felt your request was reasonable and should be complied with, with decisions as to cooperating groups being made by you and me. One felt the request was reasonable and should be complied with but that the entire group should agree on decisions. With this kind of response we felt we would be justified in going ahead as planned but more discussion and thought produced the plan contained in the memo enclosed. I hope it is satisfactory to you. I think it is better. I have never been impressed to attend anything by the long list of sponsors, either of groups or individuals. I doubt if the people we want to come would be influenced by that either. Such arrangements seem to me a kind of influence peddling.

I was in J.C.'s office the other day when he called you and asked him to tell you about Herman's plans for getting together next week in Atlanta. I hope your work there will keep you in Atlanta and give a little free time for us.

Sincerely,

MEMO TO: Atlanta Planning Committee members on "From Desegregation to Integration"

DATE: July 17, 1962

FROM: Charles Jones

Warren Ashby, J. C. Herrin and I went to Nashville, Tennessee, July 9, 10 and 11. There we found, to our agreeable surprise, James Dabbs, dressed in white and looking like a Southern planter, giving an address to a Social Action Meeting of the United Church, and Jean Fairfax who also participated in the same meeting. We were able to have James Dabbs with us in several hours of our work there. Jean's duties kept her from meeting with us.

Talked about and decided:

1. CO-SPONSORSHIP WITH S.R.C. Not having received advice from everyone concerning the relationship to establish with the Southern Regional Council to get their much valued counsel and help as co-sponsors of the December meeting, I put the problem up to the group.

   It was unanimously agreed to establish a co-sponsoring relationship with the S.R.C. and request no other national or regional groups to join us in an official or public relationship as cooperating groups or co-sponsors. Our reasoning: (a) Actually what we desire of these groups is help in getting word of the Conference widely publicized and suggestions as to people who should attend. Official relationships are not necessary for this. (b) The work involved in establishing official cooperation on our part and probable board action on the part of other groups would be more than the benefits would warrant or time permit. So all publicity would list only the two co-sponsors: the S.R.C. and the F.S.C. Les would work with us, with the kind of assistance he has noted and was passed on to you in a former memorandum. We shall make use of the good will, the common interests and efforts of other groups listed in our meeting in Atlanta by sending them our publicity and asking their suggestions in getting delegates to the Conference. This decision is being passed on to Les Dunbar.

2. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS. We met with George Barrett, a Nashville lawyer and President of the Tennessee Human Relations Council which will serve as an Arrangements Committee for housing, meals and meeting rooms. George had already spoken with two hotel managers and one of them wanted further information as to number of people etc. Barrett believes there may be some possibility of getting this hotel to open itself for the first time to such meetings. If this hotel is not available, the Holiday Inn, or facilities in and around the cluster of religious institutions at Vanderbilt and Scarritt may be available. We have no anxiety at the point of accomodations. We expect something definite in this area early in August.

3. CONFERENCE ATTENDANCE. While still hitting for a conference of 200 persons we decided to give special invitation to 100. Of this 100, some 20-25 would be persons selected by the Program Committee who will have prepared the studies and will take part in presenting them. According to our careful estimation we can provide full travel and entertainment for those invited for the program and full entertainment and partial travel for the remainder of the 100. It is expected that the publicity by us in religious journals and news media and notices to other interested groups may bring fifty or more additional persons to the meeting at their own expense. All this can be done without further financing.

4. THE PROGRAM. Herman Long, now finished with the Institute of Race Relations, is working on the selection of projects in four or five different parts of the South. Inasmuch as the projects to be presented will have been carried on under the guidance

of groups like the F.S.C., local Human Relation Councils, and other organizations, we shall note on the program and program publicity that these groups are co-operating in preparing their part of the program. The program committee under Herman Long will search out and select the projects to be presented. Warren Ashby, J.C. Herrin and I will meet in Atlanta on July 25th where we expect to have the assistance of Les Dunbar and perhaps others there in proceeding further with program plans. Herman Long, chairman of the Program Committee, will meet with us.

We spent about an hour and a half with Will Campbell who could not meet with us as a group since he was headed out of town. His suggestions as to sponsorship, arrangements and program were helpful.

My thanks to those of you who have written me about various items. Any comments or suggestions you may have concerning the program send them to Herman Long, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. If you do this promptly you will be of help to him in the Atlanta meeting.

As soon as we get the program a bit further along, we in the Chapel Hill group will be asking your help in suggesting persons who should attend and other matters. I regret the distance that separates us all is so great and that we must make so many decisions that might be wiser ones if we could all be together, -- but that is the way it is. Don't hesitate to express opinions or give advice. As things progress, I'll keep you informed.

Sincerely,

Charles

Charles Jones

MEMORANDUM

To: Program Committee and Planning Committee for Southwide Conference of Religious and Community Leaders

From: Herman H. Long

July 23, 1962

For the small planning group session which is scheduled for July 25 in Atlanta, and as a first step in the development of program for the Conference, this exploratory memo is prepared.

Rationale

It is difficult to structure program in the absence of a theme. But purely as a point of departure, let me suggest something in the order of "The South: Ethical Demands of Integration." This catches in part one of the points of major consensus which grew out of our original Atlanta discussions, namely that we should focus upon the deeper processes and issues which have emerged out of the desegregating experience now ensuing in southern communities.

I think we agreed also that we did not want to begin the conference with the assumption that we knew what these deeper issues were and thus build program upon truth and insight already discovered. On the contrary, we felt that we should try to make the conference a vehicle for discovering and identifying the demands we now feel in some vague way. We would proceed, in other words, inductively, using the important experience we are now having as the source of the insights and goals the conference would intend to discover. Hence we base the conference upon the significant case experiences of certain key communities.

The case experiences become not only the content of the conference but also provide the central means of leadership involvement in the conference itself, inasmuch as we intend to organize reporting "teams" from selected communities.

Dates

We talked initially about the week-end of December 28, but as our discussion has proceeded, I believe our understanding is that the conference would begin on the evening of December 27 and close around noon on the 29th. This would permit a schedule running from Thursday night, through all of Friday and half of Saturday.

Case Experiences

The following are tentatively suggested:

Employment: Greensboro group — The AFSC effort, plus the additional action involved in the community with department store clerks and government contract firms.

(Possible alternate -- Nashville — The Nashville Community Conference on Employment Opportunity)

5 in too many reports in advance ∴ no long presentations

Public Accommodations: Houston, Texas may be our best bet, inasmuch as Jean Fairfax has volunteered to take initiative in using her organizational base there, in preparing the report, perhaps also with the addition of leadership from the Houston Human Relations Committee.

(Alternates: Dallas, Atlanta)

great care in selecting reporters

School Desegregation: Nashville may be our best bet, although I do not consider it a good case -- about 300 Negro children in integrated schools. We may have to go to Louisville for a real good story, for in this instance teacher integration is also involved — also interscholastic sports.

great care in selecting panelists

The Atlanta, Little Rock and Norfolk holding-action programs, aimed toward preventing school closing, are good cases of community leadership; but they have little to show in positive and substantial movement toward integration.

Parochial Schools: New Orleans has a valuable experience to share, especially that which came from efforts of liberal leadership of the church, through the Catholic Interracial Council, to get the basic policy decision made and supported.

Recreation: Oak Ridge has had a modest but important experience in an effort made to use one of the nearby state parks on an integrated basis. Though limited, it is a good example in this area of concern, especially insofar as community effort is involved.

Format

All sessions would be general sessions — no workshop or discussion small group sessions. Each session might consist of (a) the presentation of the case experience by a community team: (b) a period of inquiry led by an inquiring panelist from outside that community seeking to get additional facts, methods, approaches and information as to points of weakness and failure in community leadership support; (c) a period of similar discussion from the audience; and (d) finally, using a special panelist, a brief analysis of the

ethical considerations and issues which emerge from this case experience. It would be important to have the roles discharged by (b) through the inquiring panelist and (d) the analyst closely related and clearly understood, inasmuch as this final step would depend heavily upon what comes out of the period of inquiry that points up the deeper ethical challenge to leadership.

Suggested Schedule

Thursday December 27:

Registration	6:00 - 7:30 p.m.
Evening Session	7:30 - 9:00 p.m.

Statement of the Purpose of the Conference

Keynote: The Challenge Before Us

Friday, December 28:

8:30 - 10:30 a.m.	Employment -- The Greensboro Experience (1 hour of presentation; 20 minutes of inquiry; 30 minutes of general discussion; 10 minutes of analysis of ethical implications
10:45 - 12:45	Public Accommodations
12:45 - 2:30 p.m.	Lunch
2:30 - 4:30	Public School Desegregation
7:30 - 9:30	Parochial School Desegregation

Saturday, December 29:

8:30 - 10:30 a.m.	Recreation -- The Oak Ridge Experience
10:30 - 12:00	Summary -- The Task Ahead

Here it is suggested that the findings of each of the sessions would be lifted out -- especially the 10 minute analyses of ethical implications, but not exclusing the positive and practical lessons of action successes and failures -- and projected as the challenge and task before us in the southern community. There are several among our planning committee who could make this an exciting session -- Dabbs, Ashby, Herrin, Dunbar, to mention only a few.

Audience comment, observation and further suggestion as to the nature of our task might follow.

Question: Should we aim toward a resolution of "public message" in expressing the central conviction and consensus of the conference?

✓ Vanderbilt Law School

FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
P. O. Box 2
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

✓ Harvey

Youngblood
Harding
McLeod
Sugen
Mantenbard
Jackson
Montgomery
Rothschild
Hemer
Bertel
McCallum
K Smith
Cartwright
Gibson

November 9, 1962.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
5 Forsythe St. N.W.,
Atlanta 3,
Georgia.

Dear Les,

At last we got the program settled enough to get the enclosed announcements out.

I have written Aubrey Brown asking him to do write-ups and send them to appropriate religious news outlets. I believe you said that you, or some member of your staff, would handle advance news announcements regionally and nationally. So I will dismiss that from my mind.

We begin Monday to send these announcements along with an appropriate letter to individuals in three categories: 1) Persons we want badly enough to pay all or part of their expenses, 2) people who may want to come enough to pay their own expenses, and 3) people who are employed by agencies and have expense accounts they can use.

In connection with number 3 would it be too much trouble for your office to send me the inter-agency people who should be notified, also the Human Relation Council secretaries in the various states.

Any suggestions, advice or even commands you have, pass them along.

Sincerely,
Charles
Charles. M. Jones.

P.S. If you have need for more announcements I'll send them to you

- When you get a chance send me "selective" list of prominent agitators who should be invited. Some of them have already been sent in by Aubrey Brown and Herman Long, but I am sure there are others.

THE NASHVILLE CONSULTATION

TO: All persons involved in making ready the Nashville Consultation on: The South: The Ethical Demands of Integration.

FROM: Charles Jones

DATE: November 29, 1962

942-2050 a.c. (919)

PA for info
VML
MA-file

I feel fairly comfortable due to the way things stand as noted below:

1. ENTERTAINMENT... All settled, -- Holiday Inn for rooms, lunch and dinner at Vanderbilt Divinity School and meeting place in Vanderbilt Law School (both near the Holiday Inn). Much thanks to Kay Jones, Herman Long, George Barrett and Will Campbell.

   The Hermitage Hotel offered to give us rooms for sleeping, a meeting place, a separate dining room. Except for their public eating facility we could have complete run of the place. This offer was gotten through the efforts of J. C. Herrin and Foy Valentine. We decided not to accept it however: 1) while little use would be desired of their public dining room, late sleepers missing the group breakfast would be unable to get breakfast there or anywhere nearby. The Holiday Inn dining room is open to us at any time. 2) With Holiday Inn facilities open without restriction we felt some loyalty to them; 3) To hold the consultation in partially segregated facilities when wholly desegregated arrangements could be made does not quite stack up in practice to the topic we are discussing. So despite the fact this could make a break-through with a downtown hotel we decided for the Holiday Inn arangements.

2. PROGRAM ... Well on the way...
   Charlottesville and High Point, being near, has made it possible due to a visit here by Tom Hammond from Charlottesville and a visit by me to High Point to talk with one another. These two studies are being thoroughly done and will be ready soon. I am not so close to Atlanta but I am sure Sam Williams is coming on as well with the study there. All studies will be mimeographed to give to people when they arrive in Nashville that they may be read the evening before the presentation of the case studies.

   I am enclosing a sheet (most of you may have seen it) describing the program as far as the studies are concerned. In addition to the studies and Martin King's talk we are going to have what Herman Long has termed "REPORTS FROM THE FIRING LINE." An hour will be given to this on Saturday morning of the consultation with students or persons involved in Mississippi and Georgia reporting.

3. PROMOTION AND REGISTRATION
   Thanks to many of you and others whom I have written we have a list of about four hundred persons who have been suggested to get invitations. In this list are clergymen, elected representatives to school boards and city councils, businessmen, doctors, educators.

   For the past week my secretary and I have been writing personal letters to most of them with the information sheet on the program and a registration

card enclosed. We are offering room and meals at no expense where it may be needed since we have around $4,000 for this purpose. We are also noting people who live near one another and suggesting they may like to get together on transportation. Already registrations are coming in.

With Connie Curry's (NSA Southern Project) help we expect to have twenty to thirty students. Most of them will have been in last summer's NSA Seminar which lasted for weeks and they ought to make a valuable contribution.

YET TO BE DONE.... (If this concerns any of you, please take note and do the best you can with it.)

1. Studies must be completed and sent to Herman Long.

2. NEWSPAPER AND CHURCH PAPER PUBLICITY...
This is already under preparation and may have been released by the time this memo arrives. Aubrey Brown is doing the Church news media and Les Dunbar the national and regional releases.

3 FINAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROGRAM AS TO TIMES FOR EACH STUDY ETC.
Herman Long has already sent a first draft which has been returned to him for further consideration and this should be finished in a week or ten days.

Now you see why I am not burdened down with anxiety or crushed with frustration. Thanks to you all. If you have any further responsibility, if you manage to get it done soon, I will be able to sleep not only at night but some in the daytime.

Charles Jones

FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
P. O. Box 2
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

file

December 11, 1962.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
5. Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta 3,
Georgia.

Dear Les,

Your letter of the 10th is here.

We are making a single room reservation for Mrs. Tilley, and putting Mrs. Motez in a room with somebody(unless you or she thinks she would want it otherwise. This at the expense of the consultation.

We are noting that you will be needing at least a single room and perhaps a double, expecting to hear from you if you want it double. We will charge your rooming arrangement to the consultation also, leaving only the charge for your wife for you to pick up, if she should come. If you both want to stay somewhere else, of course that is all right too. But there is plenty of room for her at the Holiday Inn and we've got pretty good rates. Just let me know your wishes around the 19th or 20th. I did not send your registration cards because I figured you were high enough brass to escape that!

Aubrey Brown cannot do the news handling for us. Jack Marion will be out of town. Any other suggestions or should I rely on Herman to get a suitable person there?

Things seem to be working out pretty well.

Sincerely,

Charles

Charles M. Jones.

Nashville Consultation
December 27-29th, 1962

INFORMATION

Headquarters and Rooms - The Holiday Inn Motel - 1800 West End Avenue

Registration - Thursday, December 27th, 3:00 P.M. - at the Holiday Inn. (Reservations made and paid through us receive a reduced rate at the Inn, so check in first at our table in the lobby. The total cost for room and meals for each person is $22.00.)

Meals - Thursday, 6:00 P.M. Dinner)
Friday, 12:45 P.M. Lunch)
Friday, 6:00 P.M. Dinner)
These meals will be served at the Vanderbilt Divinity School Cafeteria on the Vanderbilt Campus.

(Enter from 21st Avenue opposite Grand Avenue or Law School parking lot.)

Breakfasts on Friday and Saturday mornings and lunch on Saturday will not be served to us as a group in the Divinity School Cafeteria, but may be eaten in the regular Holiday Inn dining room a la carte. Meal tickets should be signed "F.S.C. Consultation" and your name, and the consultation will pay them all at once.

Meetings - All meetings will be held at the Vanderbilt University Law School Auditorium. (Enter from Law School parking lot on 21st Avenue, South, between West End Avenue and Broadway, new brick building, contemporary architecture.)

Opening Session - Thursday, December 27th, 7:30 P.M.

"An Analysis of the Ethical Demands of Integration in the South," Martin Luther King, Jr.
(Questions and Discussion)

A detailed program will be given you upon arrival in Nashville on Thursday.

We have made your reservation

FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
P.O. Box 2
Chapel Hill, N.C.

January 10, 1963

Dear Les,

We were glad to have you in the recent consultation in Nashville on "The South: The Ethical Demands of Integration." Such events are never planned wisely enough to deal adequately with the issues at hand. While we are not contemplating having another such meeting in the near future we want your help in evaluating what was done and in adding to what was accomplished there by a response from you to two requests:

1. What changes in over-all procedures do you think would have made for a more effective dealing with the subject?

2. In retrospect, the limitations of time, the size of the group and the difficulty of keeping discussion on the subject kept us from getting definite and concrete suggestions either out of the imagination or the experience of those who attended on "HOW TO INTEGRATE A DESEGREGATING SOCIETY?" We are considering making a report on what we were able to do with this subject by reproducing the talks and studies, perhaps with pertinent comments and questions, and making them available to those who were present and some who were unable to come. If this is done, the report would be greatly enhanced in value if we could get from you what you might have given the consultation had you had the opportunity, i.e. concrete suggestions as to ways in which to integrate.

The number of letters to be sent out and the limits of time force me to send this form letter -- but please do not underestimate our desire to hear from you. Will you take an hour or so within the next few days and give me your response by January 20th?

Sincerely yours,

Charles M. Jones

Charles M. Jones
P.O.Box 2
Chapel Hill, N.C.

P.S. This has gone to everybody. Maybe it will be work & postage wasted - but we'll see!

January 11, 1963

Reverend Charles Jones
Community Church
P. O. Box 2
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Charlie:

This is in reply to your memorandum of January 8 and letter of the same date.

I think Martin's talk was too long to be reproduced in full. I would have to read the transcript of what Mr. Dabbs said before having an opinion. I am inclined to think that his speech, which was, in large part, a commentary on things said by other people would not be readily understandable unless preceded by those statements. But more particularly, I don't think questions like this can be decided by people writing to each other, and I wouldn't give a hoot for any opinions you get through the mails. I think somebody has got to take responsibility for making a decision and carrying it out, and <u>that</u> somebody has got to be one who has read through the works -- not just heard them. Maybe a committee could do this if you think more than one brain is needed.

As I told you in Nashville, we would be prepared, if the decision is to publish, to provide some editorial labor free. If we could help

in the reproduction and distribution we could do so at cost. But I think first of all somebody has got to assume the power of decision.

Personally, I thought the conference was instructive and I think it should be regarded in retrospect as another one of the valuable occasions when the church ("whenever two or three, etc.") assembled. Hindsight tells me that the program was too full, thus not enough time for talk. If I were doing it over again, I would recommend a day of just talk between the keynote and the summary. We had a pretty sophisticated idea by tying the general concern in with the specific cases; I think it was a sound concept, but I believe the conference had difficulty understanding it clearly. I think, from what I have observed and heard since Nashville, that the conference did succeed in stimulating people, even to the point of interchange of reactions.

Riding out to the airport after the meeting I mentioned to Vincent Hardy that it would be fine if something like committees of correspondence could continue the exchange begun at the conference. Now I have received John Tungblut's memorandum which, I believe, went to you also. Wouldn't it be fine if more people would do this and keep doing it?

I am sure we could nominate some good "churchmen" for your meeting here January 21 & 22, but are you sure you want them? It seems to me you have a good group, and if you bring in others to help you reach a decision, you might be spending most of your time explaining to them what the FSC is and has been.

I shall be glad to meet with the "closing out committee". Let me know when. It is agreeable to me to decide that after you get here.

The Peachtree Manor Hotel is the one you want, and the person to deal with is Mrs. Dunbar (no relation). If you would like for us to make the arrangements, let me know.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bcc: Mr. John Yungblut
Mr. Vincent Harding

COMMUNITY CHURCH
OF CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
REV. CHARLES M. JONES, PASTOR
CORNER PUREFOY AND MASON FARM ROADS
POST OFFICE BOX 2 -:- CHAPEL HILL

January 8, 1962.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les,

It appears as if we shall have an Executive Committee meeting of the F.S.C. in Atlanta on January 21st and 22nd. Connie's NSA Advisory Committee meets on the 23rd. In this way some of us can do all our running around in one week.

There has been doubt in the minds of some of us as to whether the F.S.C. has a role to play in these times since other groups (as well as denominations) are now doing what the F.S.C. started out to do and the F.S.C. either could not or did not find other needful things to be concerned with as the times changed. This being true (if indeed it is) some of us have felt a dignified and not too guilty death of the organization should take place with a transferance of its resources, mostly property, to some organization that could use them to good advantage.

Since the session in Nashville at which Sam William's dissertation stirred so much feeling, talk and confusion among the churchmen we feel we ought to ask John Morris, John Yungblut, Vincent Hardy and perhaps Andy Young to sit with us Monday afternoon, January 21st, to see if they have any wisdom on what "Southern Churchmen" may or may not need. If there is a specific need and the present structure and resources of the F.S.C. can be used then the problem would be how to bring about the transference or the change, or maybe the reformation of the present set-up and program. If there is no need for a vehicle through which "churchmen" can work then our problem may be a more simple one,--how to transfer resources? Do you know of any "churchmen" ministers or laymen who should be asked to confer with us. It would be helpful to get a Methodist, Presbyterian or Baptist to be with us. If you have any suggestions let me know soon so I could invite them.

In our F/S/C Executive Committee meeting will be Warren Ashby, James Dabbs, Will Campbell, probably Neal Hughley, and myself. Do you think it would be worthwhile for us to get together with you in a sort of closing out session for the Nashville to-do? This might be possible late Tuesday afternoon-or for supper Tuesday- or Tuesday night.

OK

Also, do you know of a hotel in Atlanta that would put us up, mixed as we are, let us eat and have a small room we could meet in? If there were not room to meet in we could probably get a room at the Y or somewhere elsex for that. But we would need eating and sleeping accomodations. J.C. Herrin told me he thought the Peachtree Hotel was doing that.

P.M.

Sincerely,

Charles

TO: MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE - NASHVILLE CONSULTATION
DATE: JANUARY 8, 1963
FROM: Charles Jones

With the exception of four of us (absent because of emergency or other engagements) we were all present.

Attendance was 148, with every Southern state, save Texas, represented. As soon as all bills are in I will have an exact and detailed financial report, but we will have a balance of $1,000 plus.

Can I have immediate and thoughtful replies from you on two points?

First, were the talks (Martin King and James Dabbs' summary) and the studies useful enough to have them reproduced and distributed? If so, give me your ideas on in what form to reproduce and how to distribute. The balance we have can be used for that purpose if we think this is worthwhile but it is not necessary to spend the money just to get rid of it.

Second, will you take the time to write your feelings about and criticism of this effort, both destructive and constructive. Since this was a first effort at a consultation on this subject it was inevitable we fall short of what we hoped for. Let's not spare ourselves in terms of frankness.

We tape-recorded the talks, presentations of studies and the part of the discussions given by speakers and inquirers. It is probable we got a good deal of the comments made from the floor by note-taking. We are busy here transcribing from tapes.

I can't emphasize too strongly how important it is to have your answer to these requests. Much of the value of this effort will be in what we have learned from it both negatively and positively and and we should make a comprehensive study on this for our own good and the report to the Field Foundation.

How about doing this within the period of a few days? We are now a "Closing Out" instead of a "Planning" Committee.

Chas

Lee: Ethel and is check. Finances are in such good shape I believe we should pay Mrs Moseley's travel. Want you send me the bill.

It looks like I may be in Atlanta second day the week of Jan. 21st. for meeting, of course. But I will call you.

In addition to the above request from the Committee I hope to send a letter to all those who attended to see if there covers

were things they would like to have said but due to the size of the group, limited time they did not say. Also, to get some suggestions from them as to what, if anything, needs to be done in the future. Emphasizing that I or WR do not have plans in the making.

Thanks for all your help.

C

file F.S.C

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Will Campbell's resignation from National Council of Churches (Ltr. from LWD to Harold C. Fleming of April 23, 1963)

REGARDING:

Meeting of April 17, 1963 with Jean Russell, Will Campbell, John Morris, and Charles Jones during which time the possibility of Will Campbell joining the staff of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen as its Director was discussed.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Folder marked; "The Potomac Institute, Inc."

Dear Les! This ought to get them out to a meeting. Hope you will be available at some time during the meeting.
Charles

TO: James Dabbs, Murray Branch, Eugene Smathers, Ann Queen, Wilson Welch, Gaylord Noyce, Will Campbell, Neal Hughley, Warren Ashby, Robert Metcalfe, Nell Morton, Gene Cox.

PA ✓
MJ-file

FROM: Charles Jones

DATE: April 25, 1963

You will remember in January we discussed reasons for the unfulfilled expectations from the Southwide consultation on "Integrating a Desegregating South." Among them were: (1) The varied speeds with which integration has proceeded in some States and the increased resistance in others make "Southwide" consulting or planning unrealistic; (2) The lack of trust and inability to talk without aggression or defensiveness by churchmen.

As a result of the unfulfilled expectations and the two factors noted above you will remember we decided to experiment by offering opportunities for churchmen to get together either on State-wide, areas within a State, or even community or city-wide bases to see if some frank discussion and some fruitful communication could be brought about between churchmen, both lay and ministerial. We had Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi represented on our Committee and we agreed that those of us from those States would take initiative and with others whom we could enlist try to set up some experiments along this line. Jean Russell was to work with us in setting up these meetings if she were needed and she was to attend them and follow them (or precede them) with personal visits. I was to attend those I could so that we could have the advantage of more than one estimate of their value.

Soon after the Executive meeting in January James Dabbs and I went to Greenville, Tennessee, where we talked with Jean Russell and explained to her our intent in this new attempt. She accepted the assignment with enthusiasm. Since then she has attended a meeting held in Greensboro, N.C. (planned by Warren Ashby, Neal Hughley and me) and three meetings in South Carolina (which I also attended). She will soon have completed a trip to Arkansas where she and Elbert Jean, Will Campbell's assistant, have planned some meetings. She has also been to Birmingham and Atlanta, but no meetings have been held there yet.

When you hear our reports on these meetings you will probably agree that (1) the North Carolina meeting and two of the three meetings in South Carolina show both a need and a desire of churchmen to face the responsibility of churches and churchmen not simply in aiding and abetting such work as Human Relations Councils, NAACP, CORE etc. but in coming to grips with the nature of the church, its resources and the need for changed practices in the institution itself. (2) None of these meetings would have been held without stimulation and encouragement by us. (3) Out of four meetings held it appears as if enough concern either was present or came out of them that further communication will take place.

You will remember we decided to meet in the latter part of May or early June to take a good look at what we have learned with a view to seeing if this will give us a clue as to the present need for the F.S.C. or the directions in which the F.S.C. should expend its efforts.

Last week I was asked by Les Dunbar to join him, John Morris and Jean Russell and Will Campbell for a day's thinking about how the resources of churches and church men might be utilized. I was asked, not because of any large amount of wisdom, but because I am chairman of the Executive Committee of the F.S.C. and all those present felt there is a place just now for the F.S.C. that no other organization can fulfill. As you know Les, John and Will move around the South and are aware of many things those of us who stay put do not see. This day's work opened up some areas of need and possibilities that appear to me to be exciting and which we should consider seriously.

We should have a meeting soon before or shortly after June 1st to get reports on and evaluate what we are doing in these experimental meetings and interpret their meaning. Also to discuss the problems and resources of churches and churchmen and the possibilities that are suggested for the future of the F.S.C. as we talked of them. I suspect we can get John Morris who was so helpful in our last meeting and Les Dunbar to give us some time in this meeting.

We found the Peachtree Manor arrangements reasonable and convenient last January. So let's meet there again. Could you come to a meeting Monday, May 27th at 1:00 P.M. through (if necessary) Tuesday night, May 28th? or Tuesday, June 4th, beginning at 1:00 P.M. and extending through Wednesday, June 5th?

If both of the dates are clear on your schedule let me know, if only one is clear let me know that, if neither are clear then indicate two that you could attend such a meeting. It is important that we all be present.

Mr. Charles Jones
Tom Tracy 27th

May 3, 1963

Mr. Charles M. Jones
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 2
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Charlie:

Enclosed is a copy each of the Southern Regional Council's Charter, By-Laws, Statement of Policy (adopted some years ago, but reviewed and left unchanged last year), and a list of present members.

I have marked my calendar for the date you mentioned in your memorandum of April 25. I don't think I should, or that you would want me to,sit in for any long period, but I would like to visit for a while.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Enclosures - 4. (see listed above)

FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
P. O. Box 2
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

April 30, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Do you have a charter, constitution and by-laws for the Southern Regional Council that are not "classified information"? Warren Ashby, Neal Hughley and I are going to give some time and thought to the changes that need to be made if the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen from what it is now to something that will be more effective. While I am sure we don't want a Christian SRC in the same sense we have an SRC, I believe the low-down on your set-up will be very helpful to us if we can have it.

If this is available it will be very halpful to get it as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Charlie

Charles M. Jones

PA-Tyler
MJ file

COMMUNITY CHURCH
OF CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
REV. CHARLES M. JONES, PASTOR
CORNER PUREFOY AND MASON FARM ROADS
POST OFFICE BOX 2 -:- CHAPEL HILL

May 17, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Hope the clippings got to you.

We will be meeting in Atlanta beginning Monday, May 27th at 1 o'clock at the Peachtree Manor. It looks like all but one or two of the Executive Committee members will be there. How about clearing an hour or so on Monday afternoon so we can open up to them some of the possibilities that Will has in mind and see the place for that kind of agitation more clearly.

I will be in Atlanta late Sunday night, May 26 and will call you Monday morning early.

Sincerely yours,

Charles

Charles M. Jones

RECEIVED
MAY 20 1963

Peachtree Manor Hotel

Charm Dignity Distinction

826 PEACHTREE STREET AT SIXTH, N.E. • TRINITY 4-2791 Atlanta, GEORGIA

P. A.
M J
file
file Fellowship of S. Churchmen

Wednesday a.m. 6:00.
May 29, 1963.

Dear Les,

Thanks for your talking with us Monday. After more discussion we decided the statement by Jean (marked copy enclosed) described as well as we could (even better) the basis for putting Will to work under the F.S.C. Will came in late Monday night and was present in an early morning meeting and throughout the day on Tuesday. He is ready to be engaged as he puts it as "preacher to the South" by the F.S.C. with Jean's statement as what he aims to do.

We had long discussion of the kind of work in more specific terms but there was no intention to tie Will down to priorities or methods.

As you know there is need to move quickly and get some practical things done if this is to work out. Will indicated he would accept the work if we can get things in line before he has to take some other job or starve.

First comes finances. It was our hope that we could get enough money to guarantee at leas three years work, five would be better, but maybe two could be lived with. Will indicates a budget of $20,000 annually would take care of office, secretary etc. also his salary and travel. We did not discuss in detail the budget but agreed that arrangements (financial) as he had them with National Council would be generally agreeable. More can be done on this later but we felt we had to get on to other things and did not work in detail on this.

Will and I were commissioned to ask you to help us with getting Foundation approaches ready and presented to them. Sources as we reviewed them at present are: Taconic, Field, United Church, Presbyterian, U.S. (Will says there is some $500,000 ear-marked) and possibly New World folks.

Will has promised to write up something that will describe to prospective donors what they can expect for their money. He is to do this quickly and send you and me copies.

Peachtree Manor Hotel

Charm Dignity Distinction

826 PEACHTREE STREET AT SIXTH, N.E. • TRINITY 4-2791 Atlanta, GEORGIA

Then we three are to decide how to approach them.

The other concrete thing we must do is to change the by-laws. I checked with Joel Fleishman, a former UNC student now assistant to Terry Sanford, about the F.S.C. charter and how it could be changed to a Board structure from a membership structure.

We are in a little trouble here. Buck Kester re-chartered in 1943 so that we could hold property etc when we were getting the Center. In doing so he did not make provision for changes inthe future. So we will have to follow the legal statutes here. I am going to go to Raleigh tomorrow when I get back to N.C. and he will guide us in this so we will get it done right. This may take more time than we would like for it to take--but we'll keep at it.

As you can guess, it was a tedious job working out the kind of by-law structure. We used some basic things from your By-laws (simplified considerably) and before we adjourned yesterday we had worked out what we want. I am not cut out for this kind of deliberations and am impatient with such detail but I am sure it is necessary and I believe we did a good job with it.

I am sending Will a letter this morning reminding him to do some work on a description we can use in getting money.

If you can stand it, I am going to lean heavily on you as we make this change. Let me know if you will work with Will and me and what you think we should do next,--and how.

Sincerely,

Charles

Air Conditioned — Television — Free Parking

May 21, 1963
From: Jean Russell
To: Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

I. Background

I was contacted by the steering committee of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen in January, 1963, and asked if I would make a sort of depth survey of the life of the institutional church in the south and of its witness in the area of race relations. I met with some members of the committee and conversed with others by phone to get an understanding of the proposed venture, which seemed to be quite open-ended. It was hoped that such a survey covering all of the southern states could be done by June. This has been impossible due to the fact that my own schedule was heavy when I was contacted, and also due to the fact that members of FSC did not arrange meetings except in two states, so I of necessity moved slower as I made my own contacts . It is my opinion, however, that there is enough diversity in the type of things done and states visited to draw some rather general conclusions.

II. Project Thus Far

1. Macon, Georgia.

I spent a day and half with professors at Mercer University (and Marcus Barth who was there for Religious Emphasis Week) to obtain some understanding of what really seems to amount to a theological revolution which is taking place in departments of religion in schools in the south. The stereotyped "Bible Belt" thinking is giving way at some levels. This fact was confirmed when I visited with faculty in North Carolina from Wake Forest, Duke, and the University of North Carolina.

I also spent time with the Negro leadership in Macon and found their response to the "white" church highly unfavorable but to the Mercer facâlty generally favorable.

2. Birmingham, Alabama.

I spent an afternoon in discussion with white ministers who were terribly fearful and, in some instances, quite belligerent; who knew none of the Negro ministers or leadership; and who had withdrawn into a sort of spirituality. They did agree to another meeting to discuss church renewal and race relations but felt it would have to be all white. This did not come off, due to the pressure of time and Dr. King.

3. North Carolina.

A five hour meeting was set up in Greensboro, N.C., which was attended by fifty or more persons - white and Negro, ministers and laymen, and with a good denominational spread. The invitation to this meeting was issued by three individuals. It was a well-planned meeting, and quite by accident the issue between activism and an ethic of response was jeined in the two opening addressed. Eight persons from the group who were dissatisfied with the activist approach stayed for three more hours of conversation, and from this group came plans for a further consultation to deal in depth with the thesis of Will Campbell's book on church renewal and race relations.

Prior to this original meeting in Greensboro, I spent a day in the Winston Salem area and a day in the Chapel Hill area visiting with individuals who would be unable to attend the Greensboro meeting.

4. South Carolina.

Meetings were set up for Columbia, Florence and Rock Hill. The invitations were issued in the name of F.S.C. In the first two instances attendance was small and all white. The Columbia group was mainly persons from the South Carolina Human Relations Council and felt little urgency for a different kind of witness. This meeting lasted only an hour. The Florence group was most interesting as these were ministers who felt a sharp sense of guilt and who said that just being able to talk freely with us gave them a new sense of freedom. They hoped to draw in Negro ministers and some laymen for a continuing conversation on the nature of the Church and race relations.

The Rock Hill meeting was well attended by white and Negro= ministers and laymen, and though this was their first encounter with each other, there was real heat and honesty in the conversation which lasted about three hours. They set up a steering committee to plan further conversations.

5. Arkansas.

Five meetings were arranged in Arkansas (West Memphis, Texarkana, Pine Bluff, Eldorado, and Little Rock) through the efforts of Elbert Jean who is with the National Council of Churches and who has served several Methodist churches in Arkansas.

The attendance was fair at these meetings - largely white, however, and predominantly composed of Methodist ministers. This was good, however, in that one saw much more clearly here the

problems of ministers who are really quite bound by the institutional church. These were mostly men who have taken stands in crisis situations and who have been moved from church to church as a result of their witness. They are men who agonize over the weakness of the witness of the churches, but who see no viable alternative to this struggle in and against the church.

At the two meetings which were interracial there seemed to develop more openness, and there was less of a feeling of futility. At one of these it was decided that the group would try to enlarge itself and continue to meet. At the other a white minister told me that though he had met and talked with the Negro minister who was there, there had really never been any real conversation before. This came about as a result of a heated argument on the nature of Christian witness.

III. Conclusions.

I have not been able to go into details of the encounters and conversations which have led me to these fairly general conclusions. In instances where I have been traveling with someone from F.S.C., we have tried to evaluate together our impressions and experiences. In other cases I've been on my own.

1. Churchmen in the south are disinterested in any kind of new membership organization; they are already too oganized.

2/ The "outsider" (if it is the right outsider with the right approach and depth of concern) is not frowned upon - but rather serves as a catalyst and can lead to honest discussion among those who have been mutually suspicious of each other. None of the encounters in which we were involved would have occursed without outside prodding. In almost every instance it seemed to be a great relief to people to be put into a situation where they could talk with each other.

3. Situations <u>are</u> almost unique and are so fluid that one cannot lay down any rules of procedure or specify techniques. One simply must be open, willing to accept hostility or indifference, and allow persons to work toward an honest evaluation of their own situation - after which they possibly will begin to work toward solutions and may then need specific suggestions, etc. My only consistency was to try to begin with a discussion of the nature and role of the Church rather than race relations <u>per se</u>.

4. There is indeed considerable theological ferment in the white south - even in denominations always characterized as pietist or activist - and perhaps especially in these. Dissatisfaction was expressed by numbers of churchmen with the sort of superficial

"social scientist" approach being used by the church, coupled with the belief that Christians may have a unique role to play in the area of integration, so that even if we have muffed desegregation, we may just be coming into our own. But our word - the word of the Christian - is the word of the Gospel, and unless we accept this proclamation as our role, we will have nothing to say, as we have had nothing to say.

5. There is a widening split between "Negro" and "white" churches. The Negro church is in danger of accepting social justice as the gospel; the white church is in danger of accepting nothing as the gospel (or largely has.) It is quite difficult to talk about the mission or nature of the Church with white and Negro Christians, and this difficulty will be intensified as successful desegregation proceeds. For the Christian this should be a matter of extreme concern.

6. There is great opportunity in the south today for a witness of a rather free and unstructured nature - what I conceive to be a witness to the gospel of Jesus Christ - a witness which reminds the Church of its calling and helps to move persons toward fruitful areas of conversation and action which may lead to justice in the community and faithfulness to the gospel for those of us who are Christians.

LK METr R.H.
MAr
PAr
VJr
SBr
MLr
MJ-file

MJr
MGr
BPr
LKr
BCr

file
JSG

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT REGARDING

THE COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
June 4, 1963

THE NEED

For many years denominational departments of race relations and Christian Social Relations saw as their role motivating and stimulating people to action. Their greatest joy would have been to have growing out of their efforts something as radical as a poster walk or a picket type of protest. This was as it should have been. But now there is no dearth of action. Massive, well organized, and well financed movements have come into existence and are doing a masterful and effective job of channeling the seething caldron of unrest which has smoldered under the smooth scar of polite American race relations into positive and prolific action. This is both desirable and indispensable. However, the several denominational departments of race relations still often see as their role the motivation of people to action and for the most part identify with the action groups. In that process they often succeed only in becoming irrelevant. For the truth is it is not these departments which are responsible for the action but rather factors largely unrelated to such efforts. And while it is meaningful for the actionist to have a ministry from the denominational Social Relations personnel that ministry is generally one of bringing greetings, trying to get a handful of Negro and white people together. This is important but the real need of a man caught in a hurricane is not a buzz session with the weatherman.

Like any revolution, this one has in it two elements--those in revolt and those being revolted against. In both elements the number in active participation is small. Those who must somehow live in the new world emerging from the struggle between the active actors and the active reactors are, because they are seemingly uninvolved, being ignored. There is a growing need that those caught in the hurricane be told what that world is going to be so that they may now begin to live in it in every dimension. But they must be told in language they know and understand. That language is not one of Constitution, Supreme Court or law and order.

The South is a land of Bibles, revival meetings, biblical literalist and the jargon it is most accustomed to is a religious one. While some church groups are more and more placing the problem on a theological footing, for the most part they do not represent the "religion of the people"--rural Southern, fundamentalist pietism, popular and prevailing in the city as well as town and country. While it may be a questionable endeavor to promote this kind of religiosity any social movement which does not seek to influence it is doomed to failure in terms of lasting results. And social engineers who do not recognize its existence in the spectrum are less than wise. EXAMPLE: Birmingham had plenty of actors and action. There was some constructive action on the part of a few white religionist. But the mass which will inherit the earth created by the revolution were seldom challenged with the theological and moral imperitives of the situation. What would have happened if the city had been blanketed with a "sermon" carefully couched in biblical language and protestant orthodoxy, or if a period of radio time had been purchased for such a mission would be worth finding out.

There seems little doubt now that institutionalized pulpits of "the religion of the people" cannot by their very nature do what must be done. Any hope of success in influencing this segment of society lies in by-passing the institution and going directly to the people. This is not a suggestion for a moderate ministry to the moderates. Nor is it a ministry of reconciliation in the usual sense of getting the warring generals to sit down and say a prayer in the same room. It is rather the recognition of a fact and an appeal for a radical ministry to those commited to a false god.

Such a ministry must be consciously and admittedly grounded in the belief that relating the Christian message to specific problems and the proclamation of that Gospel can be the most powerful and dynamic force in changing the South. The encumbramce of institutional compromises and demands for success have gone far in preventing that being done in the past. That too must be by-passed.

THE PROPOSAL

THE COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN is (will be) a group of thirty-five to one hundred men and women from throughout the South who are convinced that the last paragraph above is true. Their only gimmick will be the proclamation of the Christian Gospel in crises and a resounding declaration of "Thus saith the Lord!" to those who call themselves Christians (most racist) but have followed the whore.

Their structure will be as follows: They will employ an Executive Director, Will D. Campbell, whose working title will be "Preacher At Large." His job will be to try to infuse into southern religion the notion that Christian theology is more than distantly related to the solution of cultural problems. He will do this through speaking, preaching, writing, counseling, visitations, conversations, consultations, convening groups, etc.

The membership of the COMMITTEE will be the number listed above who will be workers as well as Directors. They will serve THE COMMITTEE by being its agent or "preacher" in the state and community where they live. If there is a crisis in their area and the "Preacher at Large" is not able to go they will serve as the person who goes and does what he would do if he were there. They will accept assignments and invitations the same as the Executive Director within the limits of their professional ministrations.

EXAMPLE: Increasingly in his present employ Will Campbell is asked to serve as "third party" in racial crises. In one city this involved serving for a full month in administering and advising a Mayor's Committee on Human Relations. (When asked why a local clergyman was not asked to play this role the Mayor retorted: "If they had done their job I wouldn't be up here at three o'clock in the morning trying to persuade pagan bank presidents and insurance executives to do it for them.") It is likely that as the crises spread to city after city groups that are not openly identified with "Movements" will be asked to play this role. COMMITTEE members will have such requests referred to them and will have the same status as the "Preacher at Large" in performing such a task. That the local white church cannot or will not play this role should now be obvious to even a casual observer.

THE OFFICE OF THE COMMITTEE will serve as a reservoir of information on crisis situations involving clergymen, make recommendations to denominational and other groups concerning relief type services needed in a given situation, etc.

EXAMPLE: Will Campbell in his present capacity is often asked by various denominational groups as well as independent committees and groups outside the South for a report on a given situation, what kind of relief or assistance, etc. is needed and how it could be channeled. The use of Committee members will make such information readily available and possibly a resumé of specific situations and a brief analysis of what outside groups might do would be circulated monthly to those likely to find such information helpful.

The OFFICE will carry on a propaganda campaign through the use of a mailing list of several thousand already in hand. Such propaganda will be specifically relating Christian theology to the area of race relations. It may take the form of a published journal, Prophetic Religion, as well as special bits of literature in specific situations.

The office will seek to serve as a rallying point for religiously oriented agencies, source of information for the religious press on matters pertaining to religion and race, and will attempt to do for these groups some of the kinds of things the Southern Regional Council does for secular and government agencies.

The Committee of Southern Churchmen will try as best it can to be a prophetic voice in the wilderness of social revolution. It will do so, without apology, in the name of God and with authority to speak from God. In short, it will strive to Christianize the"religion of the people."

PA ✓
VJ ✓
MJ - file

COPY

June 11, 1963

Mr. Maxwell Hahn, Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I am enclosing a proposal for the engaging of Will Campbell as Executive Director for the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

We want to set up this project for at least a three-year period. You will note the budget calls for an expenditure of $30,000 the first year and $28,700 for the last two years.

We would like to request a grant of $15,000 per year for a three-year period from the Field Foundation. If this is received we can put Mr. Campbell to work by September first.

If there are any questions or suggestions concerning the proposal Mr. Campbell and/or I will be glad to visit you or talk with you by phone.

Very truly yours,

Charles M. Jones, Chairman
The Fellowship of Southern
Churchmen

THE FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen was organized in 1928 to provide fellowship and opportunities for cooperative actions for ministers and lay persons who were deeply concerned to act from Christian imperatives and motives in areas of social injustice in the South. Its membership grew from a small handful to as many as five hundred persons at one time. Pioneering work in inter-racial conferences, family camps, student work-camps and race relations institutes was done by the Fellowship from the beginning of its organization. Tracts and a quarterly publication "Prophetic Religion" which spoke radically from the Christian perspective to the Southern people were published.

In the past ten years or so local, state and denominational religious organizations have found ways to offer the kind of fellowship and activities, and to some degree, the kind of printed materials the Fellowship pioneered in.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen the above facts were discussed at length and it became clear to them that the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen was no longer needed to do its present program, -- others could and were doing it better and more extensively.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, the Reverend John Morris and Mr. John Youngblood met with the Executive Committee to discuss emerging needs in the South that demand urgent attention. The results of this discussion are put forth in detail in the accompanying proposal for employing an executive director.

The Executive Committee came to the conclusion that not only had the former functions of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen become outmoded, but there is also a need for a change in structure.

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen was incorporated as a membership corporation. The lack of opportunity for friendship, mutual encouragement and cooperative activity in the South at that time demanded this kind of organization.

It is the judgment of the Executive Committee that the new emphasis and program outlined in the proposal for the engaging of an executive director calls for a change in structure from a membership corporation to a committee corporation. The Executive Committee worked through changes in the Charter and By-Laws which will make this shift possible. Consultation with the office of the Secretary of State of North Carolina indicates the changes can be made in the original charter and thus tax-exemption status will not be disturbed. These amendments are now being prepared and will be offered to the Fellowship members for their approval, -- hopefully in September. While the unpredictability of human behavior makes it impossible to guarentee the approval of the structural changes, we confidently believe the challenge of the proposed new program and the reasonableness of the changes in structure make such approval probable.

A PROPOSAL TO
ENGAGE AN EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FOR THE FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

THE NEED

For many years denominational departments of race relations and Christian Social Relations saw as their role motivating and stimulating people to action. Their greatest joy would have been to have growing out of their efforts something as radical as a poster walk or a picket type of protest. This was as it should have been. But now there is no dearth of action. Massive, well organized, and well financed movements have come into existence and are doing a masterful and effective job of channeling the seething caldron of unrest which has smoldered under the smooth scar of polite American race relations into positive and prolific action. This is both desirable and indispensable. However, the several denominational departments of race relations still often see as their role the motivation of people to action and for the most part identify with the action groups. In that process they often succeed only in becoming irrelevant. For the truth is it is not these departments which are responsible for the action, but rather factors largely unrelated to such efforts. And while it is meaningful for the actionist to have a ministry from the denominational Social Relations personnel, that ministry is generally one of bringing greetings, trying to get a handful of Negro and white people together. This is important but the real need of a man caught in a hurricane is not a buzz session with the weatherman.

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BUDGET

Executive Director's Salary	$ 12,000.00
Secretary's Salary	3,400.00
Telephone, Telegrams	1,300.00
Postage	1,000.00
Office Supplies	400.00
Travel	4,200.00
Publicity and Distribution	500.00
Office Rent	1,200.00
Travel for Committee Members for Community Service	4,000.00
Office Furniture and Equipment (first year only)	1,300.00
Contingencies	700.00
Total	$ 30,000.00

The above budget is for one year. It is proposed that the budget fun for three years, requesting $30,000 for the first year and $28,700 each succeeding year. This reduction is due to the non-recurrent expense for office furniture.

PA
MA
PW
MJ - file

November 13, 1963

Rev. Will D. Campbell
Executive Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee (37212)

Dear Will:

I like very much your idea. May the Lord help you with your budget. Perhaps this is the way to proceed. I remember your saying that the church cannot be expected to do more than mop up. It may be better not to ask the Presbyterians to do something, but to confront them with that which has been done and ask them, in effect, to certify it -- with their money.

Paul Anthony and I will keep your offer of Fennar's services very much in mind. Also your foolish offer to accept other referrals.

I never said that I didn't like the title "Preacher-at-Large," I just said I didn't like it for you. I am still enough of a country boy, I'm afraid, to be over-awed by what THOSE PEOPLE IN NEW YORK think; mustn't make them sniff, you know. I'm all for preaching, though it's been so long since you or Elbert have been around that I haven't had much lately.

Give my regards to O.C.S. Wallace.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mj

1106 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212
November 11, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have remembered--even worried about-- your letter to Martin England regarding the exile life of Southern clergymen to the North.

I resent losing sleep over something unless I can do something about it. I doubt if there is much I can do about that problem but I have decided to give it a bit of a try--in fact, to make it a major thrust for the committee of Southern Churchmen.

For the past few weeks, I have been trying to talk the Presbyterian hierarchy into finding a place for one of their own displaced ones--James Fenner of Texarkana. He got chased out by the Birchnuts and is in a pretty desperate situation. This week he came over to Nashville to talk about the few meager possibilities I had suggested to him.

Here is a man who resigned a sizeable rank in the Air Force to go to Seminary and has been in trouble ever since. Watching his sad, tired face got the better of me, so I was suddenly overcome by the idea of offering him a job as a preacher-at--large for the Committee of Southern Churchmen (I gave up the title myself) until he can find placement. He has a house in Texarkana so he can stay on there for awhile, do some things for us in the Shreveport-Dallas-Little Rock Area and not have to accept hand-outs from his denomination, assuming even "relief" is available. When he has been placed, hopefully in the South and hopefully in the Presbyterian Church--he is considering leaving both--I will confront the Presbies with the case and suggest that some reimbursement would be in order. If they don't take to the idea, there goes my annual budget. If it works, perhaps it can be a precedent for others to come.

I share this with you for several reasons. First, I would welcome your reaction to the idea. Second, if Paul or you have need of his services in that area, he would surely be glad to help. Third, you may make such referrals to us from time to time. It is (as they say) a dream now to have a network of such men about the South constantly rotating from the employ of the Committee of Southern Churchmen back into the churches in the South. It would give them a breather so they won't panic with quick migration. They in turn could give ministers and laymen in their areas some guidance and encouragement and, I trust, it would lead to a greater readiness on the part of Southern clergy to become involved in the struggle.

Even though I know you do not care for the title, the idea of preachers-at-large appeals to me more and more because of the near impossibility of doing much within the tight structure of institutionalized religion. After all, what more than that were Paul and Silas. Let's get a few men paddling around the South as Paul paddled around Patmos. We may get the gospel into the land of the Philistines. If you have any doubts check with O. C. S. Wallace.

Our boy Silver's story is really making the news. God works in mysterious ways!!

Act now, pray later,

Will D. Campbell

Will D. Campbell, Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen

WDC:jc
cc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Signed In Mr. Campbell's Absence

File: Religious orgs.

a.c. 615
269-0418

January 3, 1964

Reverend Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

I have sent a copy of the enclosed up to Henry Clark asking him to check it out at Union. Could you have any other thoughts? I believe you know Charles. I think somebody should see that he gets the kind of education he wants.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: ~~Mr. Charles Sherrod~~
Enclosure - 1. ltr. from Chas. Sherrod 1/2/64

Free
Religious Orgs. of
"Committee of
Southern Churchmen"

January 20, 1964

Reverend Charles Jones
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen — file
P. O. Box 2
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Charles:

I have always liked that piece of mine on civil disobedience about as well as anything I have ever done. But as far as I know you are the first person who has ever read it; so I'm delighted to send you a few copies under separate cover. It was never printed,,except that it appeared in some kind of mimeographed or off-set magazine done by some students at Earlham.

Your talk on civil disobedience is fine, and not only because you quote me. I was interested also in what you said in your piece about President Kennedy's death.

Please look in on us when you come down.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
P. O. Box 2
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Jan 17

Dear Les,

All hell (or heaven) has broken loose here. I guess you have been getting newspaper clippings and know about it though newspapers here, except the Daily Tar Heel, have not been to anxious to print full news.

It looks like now we are having a face to face meeting with demonstrators leadership and the Mayor. They meet tomorrow morning in a room here in our church. If I had a picture of Jesus,or should it be Amos, I would hang it on the wall--but Idont have either available!

I am enclosing an article based on a sermon I preached a few weeks ago. Like most sermons, I suspect it did little in the way of changing peoples minds--but one never knows. Anyway, it got a lot of people to thinking they should change my mind,--nobody was mean or ugly about it but they just felt laws ought never be disobeyed. You will see how much of you is in the talk.

Did you ever print your Earlham talk, or was it just mimeographed? I would like to give copies of it to CORE leaders here. I am not in their organization nor in their planning group but they do come by and see me to get my reaction to plans etc (seldom do they think my reactions are quite what they should do). But it is good to keep on a bit more than speaking terms with them.

I will be in Atlanta for Connies meeting on the 27th and maybe will get to say hello to you. James Dabbs will be spending the night with us next week.

Sincerely,

Charles

C O P Y

Religious Organizations: Committee of Southern Churchmen

PWT ✓
PW ✓
SB ✓
BTV
MJ - file

January 31, 1964

Mr. Will Campbell
1106 Nineteenth Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

I went to Beaufort and spent most of Wednesday, January 28th, there.

From Courtney Siceloff I got the following facts: -- local Negroes are pressing for school desegregation and it will come soon. Seeing the handwriting on the wall some powerful, prominent and respected citizens called a public meeting to discuss the establishment of a public school (or schools) for white children who wanted to avoid integrated schools. At this meeting no mention was made of closing the public schools. There was some small opposition expressed.

From this meeting emerged an effort to investigate the possibility. So far there has been no corporation formed or effort to raise funds made. On each of the major church boards is one of the promoters of the private school idea and they are "exploring the possibility" of the use of churches for private schools. It became clear to me from conversations that they can probably have the use of the buildings of any church in town.

I spent about two hours with the Methodist minister (Lunceford). I told him of the Committee of Southern Churchmen, that I was a minister in a local church, and that we hoped to be able to share our experiences with and learn from others who were facing problems, and we would have no solutions for him but could bring some questions and experience that might prove helpful. He felt free to talk and so I let him, -- while his Board has not been asked yet if it is, he favors letting it be used, though he was careful to say he would not favor closing any schools. I raised some questions: Could a church afford to do without the use of the building for itself, for this would mean not only school held daily but also PTA, extra-curricular activities etc? He thought schedules would have to be carefully planned but that it could. Would there be room for the kind of seating and equipment a daily school would need and also for the equipment they now used for their activities? Would the wear and tear on the building (they had a new one) be covered by their payments since they would be struggling to make both ends meet? Would people of the church who could not afford to send children to the private school in their church resent the building's use for something they could not attend?

Aside from these practical questions I raised the question of principle

C O P Y

-- should the church be used to defeat what has been recognized by his denomination as progress towards justice and brotherhood? He was completely insensitive to this point, -- denominational spokesmen are unrealistic, don't know the situation etc. He believes we (all advanced nations) will have to return to colonialism,-- "The only nation in Africa that is making progress is South Africa!" He is a complete captive to the fear and prejudice of the section. Despite what I have written above, he is an attractive fellow and is not a "fundamentalist." Maybe we would deal better with him if he were. He has been in his present church less than a year but I doubt if he will get any more independent as he stays longer. Before I left I expressed the hope that "white extremists" would not do in their town what was done in Farmville, Va. He then informed me the leaders in their effort had been to Farmville and were quite impressed with the Farmville situation. So I told him about that, as I had both seen and heard it. He seemed impressed but said he had no fears for the plans there for the leaders were men of "high quality and calibre." He did express pleasure at my having visited him (asked me home to lunch but I could not go) saying he got so little chance to talk with anybody.

I also talked with John Hardy, the Episcopalian minister. He also was easily approached and quite free and frank in talk. His Board has approved use of their building if it is needed. He was against it, told his Board so, -- but on the grounds that the plan for a private school was unworkable. He really believes this and he may be right. He says if public schools are open there are not enough children whose parents are able to pay for them to attend a private school to support one, that there will not be enough such children to form a good school, that donations would not be sufficient to capitalize such a venture unless all children could go to it. So he thinks the school will fall of its own weight. He also believes it wrong to let the school be used for that purpose as a matter of principle but did not feel he would get anywhere with that argument that time -- but would use it later if there were a last ditch fight and an official request were made with resources available to carry through.

His life got a bit complicated with a lay-woman of his church (with whom I had lunch) objected to the Vestry offering the church without a church congregation vote. She wrote the Bishop and asked if objection could be raised at a congregational meeting. She showed me the Bishop's answer which did not answer her question but suggested she write the Senior Warden and give him her reasons why she felt it should not be done. She had respect for the Bishop's judgment and decided not to raise the question at this time, -- though she might do so if it becomes an official request for use.

The Presbyterian Minister was out of town but Mr. Hardy told me that the officers wither had already offered their building or would do so. Denominational pressure in S. C. favors segregationsts as far as Presbyterians are concerned. This is in contrast to denominational pressure of the Methodists.

The Baptist Minister, a Mr. Jones, was also out of town, but Courtney and Mr. Hardy both indicated the Baptist Church would also be readily available.

I am greatly impressed by Mr. Hardy and his aged parishioner to whom I have referred. I raised the question as to whether the promoters of the Private school plan might, if they saw they could not raise money for their school as an alternative for children to attend, extend their plan to include all white children and thus find other sources of support. Both of them thought this highly improbable and felt there would be community opposition to this, especially from public school teachers.

C O P Y

So at the present time I guess we will have to wait for further developments and hope Mr. Hardy is right about the project failing. I told them that if it took a turn where they felt public schools would be seriously damaged (I don't see how it can help but do that) or threatened with closing that we had the experience of other communities in working against this and I would be glad to make it available. They (Hardy and Christiansen) indicated they would want it. Needless to say I made no such offer to the Methodist brother.

Sorry I could do no more-that's the story.

Sincerely,

C

Charles M. Jones

cc: Leslie Dunbar

File: Religious organizations.

February 6, 1964

The Reverend Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Leslie has asked me to send you the enclosed list of clergy members of SRC.

The picture of you taken in the door of your study is priceless -- you ought to try for an audition on "Have Gun Will Travel."

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

The Rev. Hubert Beckwith
Congregational Christian Church
of Fairfax County
P. O. Box 186
Annandale, Virginia

The Rev. W. C. Brooke
St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 4211
Roanoke, Virginia

The Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini
Bishop, The Catholic Church
123 North West Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dr. Douglas Jackson
Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

The Rev. Powers McLeod
Box 1290
Auburn, Alabama

The Rev. Caxton Doggett
504 South Lake Street
Lakeland, Florida

The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines
Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Texas
520 San Jacinto Street
Houston 2, Texas

The Rev. Duncan Hunter
8705 Camille Drive, S. E.
Huntsville, Alabama

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Temple Emanuel
Box 1502
Longview, Texas

The Rev. M. D. McCollom
P. O. Box 423
Walterboro, South Carolina

The Rev. Kelly Miller Smith
First Baptist Church
318 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson
Christ Episcopal Church
3841 Hibiscus Street
Miami 33, Florida

Dr. J. M. Richards
President
Columbia Theological Seminary
Decatur, Georgia

Dr. Harry V. Richardson
President
Interdenominational Theological Seminary
671 Beckwith Street, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
1589 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur
P. O. Box 532
U. S. L. Station
Lafayette, Louisiana

The Rev. Thomas Thrasher
Chapel of the Cross
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

SRC LIFE FELLOWS:

Bishop M. LaFayette Harris, Bishop
The Methodist Church
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. Edward A. McDowell
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary
Wake Forest, North Carolina

file. Rel. orgs.

THE COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

1106 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212

MJ
JS
BC
N M
MJ-file

March 11, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to bring your mailing list up to date on the following persons:

The Reverend A. Dudley Ward
General Secretary
The Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns
100 Maryland Avenue, Northeast
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dr. Grover Bagby, Associate General Secretary
Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs
The Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns
100 Maryland Avenue, Northeast
Washington, D. C. 20002

Respectfully,

Juanita Cleggett

Juanita Cleggett

CHARLES JONES, CHAIRMAN WILL D. CAMPBELL, DIRECTOR JUANITA CLEGGETT, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

File:
Rel. Orgs: Southern
Ctte of Churchmen

March 24, 1964

Reverend Will D. Campbell
Executive Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

In catching up on my reading, I got the other day to the December issue of Social Problems. As usual, I intend to pay you the ultimate compliment soon of plagiarizing from your article.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File:
Rel. Orgs.
Office of Southern Churchmen

May 14, 1964

Reverend Will D. Campbell
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

We will be looking for you on May 28 unless we hear to the contrary. John Morris cannot join us. I may pick up someone else.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Excerpt from paper to Adlai Stevenson & other trustees of Eleanor Roosevelt Mem. Fd.

File:
Rel. orgs:
Committee of Southern Churchmen

July 6, 1964

Reverend Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Here are the tapes we promised to send you. There are two (2) sets each -- one set gummed, one set un-gummed. We're sorry it took so long, but our addressograph machine is rather antiquated, and just wouldn't act nice.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred M. Johnson

File
Religious Orgs:
Committee of Southern Churchmen

October 8, 1964

Reverend Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

Baxton Bryant spent all of Monday here. Les and I had a considerable opportunity to get to know him, and this is to share our impressions of him with you and with your committee.

We like the man. We think he has a remarkable record of accomplishment, and has experiences which ought to be very valuable to the Tennessee Council. His knowledge of organization, his experience with working with top leadership, and his obvious ability to get things done, impress us. Frankly, I never thought a few weeks ago we would be able to find a person with many of these qualities.

There does seem to be a problem about salary, but I don't think it is serious. His

request for $10,000 a year, in light of his family situation, certainly is not excessive. (Three state Councils now pay their directors more than this amount.) Frankly, if our opinion of this man is at all correct, I think his work will more than make up the $2,000 difference between the figure budgeted and the figure needed.

Bryant is certainly very different from Kay, and at first this gave me some concern. But on reflection, I realized that we were looking for a person with skills different from Kay's to strengthen those areas about which she had the greatest doubt. In short, I think the differences are to the advantage of the Council, and that an organization with such a small staff should have people who are different and who can bring as much strength as possible to the operation. I think the two of them could work well together.

Unfortunately, I will not be in town for about three weeks, but Les is certainly available to be of any possible help he can to you or to the committee.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA/mmj
cc: Miss Katherine Jones

THE COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

KELLY MILLER SMITH PRESIDENT
CHARLES JONES VICE-PRESIDENT
A. E. COX SECRETARY-TREASURER

1106 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212
TELEPHONE: 298-2644

DIRECTOR, WILL D. CAMPBELL

AV
LD

October 23, 1964

Dear Committee Members:

Enclosed is a report of the activities of the Committee of Southern Churchmen during the first year of its existence.

As President of the Committee, I present this report to you as an official expression of our appreciation to you for your support during the past year.

The report seeks to state the aims of the group and some indication of progress made to date in pursuit of those aims.

Very sincerely,

Kelly Miller Smith

Kelly Miller Smith

COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

FIRST YEAR

Approximately one year ago the COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN was organized. The new group grew out of the concern of the remaining members of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen that there is a task in social relations in the South which is not being performed by the denominational or secular groups. That task was seen as working with the largely ignored whites within the churches who are caught up in the revolution but do not know that the most basic fundamentals of their religious faith involve them in it. Most often they do not know it because they have not been told. And most often they are not told because the folk religion of the South is so culturally determined that racial discrimination has become identified as an element of their religious body of doctrine and for the preacher to deny the Biblical validity of racial separation is, to them, to deny the faith. Thus "religious" people continue to be the most potent promoter of racism among the several institutions of society.

The COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN began as an effort to put some ethical meat on the dry bones of Southern Folk Religion without necessarily challenging other aspects of their heritage.

When one understands that the culture of a large segment of the South is virtually indistinguishable from its religion such an approach is important. Only by changing religious understanding can one expect to change behavioral patterns and habits within such a society. Acts of judicial and legislative bodies can and have gone far in making desegregation possible. But it is a mistake to assume that they do anything

beyond clearing the channel of legal obstruction to make desegregation possible. The militant civil rights groups can and have shown the cleared channel to be a fact by testing facilities covered in Title II of the Civil Rights Act. But most agree that something beyond demonstrations which have been so effective in the past must now be found or the presumed progress will be nothing more than an empty channel, free of obstruction but also free of water flowing through. In short a new pattern of limited legal desegregation but no real integration is apt to become entrenched.

As long as racial categories are an identifiable factor in the life of the culture, religious or secular, discrimination will continue. The COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN seeks to eliminate race from the body of the doctrine of Southern religion by a careful and faithful use of the words which most Southerners consider of divine origin.

In practice using the fundamentalist words and approach the development of the theme goes: St. Paul, commenting on life for those within the Church said: "...wordly standards have ceased to count in our estimate of any man." If "from Adam all sprang" (as every Southern religionist believes) race is a "wordly standard" and not a creative act of God. Discrimination is sinful then, not because it denies people civil rights but because it denies God as creator.

The sentimental liberal often needs correction at this point as well as the fundamentalist. The fundamentalist has seen the fact of race as reason for segregation. The liberal has seen it as a part of the majestic scheme for the beauty of the world--much like the white and black keys on

a piano. Both are unsound and hazardous in combating racism for both leave the concept of race as a sociological as well as theological fact.

II

After the miles of legal technicalities were unraveled the COMMITTEE really came into being on February 6, 1964 when approximately forty men and women gathered in Nashville for the purpose of discussing the above and finding ways of meeting this need. While several organizational matters had to be dealt with--elections, by-laws, charter, etc.--perhaps the most significant thing to come out of the meeting was the adoption of a statement which THE NEW SOUTH in printing it later called "a point of departure for the COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN." The statement, while not intended to be a creed or statement of purpose for the new group, has served as a sort of channel for our work during the year and has been widely distributed by various groups throughout the South. The statement consciously and deliberately used Biblical language and just as consciously made the comparison of the behavior of the churches with what they claim to be. It was and is our feeling that any group which ignores the deep allegiance of the average Southerner to the Bible Book--misguided and heretical though it often is--cannot fully understand the dynamics of what is happening. However, it must be pointed out that this approach is not made as a gimmick to reform society. It represents as nearly as possible the consensus of the thinking and commitment of the group.

III

During and after the February meeting the COMMITTEE came to see several ways of implementing this commitment.

A. It saw that there were numerous others in the region with similar concerns. An increasing number were being pushed out as they tried to proclaim those concerns. The COMMITTEE therefore established what it called the PREACHER-AT-LARGE program whereby one who was being displaced because of an involvement in the present crisis would be placed on the payroll of the COSC, continue his work where he was or in some other appropriate area while the COMMITTEE staff and members would seek employment for him of a more permanent nature than attachment to our staff. Several denominations agreed to cooperate with this program by reimbursing the COMMITTEE the amount expended on one from a given denomination. The COSC sought in every case to place the person in his own denomination and in the South. Though the migration of our finest men to other regions continue, the COMMITTEE has kept some of them here who otherwise would have gone. This has not always meant taking them on the temporary staff. A greater number have been placed informally and with as little publicity as possible. This has not been confined to clergymen.

B. The COMMITTEE did not wish to depend on its Executive Director to do all its work. At the February meeting it was decided that the COSC would not be a membership organization where people were simply carried on a roll. Nor was it to be a Board directing the work of the staff. The decision was for Board members, limited to one hundred by the charter, to be extended staff of the Nashville office and they were to be chosen according to their commitment and their competence in working in the crisis areas where they lived or where they may be sent by the COMMITTEE. As might be expected not all members have been

involved in a formal and organizational way. But the majority have. Activities have varied from one member going into a community where the churches were considering establishing private schools and talking to local people involved to his getting a group of whites together to assist in rebuilding and painting a burned Negro church. Others have organized study and discussion groups, convened special conferences, established city wide efforts to desegregate and integrate local congregations, work with a leading Southern university to establish a realistic program of remedial education for the culturally deprived students in the area. One group has started a Quarterly Journal of the COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN which hopefully will have an impact on the ethics of the South as it speaks directly to specific issues. Another member has distributed hundreds of copies of Will Campbell's book, Race and the Renewal of the Church in Mississippi involving key leaders and man on the street in dialogue, getting the subject at least into the public opinion process in that state. All members are active in assisting others who are seeking to break the bonds of a heretical, segregationist religion.

IV

Will Campbell, Executive Director of the COSC had worked for eight years in race relations in the South before taking his present position. Consequently he was already heavily involved in the region in various capacities. He has continued to work closely with other groups who turn to him as speaker, source of information, and adviser. During the year he has worked in several cities at the request of city officials in establishing formal human relations commissions or in working with

divergent groups within the community. He has continued to write for periodicals and has given more than fifty public addresses in colleges and seminaries, human relations groups, and denominational conferences. In addition he has directed the work of the COMMITTEE and its projects. Some fifty tape recordings of his addresses are now in circulation about the South. Although most of his activities are confined to the South he has given major lectures in other regions including a Wright Lecture at Yale University and a Convocation speech at Claremont College. He has worked closely with other human relations groups in the South and has continued to serve as a source of information to concerned government agencies.

CONCLUSION

The events in the field of human relations during the past year are too well known by all who read this report to bother with a review. It is enough to point out that with the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the matter of race becoming a major issue in the national political campaign for the first time in our generation one thing now becomes clear. While the slow and tedious work of the courts must and will continue for many years, there remains little further promise of accomplishment through legislation. While there has been heartening compliance with the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 there has not been widespread acceptance. Many groups and many individuals must continue to play many varied roles in the struggle. The COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN claims little in the way of accomplishment during the past year and is fully aware that the unique role it is seeking to play does not hold the key to the solution of all social ills. It will continue

to work with and encourage groups with different motivation, methods, and commitment. It sees its role and function as being a mediating task force in the South, working within the Churches more than within society as a whole. However, it is not unaware that more than a hundred million Americans are within those churches and that if they were true to their heritage, race would cease to be a crucial issue in the body politic as well as the body Christian. It is now striving to discover ways of getting its message to the largest number of people. That message is that for those hundred million mentioned above, race does not exist. This report is not the place for a detailed outlining of why this is so. But to the Biblically minded, it is a fact. The time has now come when this radical truth must be faced, preached, taught and passed on to the next generation. The churches, born above race, accepted the human categories cataloged and classified by the scientists of yesteryear. They have a lot of catching up to do. We intend to confront them with what that catching up involves. It involves facing who and what they are. And race, as a careful reading of the Scripture passage on which the statement is based and the statement itself will communicate, has been abolished. Old orders are destroyed and a new Kingdom, beyond caste, now exists. We do not strive to create a new social order, a new kingdom. We but bid them enter the Kingdom already established. We are aware that what we are trying to say is far more dangerous than what the civil rights groups have said and will be opposed more viciously when the pious sounding phrases are heard in their radical context. They have said, "give all races an equal chance." We are

saying that race as a concept must be abolished. That does not mean mere equality of opportunity within the old structure. It means that if the hundred million are faithful to the document which brought them into being, race can no longer be a factor as to who their next door neighbor is nor who their next of kin is.

The COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN considers the new task in race relations the abolishment of the worldly standard called race. This is a considerable undertaking. In our second year of existence we now undertake it.

COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

1106 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212
TELEPHONE: 298-2644

KELLY MILLER SMITH PRESIDENT
CHARLES M. JONES VICE-PRESIDENT
W. E. HINES SECRETARY-TREASURER

WILL D. CAMPBELL, DIRECTOR

Rec'd 1/8/65

File

January 6, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

In a recent conversation with Gene Cox I found that our financial situation in the Delta Foundation is unchanged from the earlier report you received.

As you know, as a member of the Delta Board I am most interested in getting sufficient funds to keep Gene Cox working at that level in Mississippi most of us neglect--the county agents, bankers, white business leaders, etc. As you may know, he has also been giving some time to the Gulf Coast Fishermen organizing effort.

In short, here is an old work horse we need to keep in the field. I would even be in favor of supporting him in the pasture but he is not ready for that yet.

My best to you and SRC.

Cordially yours,

Will

Will D. Campbell

File Committee of Southern Churchmen under Rel. Orgs. Section

LEPA VJV PWV MLV MJ. file

THE DEDICATION OF LEESON'S BRIDGE

Palm Sunday - 1965

Owner: Jim Leeson of SERS
Builder: Elbert Jean of God's Kingdom
Preacher: Will Campbell

Minister: The God of heaven, he will prosper us; therefore we his servants will arise and build.

Song:.... .....Bless This Bridge..... ....Those Gathered

The Litany of Dedication..... Minister and Those Gathered

Minister: Let us rejoice in the words of the builder:

This chasm that has been as naught to me
To that fair-haired youth may a pitfall be;
He, too, must cross in the twilight dim,
Good friend, I am building this bridge for him.

Response: In thanksgiving for the life and skills of the builder we dedicate this bridge.

Minister: Let us remember those who have built other bridges and walked this valley before us:

I lift my glass in a grateful toast
To those glorious days of the used-to-be---
Days that live on in memory,
Bathed in a shimmering golden haze---
Our still-remembered "olden days"!

Response: In appreciation for blazed trails we dedicate this bridge.

Minister: Damp tonnage and alluvial march of days.
Tortured with history, its one will___ flow!!

Response: With graveful hearts for flowing waters we dedicate this bridge.

Minister: To Jim Leeson:

May all the good things life can give
Be yours each day; and may you live
In peace without and peace within,
And each day may your life begin
With health and hope and good intent.
And may this bridge be for you a beldame nigh
To sit for you and spit for you and bid all
ill go by.

Response: For Jim we dedicate this bridge.

Minister: O cricket is to cricket dear, and ant for ant doth long.

Response: As nuptial bed for beasties small
And sanctuary for all that crawl
We dedicate this bridge.

Minister: O to be a frog, my lads,
And live aloof from care.

Response: As diving board for God's amphibians we dedicate
this bridge.

Reading of the Scripture.....Psalm 150

Remarks: And let us be well assured that that which we have built and here dedicate will have the last word to us.
When Jim has crossed over that last river and the chilly hands of death take him to drink from its flowing waters, he will be carried by hands other than these over these boards and peers, and as an anthem of ~~xxxxxx~~ praise and thanksgiving they will cry out:

Close the door--across the river
He has gone.
With an abscess on his liver
He has gone.
Many years of rainy seasons
And malaria's countless treasons
Are among the many reasons
Why he's gone.

The Christening "This being Palm Sunday I christen this bridge-
PONS ASINORIUM" Penny Campbell

The Cutting of the Ribbon Bonnie Campbell

The Processional (Those gathered will motor to Leeson's home, guitars and harmonicas playing "Bridge Over River Kwai)

Elbert built a bridge & dedicated it.

WJC

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

March 8, 1965

file

Mr. Will Campbell
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

The enclosed notes on Mississippi, which I put together (with help) are in part indecipherable, but most of them you can follow. Please -- keep them to yourself.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures

File
Relig. Orgs -
Committee of Southern
Churchmen

May 27, 1965

Reverend Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

You, Elbert Jean, and Jim Silver have one thing in common: you always come to Atlanta when I'm away.

Now you send me a parable that I can't understand.

Next time you come to Atlanta I'll have to be here to see you eat an ice cream cone, than maybe I'll understand.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Jesus:

Behold, I give you a parable.

Will Campbell?

TA
MJ file

Reed
5/20/65

I think this is against vulcanism -
RC

MERCER UNIVERSITY-May 13, 1965

There was once a little boy who had an ice cream cone. He didn't buy it with his own money. He didn't have any money.

It was given to him by a Stranger.

Other little boys and girls gathered 'round him clamoring for a lick off his ice cream cone.

He refuded.

He had seen them before and even on occasion played with them though he did not really know them. Certainly he had never shared prized possessions with them.

He just sat there clutching his ice cream cone with both hands. If he began eating it himself the others seemed dangerously close to getting a lick or maybe even a bite. So he just sat there with it between his knees. As the ice cream began to melt in the heat of the summers day the other little boys and girls began, one by one, to fall away. Soon he was all alone, tightly clutchigg a soggy cone with a bit of melted shush, no longer recognizable as having been deliciously frozen ice cream. Still he sat.

They might come back. He could hear them in the distance playing marbles. Still he sat. They might come back. Later they turned to baseball, and then through the woods he thought he could hear the splash of swimmers.

Then he began to think about his ice cream cone. I didn't buy it. It was given to me by a stranger I didn't even know. I should have shared it. And I will. That's what I'll do. I'll go and find them and share my ice cream. It's only right. Not only that I'm getting lonesome."

He rushed to the marble holes but noone was there. Only a busted taw remained. "They must be somewhere! Surely they're looking for me as I am looking for them for they so desperately want my ice cream."

And now I'm going to give it to them.

He passed the baseball field in the pasture. Only the bases, provided by under-grazed cattle, suggested that they had ever been there.

"The swimming hole, down in Mr. Jack Cleveland's woods! They must be there." But they weren't there either.

Then it occurred to him. "They'll pass back this way. I'll sit here and wait. They'll come back. I know they will and then I'll share my ice cream."

And sure enough they did. He saw them approaching and went rushing out to meet them. "Here. Here's my ice cream." But they kept walking as though they neither saw nor heard him. One looked quizically at him, like he was trying hard to remember if he had not somewhere seen him before. But he passed on by.

He shouted at them. "Here is my ice cream! You wanted it-now here it is!"

He could not seem to get their attention. They were eating something-he didn't know what. They seemed to enjoy it and for a moment he wondered if it too, whatever it was, had been provided by the Stranger.

He gave up trying to give them ice cream. By now it was spewing its sour stench into his nostrils, the slush mixed with gravel and dust and fly specks and even he realized that noone would have it now.

So he dropped it beside the path. And for a frantic moment he waved and shouted: "Look at me! Look at me!"

Seeing them walking along, each holding whatever it was he was eating in one hand while guarding it against the threatening glances ~~with~~ of the others, he turned, all alone, debating whether to pick up the discarded cone or wait for the stranger to pass that way again.

It all happened down Savannah way.

Free Relig orgs

June 24, 1965

Mr. Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

Herman Long called me today. He needed a speaker for July 8, and I accepted. Mostly these days I am cancelling out of commitments, but I have a yen to come to Nashville. I hope you will be around. I don't think I have seen you since you were in the hospital.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

cc: Mr. Baxton Bryant

Ref. Orgs - "Committee of Southern Churchmen"

June 25, 1965

Mr. Will Campbell
2011 Grand Avenue, N. E.
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

My congratulations to you and to Jim for the first issue of KATALLAGETE. You announce some ambitious (and serious) possibilities, and after reading the first issue, I think you may just bring them on. We are enclosing the order blank and our check for the SRC subscription.

Enclosed also is my own check for a personal subscription. In the unsettled state of the world today, I guess you may as well send it here to the office.

Please begin my subscription with the first issue.

All best wishes,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosures

Be Reconciled
Katallagete

With us therefore worldly standards have ceased to count in our estimate of any man; even if once they counted in our understanding of Christ, they do so now no longer. When anyone is united to Christ, there is a new world; the old order has gone and a new order has already begun.

II Corinthians 5:15-16

1965 · 11

JOURNAL
OF
THE
COMMITTEE
OF
SOUTHERN
CHURCHMEN

Mr. Hendricks is Dean of Men at Mercer University and Secretary of the Editorial Board of **KATALLAGETE.**

About This Issue . . . .

JOSEPH M. HENDRICKS

Members of the Editorial Board of KATALLAGETE are also members of and involved in the work of the Committee of Southern Churchmen. In reality, the Committee is an extended staff of the Committee office in Nashville, Tennessee. It is composed of men and women seeking to witness to Christ's reconciliation of all men "while still in life," and in all areas of human endeavor. Some Committee members have been involved in this calling amidst the economic, and political and racial crises in the South for over forty years —long before there was a Committee, or a Fellowship, of Southern Churchmen.

The point I wish to stress is that the journal is but one facet of the work of the Committee of Southern Churchmen. Those of us charged with editing, writing, and distributing KATALLAGETE, Be Reconciled! know well what other Committee members are doing in the hope that, as President Kelly Smith stated in our first issue, we might provide a "challenge to those Christians and those Churches who assume that they are uninvolved to a more responsible and obedient participation in the life of the South while warning ourselves and other Christians that the Christian faith is not identical with any political or social movement." Some have and are participating in "marches" of various sorts and for various "causes"; some are producing a radio series for county seat radio stations; some have and will visit theological seminaries throughout the country and, in the context of a frank discussion and dialogue about what we believe to be the dangerous weaknesses besetting churches and seminaries throughout the nation, try to enlist men and women to return or to turn to the South; some have and will visit with ministers and laymen caught up in the throes of various sorts of community unrest; and all of us seek to find fresh and hopeful callings for those who have been and will be displaced in current turmoils and conflicts. The Editorial Board of the Committee, through the use of words, seeks to explore the meaning of obedience to the Life, and Death, and Resurrection of Christ in these days of crisis in almost every phase of human endeavor, inside or outside the churches. Hence, the Editorial Board, because it is the editorial sub-committee of the Committee of Southern Churchmen, is not content "just to talk"—although we do hope that others will be willing to engage us in a dialogue of words as well as of activities.

* * * * *

As it happens, this particular issue of the journal looks from several angles at one of the most obvious, important, and perennial concerns facing the Christian in the South: how the Church is to be "involved in" the world in radical obedience to its Lord without denying in activism or quietism Christ's lordship of reconciliation over the world. In general, articles for KATALLAGETE are written by assignment; and yet, without knowing what others were saying, what seems to have been the result in this issue is a symposium of sorts on "the Church in the Modern World." The authors seem to agree that the *way* the Church is related to and involved in the world is never self-evident, but that it our day the question is of more than ordinary importance for the life of the Church, and the individuals who confess Christ as Lord.

The men contributing to this issue are writing out of a background of involvement and experience in the life and work of the Church in the world. The editorials by Will D. Campbell and James Y. Holloway attempt to direct attention to the fact that the formulas and institutions by which we have attempted and are attempting to involve the Church in the world have failed because too often they are but an echo in clerical garb of the voice of "the world," and sometimes not even the world at its best! They warn that these formulas and institutions are being judged by God and tried by the world, and in both instances may be found to be a contradiction of or irrelevant to the true calling of the Church. Will Campbell, the Director of the Committee of Southern Churchmen, was a pastor in northern Louisiana and at the University of Mississippi before serving from 1956 to 1963 as Director of the Southern Office of Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. Holloway, who teaches at Berea College, and is editor of KATALLAGETE, has advanced degrees in political science and Christian ethics, and has taught these subjects in the South for a number of years.

Walker Percy and James McBride Dabbs, both members of the Editorial Board of KATALLAGETE and active Christian laymen, deal with the theme of Church and world from the specific perspective of the South and the southerner. Mr. Percy directs attention to the essentially Stoic quality of the old relationship between white Christians and Negro Christians, and the rapid disintegration of that relationship after 1954. Both Mr. Percy and Mr. Dabbs suggest that the "theological habits of thought" of Southern life could lead to a new, significant, and mature relationship of equality among men of both races, or to the route of South Africa and Rhodesia. Charles Rice, minister to Episcopal students at East Tennessee State University at Johnson City focuses upon one of the factors which will in large measure determine the direction which the Church in the modern world will take: the resolution of the current crisis in Christian leadership. On the basis of a close exegetical study of the letter to the Christians in Galatia, Dr. Markus Barth demonstrates how St. Paul dealt with a crisis of Christian leadership in the early Church not unrelated to the one described by Mr. Rice. Furthermore, St. Paul's response to this crisis offers an important clue to the current dilemma of Christians. The contributions by Mr. Walter Lippmann and Father Daniel Berrigan speak for themselves.

* * * * *

In the place of his usual remarks as President of the Committee of Southern Churchmen, the Editorial Board has prevailed upon Kelly Miller Smith to introduce this issue with his "open letter" to two congregations of Christians—one of which he serves as pastor. The subject is one that has fascinated the Church for decades: ecumenicity. Mr. Smith approaches the subject at the very point that the Committee believes the issue will be finally decided, with success or by relegation to the museum of other Christian fads. His open letter is about where the "ecumenical movement" really is, *if* it really is: where the people who are called Christians *are*—the local churches.

Fred Hall of Nashville, Tennessee, designed the cover for this and for the inaugural issue of KATALLAGETE. He is an advertising executive, and a member of the Committee of Southern Churchmen.

This sermon delivered by the Reverend Kelly Miller Smith on Sunday, December 26, 1965 at the First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill, Nashville, Tennessee.

Trek Toward The Dawn

KELLY MILLER SMITH

Deuteronomy 2:2-3; *"And the Lord spake unto me, saying, ye have compassed this mountain long enough . . . ."*

The year now closing has been a momentous one. It has been filled with drama and drudgery and has been characterized by triumph and tragedy. All the way from the blood soaked fields of Viet Nam to the dark and broken streets of Nashville, there have been events which have commanded our attention and required our concern.

The blessings of the year of 1965 have at times been so great and so obvious that we have cried out with the psalmist: "The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad." And there have been times when the problems have been so critical and devastating and the solutions have appeared so remote that from the depths of our troubled spirits we have exclaimed: "My God, my God, why—**WHY** hast thou forsaken me?"

Nineteen Sixty-five has been a year of reflection for us at First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill. We have taken an eight month look over one hundred years of our existence as a church. With grateful appreciation and awesome wonder, we have reviewed our dramatic history. We saw how men—still taunted by the unhealed sores of slavery—set out on the venturesome journey of independence and dignity. To be sure, the road was hard and steep. They traveled over mountains that were rough and rugged and through valleys dangerous and dreary. Inspired by the Word of God and by the prophetic words and deeds of their consecrated leaders, and singing their moving spirituals, stately anthems and inspiring hymns, they marched together through the fires and the floods.

In our Centennial observance, persons from many walks of life have joined us. We have been applauded by the mighty and by the humble. Congratulatory messages have come to us all the way from the White House in Washington, D.C. to the unlettered porter in downtown Nashville. The achievements of our Church have been heralded in both the local and national press. In fact, I venture to say that we have even patted ourselves on the back a little.

The great danger is that we may be tempted to conclude that we have done enough now, that we can settle back and relax. But, there must be no attitude that "the battle is fought and the victory is won." We must not confuse the way-station with the destination. That which is the closing hymn of an exciting era must be but the prelude to an even more exciting and daring level of existence. There is a creatively disturbing word which Moses heard and which comes ringing down through the windswept corridors of time to us in this hour: "Ye have compassed this mountain long enough." The suggestion is that the first hundred years is but the first lap in our holy pilgrimage—our trek toward the dawn.

In order to suggest an answer to the question "where do we go from here—toward the dawn?" I would like to address a letter to two churches which bear the relationship of mother and child.

The epistle is addressed to the congregation of First Baptist Church, Seventh and Broad, Nashville, Tennessee and the First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill, Nashville, Tennessee.

* * * * *

Dear Brothers and Sisters In Christ Jesus:

I praise God for the witness you have made in the Nashville community. You have helped mend broken lives and have given a sense of hope to many who have come under your influence. Both churches have served to make Nashville a better community.

In spite of the faithful service you have both rendered and in spite of your unquestioned influence in the community, there is a troublesome matter with which we must deal. The good news we both profess demands that we face it.

More than a hundred years ago, on March 16, 1865, the following letter was written to the First Baptist Church of Nashville:

> "We, the colored members of the First Baptist Church of Nashville, Tennessee, do hereby petition to your honor for a separate and independent church to be known by the name of the First Colored Baptist Church, Nashville, Tennessee . . . .
>
> We, your brethren in love and respect, done by order of the Church at its regular meeting for business the 7th day of March, 1865."

The reasons Negroes sought to be separated from the predominantly white congregation of which they were a part are fairly well known. When they prayed "Our Father", they were addressing the same God professed by the members of the church from which they were departing. The same Ancient Book of Inspiration called the Holy Bible was a "lamp unto their feet and a light unto their paths" and they claimed redemption through the same divine act and the same Son of God. They pledged allegiance to no kingdom save the Kingdom of God and of His Christ.

Yet, for these one hundred years these congregations have gone their separate ways. In the name of the Christ of Calvary, can we any longer justify a separation that is based upon such a triviality as skin color? Do we not hear the words of Almighty God Himself saying to us "Ye have compassed this mountain long enough?"

In the name of all that is high and holy, is it unthinkable that you two great congregations of Christians begin conversations on the topic of a merger of these churches?

Here you two congregations are, only five blocks apart. Both of you are planning gigantic building programs and both of you are trying to minister to the same part of the same city. Each of you receive telephone calls and mail intended for the other. More important than that, you are kin. You have the same spiritual ancestors. Your relationship is that of mother and child. And still more important is the fact that we are all the children of God and, by virtue of that fact, we are kin:

> And all men are my kin,
> Since every man has been
> Blood of my blood;
> I glory in the grace
> And strength of every race,
> And joy in every trace
> Of brotherhood.

You have already made a start. The church which once had the chartered name "First Colored Baptist Church" is now the First Baptist Church of Capitol Hill. The racial reference has been left out. Both congregations have had persons of different ethnic identities worship together with

them. The Capitol Hill Church no longer has a uniracial membership. Yes, you have already made the start. The question is whether or not you are ready to take the first giant step in your trek toward the dawn.

In his history of First Baptist Church, Nashville, *The Spiritual Conquest of the Second Frontier*, P. E. Burroughs calls it the "fruitful mother of churches." The Capitol Hill Church was separated from First Baptist purely on the basis of color—race. Regardless of whose initiative it was that effected the separation, the result was the same. More than between any of the other children of the "fruitful mother of churches", serious discussion of merger between First Baptist, Seventh and Broadway and the First Baptist, Capitol Hill would speak eloquently and convincingly to a world whose faith and interest in that which we call the Church is seriously waning.

Some among us recognize the importance of the Church to worldly disinherited children of God and who know that for Negroes the church has been the "social cosmos"—the answer for all that was lacking everywhere else. Some will look at the social role played by the Capitol Hill Baptist Church and, fearing that this social consciousness will be lost, will object to merger. The fact is, however, that we are not suggesting that we should become less than the Church. To the contrary, the proposal is that we will become *more* the Church. If we talk, we must do so with an awareness of the fact that the Church of the living God must address itself to all of the concerns of man.

This letter is written with full awareness that some will point to "nonracial" problems which help keep predominantly white congregations from uniting. While admitting that the major reason for this continued separation of the people of God is prejudice, Kyle Haselden has listed other problems in his *The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective.* These other problems should be honestly faced if you two congregations decide to talk to each other after all these years.

While the Church should be the leader in movements that make for righteousness and right, we must confess that sometimes we *react* when we should have *acted.* Sometimes we are an echo when we should be a voice. But when the initiative has been taken by other forces and the course is right, why should the church not at least participate? Further, the church can and ought to give depth of meaning and direction to these trends toward right and justice. Certainly, we can never afford to do less that that which we call "secular" life is doing.

Many of our children go to public school together; why can they not go to Sunday School together? Members of the two congregations work together, why may they not worship together? In Nashville and in other parts of the country we eat together in the restaurants; may we not feast on the Bread of Life together?

If you two great congregations agree to talk, please begin with the premise that the ground at the foot of the Cross is level. Begin with the realization of the fact that the Kingdom of God is a Kingdom above caste; ours is a faith which trancends race. We are all one in Christ. Those who were once a dependent mission must come in the spirit of interdependence and brotherhood.

* * * * *

The suggestion which I am now making to these two congregations is not for "migration" but merger. Both congregations have something to contribute to the work of the Church and these resources should be combined. There is much in the long history of the church at Seventh and Broad which will enrich those who comprise the Capitol Hill Church. There is something in the courageous action and social awareness in the tradition of the Capitol Hill Church which will enhance the church at Seventh and Broad. Whether we are willing to face it or not, we need each other, and God wills us one.

If there are those in either congregation who feel that such a proposal should cause them to lessen their support of the building programs now underway by both churches, it must be said that they do not understand the meaning of building *for Christ.*

We are living in an age when great and harsh criticisms are being hurled at the Church. Some have severed connections with it because they have felt that we are not doing that which is obedient and relevant. This move would, perhaps, restore the confidence of some.

In the meantime, we should not only have our doors open in the spirit of "whosoever will, let him come." We should go out into the "highways and hedges" and seek until we find those who have heretofore been excluded either because of official policy or the general practice of both congregations.

There is much that we can do in downtown Nashville if we are willing to walk together as the people of God. There is unparalleled strength awaiting, should these two congregations decide to respond favorably to the mandates of God.

When we do our best in this direction, the words of Ralph Walker may well be applied to us:

God bless the church on the avenue that hears the city's cry;
the Church that sows the seed of the Word where the masses of men go by;
The church that makes, midst the city's roar, a place for an Altar of Prayer,
With a heart for the rich and a heart for the poor, and rejoices in their burdens to share.

The Church that's true to the call of Christ who wept o'er the city's need,
And who sent His disciples to labor for Him where the forces of evil breed,
The Church that gives and the church that lives, as seen by the Master's eye—
God bless the Church on the avenue that answers the city's cry.

But we must not postpone being virtuous. We need not wait for this glorious and long awaited day if we are to march in accordance with His commands. There are things for us to do even now. Our hearts and our spirits must be prepared. Our eyes have grown so accustomed to the darkness that they are likely to be hurt by the true Light. In all that we do, let us remember that he has required of us that we continue our trek toward the dawn. He says to these congregations "Ye have compassed this mountain long enough."

He has sounded forth the trumpet
that shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men
Before his judgement seat;
O be swift, my soul, to answer him;
Be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on!

I close, with the words used by the great apostle when he wrote about love to the Church at Corinth. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. My love be with you all in Christ Jesus." Amen

KATALLAGETE

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"For Three Transgressions, And For Four . . . ."

JAMES Y. HOLLOWAY

Toward the end of the Second World War, Reinhold Niebuhr collected a number of his sermons into a book which he called *Discerning the Signs of the Times.* The title was from Jesus' warning recorded in Matthew 16:3, "O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?" Twenty years later, we do well also to heed Jesus' warning and discern the signs of our times.

Niebuhr's book is helpful because one of the sermons concerns the sowing of a seed the harvest of which is one of the signs of our times. He called the sermon "The Age Between the Ages;" the text was II Kings 19:3: "Thus saith Hezekiah, This is a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and blasphemy: for the children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth." Niebuhr explained the applicability of Hezekiah's words to the days following the Second World War in this way: "We can see clearly what ought to be done to bring order and peace into the life of the nations; but we do not have the strength to do what we ought." The text discerns our times rather accurately; indeed, we must also say that our situation is far more ominous than the one Niebuhr described twenty years ago. Our days are equally filled with trouble because we lack "strength to bring forth" a just and viable peace. Our days are more blasphemous not only because we have failed to bring justice and peace to our land as well as among the nations; but we now also lack the one positive note Niebuhr struck twenty years ago: a *vision* of what we ought to do—domestically or internationally—to bring peace and justice to the communities of mankind

* * * *

Justice has something to do with right orderings, proper relationships between and among men and their political and social and economic institutions; peace has something to do, not so much with tranquillity, but with the working for justice while rejecting solutions to the problems of right ordering that call for the incineration of political and social opponents. Consequently, justice and peace cannot be built upon the forcible imposition of law or a reign of terror, but with the sort of vision Niebuhr spoke about twenty years ago—a vision that will lead men to look beyond themselves

and toward their neighbor not in hate and envy but in understanding and compassion. Justice and peace have something to do with a vision that denies men the fatal temptation of thinking more highly of themselves and their causes than they ought. Justice and peace have something to do with a vision that substitutes humility for arrogance and pride in the relations with neighbors, domestic or foreign. And it is the loss of just this vision which has sown the seeds of pride found in the contradictions which render our days so blasphemous.

For these twenty years and longer the vision of the Church has been so blurred that it has sanctioned racism throughout the North and South, by silence or liberalism, and in its passion for "realism" has helped reconcile the world to the legitimacy of atomic apocalypse "in pursuit of national interest."

The Church rejects the Gospel in a passion for "contemporaneity with culture," and rests its case on law (more and stronger, or fewer and decentralized) and politics (the "vital center" of the ADA, or crypto-Birchism). And for twenty years and more, the vision of a consensus-oriented, affluent culture has been so inverted that it has steadfastly refused to face up to the basic and unremitting contradictions of East Harlems and Westchesters; Watts Streets and Beverly Hills; the affluent society and the depleted society; protestations about freedom and democracy and primitive anti-communism; allegiance to and postage stamps commemorating the United Nations and war waged in the name of the principles of the United Nations by a predominantly white nation using technologically efficient weapons of mass destruction against a culturally backward, technologically-inept, non-white folk in Southeast Asia.

The recent commentary on the life and death of Malcolm X by Emile Capouya in *The Saturday Review* is an eloquent testimony on the moral erosion consequent upon the lack of vision in one place, and what the emergence of vision in another place might involve.

> Right now, in this country, every man stands between the devil and the deep blue sea. The ideals we profess as a people have scarcely any other function than to color greed at home and violence abroad. We are in a moral and political crisis. Almost alone, Malcolm X knew it and declared it; his doctrine was cast in terms of race, but that was very nearly an accident. Those who responded to his intuition of what was happening to us understood him whether they were Negroes or whites. I think that any reader who is at all accessible to the message must be moved by his autobiography—ingenuous, often mistaken about elementary facts, sometimes less than charitable, but mostly true and mostly very important.

* * * *

What unites the domestic tragedies of racism and poverty to the international tragedies of Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic is the lack of vision and strength to bring forth justice and peace and the resulting harvest of hateful contradictions. And certainly one of the signs within the signs is the at worst cynical or at best short-sighted refusal of many national leaders, political and otherwise, to speak forthrightly about the relationship of these tragedies. There is surely little vision in the highest and most responsible regions of government and society about ending the slaughter in Southeast Asia and to stop the gun-boat diplomacy in Central and South America. To escalate the military bombings and killings and thereby the "accidents of war" against the innocents in the belief that Hanoi and Peking will eventually "leave their neighbor alone" and "sit down and talk *peace*" is not a vision but a nightmare.

A vision is required to effectively assimilate "the other America" into American life, even when it means that American life as we now have it will have to be radically reordered. But so far we have cynically and callously rejected "the poor" (that is, Negroes throughout the nation, "yesterday's people" of Appalachia, and the racial minorities in the West and Southwest) from the counsels of the very programs designed to assimilate them into American democracy. Perhaps the Consensus Establishment is faltering at the realization that victory in the war against the real agents of poverty and hopelessness will require a basic reordering of the Establishment Itself. If "the other Americans" are programmed to continue as they have for thirty years and more—wards of the court house and city hall gangs and the local power structure, and minions of the empires of the welfare bureaucrats — the vision is not the Great Society but the Prostitute Society.

There are young people among us who ought otherwise "to have everything to live for," who are not delinquent by any sane standard, but who risk social and parental ostracism as well as prison, thwarted careers, execution at the hands of legal or para-legal defenders of A Way of Life or, what is more terrifying, death at their own hands. They seem to be engaged in a desperate attempt to testify against the consequences of the ever-widening breach between what the Consensus Establishment professes, and what it does. To dismiss these young people—indeed, anyone of any age who in varying degree identify with this malaise—as un-

patriotic, chronic misfits and serving the communists is not a vision of democracy but a vision of paranoia.

Signs of the times, and even the testimony of the social scientists, demonstrate the inadequacy and impotence—although not the irrelevance—of legal and administrative procedures finally and peacefully to resolve the racial and economic turmoil that has beset American democracy for more than a century. But the vision of the Church—regardless of geography or other accidents of nature or history—seems to be what it has been for three hundred years: Law triumphant over Love! Justice triumphant over Mercy! Here, Christ's Church becomes folks' Church.

The Church—regardless of geography or other accidents of nature and history—has made almost no permanent headway in its own Household to reject the segregation of man by race, and by income, education, social status, etc., etc. By "Household" is meant the work of the churches by the gas stations, motels, courthouses, in the hollows and on the boulevards; "Household" also means seminaries and "church-related" or "non-denominational" colleges, and their investment and business enterprises, home and "foreign" missionary boards, charitable ventures, etc., etc. Have we been intimidated into the blasphemous silence of our revivalism, pietism, false witness and liberalism by "the best people" and their institutions? The vision such a Church follows is "outside agitation," or "wrong motives" or "neighborhood churches" or "specialized" ministry. Again, Christ's Church becomes folks' Church.

Witnesses to Christ's acquittal by resurrection are despised and rejected, even through death, by the blind, desperate, vicious and "lost" worlds of culture and religion—the worlds for which Christ died. Is the vision of the Church in response to this blasphemy "Blood for Blood!" "Law over Gospel!" "Death Victorious over Resurrection!"? If so, the Church rushes pell-mell into another Babylonian Captivity

* * * *

It is clear that the world and the Church have in these twenty years not only not gained strength, but also have lost the vision to bring forth a just and viable peace. Yet to list some of the signs of current times costs little and in itself means nothing. The heart of the matter is to "discern the signs," to account for and to respond to the failures of vision and strength.

Churchill used the prophet Joel's imagery to describe a certain period between the first and second world wars as "the locust years."

> What the cutting locusts left
> the swarming locust has eaten.
> What the swarming locust left,
> the hopping locust has eaten,
> and what the hopping locust left,
> the destroying locust has eaten.

The prophet's vivid imagery is equally appropriate to our days of trouble, rebuke and blasphemy because it forces us to heed the source and the meaning of the devastating locusts. It forces us to discern the signs of our times. That is, we must decide if the signs of our times reveal the judgment of God on us, and on our institutions and programs inside and outside the Church. If what is happening to us is *not* judgment, then we can (and we shall) continue to reduce the signs of trouble and rebuke and blasphemy to temporally antecedent causes. Then we can (and we shall) continue to nod very seriously and very scholarly when the outside experts—sociologists and psychologists and political scientists and specialists in national security affairs—are invited to inform us about the nature of the present "crisis." Come adjournment, neither bloody nor bowed, though having sighed mightily several times and let our belt-buckles out another notch or maybe two, we can return to our appointed tasks, congratulating each other on the interesting, serious and fascinating ambiguities and challenging opportunities that the Christian may find in the present "crisis." We can continue to account for the current impotence of almost every phase of the Church's vocation as a strategic, temporary, and temporal flaw—no more serious perhaps than failing to transmit successfully the meaningful and sometimes brilliant insights, analyses, and low-level abstractions of theologians, hermenutical consultations, or our best seminaries, to the ever-listless, unresponsive, unsympathetic, always-intransigent-man-in-the-pew. We can meet such flaws by programming a response centering around more of the gimmickery of "the world": curriculum revamping, ministerial "recruitment", seductions of faculty from sister institutions, and above all increased funds, for theological research, reduced teaching "loads", "teaching" assistants, modernized departments of religion in undergraduate colleges, telephones in offices of every theologian above the rank of assistant professor, plants *of* worship designed in the contemporary idiom, and a modern clergy designed to meet modern-man-where-he-is.

Of course it is as simple as it is easy to pour scorn upon our responses during these past years. The matter turns on whether or not our defensiveness and the gawking after culture represented in these responses are not the very things put into

jeopardy by the destroying locusts dispatched as the judgment of God on all that is false in our situation. And that is undoubtedly the case if what is happening to us and to our institutions is judgment by the cutting and swarming and destroying locusts of God, and not the strategic flaws and human frailties of temporally antecedent causes. If that is what is happening to us, what Niebuhr identified twenty years ago as "the age between the ages" has become an age of God's judgment on us.

* * * *

Let it be said at once that, of course God is always judging us. But what we must do today is to understand and respond to His judgment that is *now* upon us, *now* all around us, *now* the most critical reality of our time. And this is the new thing for us. We must try to discern what it means to live under judgment, not abstractly and not in the pages of a journal, but try to discern the signs of the judgment in our very immediate, very existential times of trouble, rebuke and blasphemy.

Perhaps the most important clue to what it means to the Church to live under judgment *now* is to be found in one of these signs. In the past four or five years, the inevitable and sometimes fascinating necessity of Christians to relate "Church" to "world," "Christ" to "culture," has become a matter of life and death for the Church itself. At this moment, therefore, the matter of "the Church and the world" is too critical to permit the first or the last word to be said in doctoral disseratations, ecumenical study groups, dreary weeks of "religious emphasis," or a journal of southern churchmen. The matter concerns the integrity of the witness of every single individual who professes Christ as Lord.

Let us be clear: the signs of urgency about the relation of Christ and culture, Church and world, *is* a matter of life and death, *not* for God, but for the Church, the institutional, organizational phenomena which are the expressions of those individuals who confess Christ as Lord—that is, the thousands upon thousands of the St. John's-by-the-Gas-Station. A schema, therefore, concerning "the Church in the modern world" will be the acid test not merely for Vatican II but for the entire Christian Church. And that, by the way, is the stake that Protestantism has in Vatican II and, in turn, the stake that Catholicism has in whatever Protestantism may eventually do about the Church in the modern world. Little insight is necessary to see that the real progress in ecumenicity will be made as Christians unite not for the sake of unity, but to witness to the world from the catacombs scratched out in the shale and mire of a world that seems to find its meaning in wanton destruction.

To fail in any period to act in the faith that the Church is involved in the world by the very Event which calls it into being and defines its task and mission, is to confess by word and deed that Christ's death is and was in vain and that His resurrection is and was a hoax perpetrated on the world by simple and sentimental idealists. For the fact is that the Church is related to and involved in the modern and secular world (and what else can "the world" ever be but "modern" and "secular"?) neither by its own choice nor by historical caprice. The Church is not its own; and by its nature and mission, therefore, it cannot exist for itself without destroying itself and denying its Head. The Church exists for "the world." Put another way, Christians do not live for themselves, but *in* and *for* Christ and therefore must and can live *as* Christ lived. Further, the Church "is" the Church only when its actions involve it in the world in the very same way that Christ is and was involved in the world. "You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." The "perfection" commanded is "Emmanuel": to be *with* others as God is *with* us in the birth and life and death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, freely, "in grace and truth." Hence, Christians are liberated from the melancholy luxury of the endless debates about whether to be involved in or to withdraw from *any* modern, secular world. That decision was lifted from our consciences and assumed by Christ at Calvary and at Pentecost.

Christians, in the same way as all men, are first of all involved in the modern, secular world because their existence — however "existence" might be explained by Sartre, or Hoyle, or Russell —thrusts them "in" the world quite independently of their predilections on the matter. About this, Christians understand that God "elected" to give the world additional time, to permit the modern, secular world to continue after Easter, even though the drama could have ended then, or at Pentecost—or, for that matter, could end at *any* moment. But Christians are also involved as witnesses not merely to the fact that all of us men live in a sort of postscript to Easter, but primarily to testify to and about the nature of that gift of additional time: it is a judgment on us, for God will not let us have the last word, and persist in death, arrogance and pride. The gift of additional time means that death is judged and crucified; that the final Word of God to us is Resurrection and Life; that men are given additional time, not

because they merited it, but in order to participate in the new order established by God's reconciliation of all men to Himself and therefore to each other. All this, as St. Paul puts it, "while still in life," and while looking forward to the life promised to us that is yet to come.

From this perspective, therefore, our days of trouble, and rebuke and blasphemy are not fundamentally different from any days or centuries since Pentecost. Hence, it is neither startling, nor modern news that the world is "secular" or that "God" is "dead." The fact is that the world has been able to come up with nothing more novel or startling than that since the Crucifixion. The world has always been "secular." What other option does it really have? The novelty of our time is that the world, in its heart of hearts always bored and disinterested in us, no longer needs our blessings or our acquiescences or even our "moral and spiritual" support to carry out its schemes and programs and crusades of deifying some men by incinerating some others. What has "come of age" is not the world in its practical atheism (it has just "come clean" with us); but it may be that the Church will "come of age" by admitting that the world is secular. Through and by the actions of God in science, technology, automation, racial revolutions as well as in the unabashed secularism in our dearly cherished western civilization, the Church is being told again that it is the Body of Christ, not one of the many appendages of culture. We are being told that the Alpha and Omega of the Church is God's reconciliation of us men in Christ and His decision to "elect" some of them to testify to that reconciliation. This means, as Karl Barth says, that the Church with Peter must learn to walk on the water. In the idiom of our region, the Church must now "fish or cut bait." And in just this apparent agony might be discerned a sign of renewal — so long as we remember that the Source of that agony is not our analyses of our flaws but God's hand in and upon us. If we are renewed in the challenge of "secularism," it will be God's work, not our tactics.

So, one of the signs among other signs of our times is that the Church — not the world, which is fundamentally uninterested in the issue — may begin to wake up to the fact that the world is secular, but worships with deep piety and devotion at many altars — politics, race, economics, culture, war, family, money, and, of course, religion. It is the use that the world might make of our faith as one of its religions that has always been its chief interest in the Church. But now we are entering another epoch in which the world tells itself that in its maturity, achievement and sophistication it is increasingly bored with the possibility of translating the irrelevances of Christianity into a modern and meaningful religion. What we may expect, therefore, is that the world which now chooses to be openly and stridently secular will ignore us, or will very impersonally and very legally remove all of the conveniences she has granted us since early in the fourth century of our Lord. Or, it may be that we shall be permitted to keep a certain few of them if we are willing to identify (or at least associate) the Body of Christ with the religion and the crisis of the moment: communism or anti-communism; segregation or desegregation; free enterprise or socialism; Goldwater or Ho Chi Minh. But as matters now stand the world is not really interested in whether the Church joins, or refuses to join. And *that* is why the Church must say to the world and all its secularity and death-wishes and hates and loves: "*Be* Reconciled to God!" because you *are* reconciled to God.

* * * *

The reconciliation of which we speak is not the reconciliation, and thus the acquiescence, of the Church to the world, but the reconciliation of the men of the world to God. But to suggest that "Be reconciled to God!"—and thus be reconciled to all men because God has done for us what we cannot do for ourselves—is the peculiar message of the Church in these days of trouble, rebuke and blasphemy appears lighthearted, detached, and downright irresponsible. To sound on the trumpet the notes "Be reconciled!" (i.e., KATALLAGETE!) sounds cheap when no mob of sheriff or deputy is clubbing or kicking you, or shotgun blasting your comrades and your brothers in the night or in broad daylight in the presence of eyewitnesses; it sounds cheap when no sophisticated white Northern liberal is ruthlessly and smilingly shaking his head at your youngsters and invoking "neighborhood schools" and "responsible citizenship"; it sounds cheap when no bombs and no napalm falls on your hut or your wife or your babies; it sounds cheap when no preacher or politician or police bureaucrat equates "stopping" communism with the Gospel of Christ or democracy as he damns your conscience's refusal to equate Christianity or democracy with the nightmare of blunders and slaughter and terror in Southeast Asia. It sounds cheap, and cheap it is—unless the Church witnesses in word and deed that "Be reconciled!" is Christ's involvement, *now*, in the very world that exhibits itself in such trouble and rebuke and blasphemy. Unless—or perhaps it is more accurate to say "until" — we do so, our ambassadorship of Christ is sentimental and fraudulent. Unless — or

until — we do, the injunction "Be reconciled!" will have the appearance of an ideological pacifier which, being translated reads "Be ye acquiescent!" to every outrage which man perpetrates against his fellow man.

This is the inevitable consequence when we seek to tie God's reconciliation of all men to a political strategy, or whenever reconciliation, love, forgiveness, and mercy are cut from their Source in God's actions in Crucifixion and Resurrection and take root in human sentimentality and pride. To speak and act sentimentally about reconciliation, love, forgiveness and mercy mean to deny that they are instruments of God's judgment, law, and justice, or to deny the inextricable relation of the latter to the former. To speak sentimentally about reconciliation and love, judgment and mercy, is thus to send Mr. Frank Buchman to convert Hitler; or to send Dr. Billy Graham and the Reverend Oral Roberts to witness to Sheriffs Clark and Coleman and Rainey or Governors Barnett and Wallace; or to send the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion to witness to Mayors Wagner and Daly and Yorty and Superintendent of Schools Willis or Chief of Police Parker, or J. Edgar Hoover. The other danger of sentimentality is legalism. Legalism threatens the church's proclamation of reconciliation with the subtle temptation that once the 1964 Civil Rights Bill is enforced throughout the South, once recalcitrant counties are brought to heel with the 1965 Voter Rights Bill, once concordants between the power structures of white and Negro leaders have been signed, once Negroes serve on juries, and once whites (and Negroes) are punished for murdering or for exploiting the economic or civil rights of Negroes, the church can in good conscience slip back into the fleshpots of revivals, building programs, curriculum study, fellowship breakfasts, Civitan Clubs and the fellowship of political action with the power structure fighting highway road signs and the blight of the junk yards. If there is anything left for the Northern Church to teach us in the South it is the total failure of that form of sentimentality. Is it any less hypocritical — and therefore potentially less explosive—than the hypocrisy of the South? St. Paul (and John Calvin and Karl Barth) see the crux of the matter: Gospel-*and*-Law, in-one-breath; but *Gospel-and*-Law *in that order*. "Go and sin no more" means just that. It means that the Law is in force and is operative, that it works; thus: "Sin no more!" for the Law forbids it, and the Law *is* operative *now* because it is preceded by the power of the Good News that all men are reconciled to God and to each other.

So what the Church must do—by words and deeds—is to insist (first of all to ourselves) that the fact of reconciliation is not a human achievement but an act of God. Just how and *where* to make this proclamation has always been and will always be a vexing problem to the Church, so we should not become transfixed by it. Our times do not achieve their novelty or peculiarity by the existence of this problem. At the present moment we cannot know precisely *how* and *where* the Church can best carry out its mission to a world which insists with increasing enthusiasm that it needs no God, and having come of age must overthrow the childishness of traditional faith. One reason for this particularly serious uncertainty is that, for the first time in centuries, the atmosphere surrounding the problem of "Church and world" is beginning to clear up, so the Church must learn to walk on the water without the skiff boats of the world. But another reason for the uncertainty is to be found in the patent failure of the traditional organizations and institutions of the Church — a failure which in very large measure stems from its failure to proclaim that reconciliation is *not* a product of time and history and humanity but that reconciliation stands beyond and over time and history and humanity. In the Christian idiom, "Be reconciled!" is an eschatological proclamation and injunction, not a political or social or temporal slogan, and that is the quality of the proclamation we must make, however and whenever we make it.

* * * *

"Be reconciled!" is God's Word to man. It is the Word, as the Crucifixion and Resurrection make clear, of God's judgment on every pathetic and revolting maneuver by which we seek to reconcile ourselves by murdering our neighbor and our God. This eschatological dimension of reconciliation is what discerns the consequences of our technological wars against those who reject our presence on their continent and our domestic contradictions of racism and poverty. These are rods of God's anger and judgment against us; the eschatological dimension discerns that the consequences of our failures to be the Church is God's judgment on us; the eschatological dimension is what relates the Church to the world, the New to the Old Testament, Gospel to Law, love to judgment, the Word who came to dwell with us "in grace and truth" to the word of the Lord that came to Amos that summarizes God's judgment on us:

"For three transgressions and for four, I will not revoke the punishment . . . ."

Hence the sign that most accurately discerns our times is neither "God's" "death" nor the world's secularity or "coming of age." Rather, it is the hand of God's judgment upon us. What happened at the Crucifixion and in the Resurrection reveals that God will not indulge our attempts to reject His reconciliation of us when we substitute our schemes for His Word, no matter how seriously and how religiously we attempt the substitution. That is what the judgment of God is all about: His refusal to tolerate our denials of His reconciliation to Him and thus to each other. The judgment on us is God's judgment on all of our structures and programs and institutions and councils and committees and theologies which somehow deny and reject what He wrought at the Crucifixion and Resurrection: His reconciliation of us to Himself and to all men. To judge us, He uses His ways and plans, not our ideas. Thus he may use the troubles and blasphemies of our social and racial and political revolutions—possibly the life (with its two "conversions") of Malcolm X and the shame of and response to his murder—to judge the lack of vision in the Church and Consensus Establishment. Even the Church's rejections of God Himself are used to reconcile us through judgment. What Joseph told his brothers is a statement about God's judgment of His people's sin: "Ye meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive." This is also a statement about justification by grace.

"The time has come for judgment to begin with the household of God." A somewhat similar word came to the shepherd of Tekoa, "You only have I known of all the peoples of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities." Judgment begins on the Household of God because we — not the modern, secular world — are the ones guilty of rejecting and denying by word, silence, and deed, Christ's reconciliation of us. We are the ones who make false witness in testifying that God's reconciliation of us all is a sentimental indulgence of wickedness and murder; or a triumph of law over love, and death over resurrection; or that relevance to and contemporaneity with the world takes priority over proclamation of the Good News; or that a modern shrine designed with all the contemporary idioms of comfort and convenience is dearer to Jesus than the little ones near and far who die slowly by hunger or are killed in a moment of stark terror; or that we must deny or demythologize the eschatological dimension of the Son of Man's *judgment* that ". . . inasmuch as you have done it to the least of these, my brethren . . ."

Time enough, hopefully, to try to discern in more detail the signs of God's judgment on the household of the world in which we also take bread and lodgings. God is surely using the terrifying and almost apocalyptic consequences of the world's current arrogances and prides and death-wishes as judgment on our lack of vision and strength to bring forth justice and peace. Just as clearly, however, the rods of God's anger do "not so intend," as Isaiah warns; they do "not so think" of themselves as instruments of God's judgment and mercy.

> Shall the ax vaunt itself over him who hews with it,
> or the saw magnify itself against him who wields it?
>
> As if a rod should wield him who lifts it,
> or as if a staff should lift him who is not wood!

Something which the late H. Richard Niebuhr expressed so eloquently about the judgment of God in the Second World War we must hear and heed about our own wars, whether they be in Southeast Asia, or on poverty, injustice, racism and misery.

> The fundamental Christian assumption about divine justice may be stated . . . by saying that it is never merely punishment for sin, as though God were concerned simply to restore the balance between men by making those suffer who have inflicted suffering, but that it is always primarily punishment of sinners who are to be chastened and changed in the character which produced the sinful acts . . . War as a judgment of God is a purgatory, not a hell.
>
> Christians cannot interpret God's action in war as the judgment of vengence for another and profounder reason: the pains of war do not descend primarily on the unjust but on the innocent. Wars are crucifixions. It is not the mighty, the guides and leaders of nations and churches, who suffer most in them, but the humble. little people who have had little to do with the framing of great policies. Even pacifists in jail have little reason to think of themselves as the martyrs of war when they reflect on all the children, wives and mothers, humble obedient soldiers, peasants on the land, who in the tragedy of war are made an offering for sin.

Dr. Niebuhr penned these words in May, 1942.

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The promise and hope of the prophets always enclose their threats. To the "elected people" (cf. II Corinthians 5:15-20) this means, to borrow Tillich's phrasing, that "their destruction is their fulfillment." God's judgment on our rejection of His reconciliation does not destroy us, it fulfills us. The prophets and Jesus and Paul could never lose hope because witnessing God's action in judgment, they knew He was near and that His love was steadfast. Out of God's judgment on our denial of His reconciliation of us all will emerge new structures, formulas and leaders. As yet, however, we can not see even darkly through the glass

that shields the emergence of the new ways out of the old ways chastened by judgment. Nonetheless, it seems clear that the prophets' warning that punishment in days of judgment often fits the crime is being vindicated by a number of recent signs of our times. The callous exploitation of human and natural resources during the past century in Southern Appalachia, for example, can be found in Harry Caudill's splendid and moving "biography of a depressed area," *Night Comes to the Cumberlands.* He also pictures the resulting callousness and the impotence to face the crime we have committed. Our deep political insecurity and the erosion of our intellectual and technical capacities and economic resources that emerge from our obsession with communism and the bloated defense economy that feeds the over-kill capacity of the war machine is the subject of Professor Seymour Melman's *The Depleted Society.* Is a punishment slowly emerging in the aims, values, interests and in the style that our society seems to be assuming—a society which has been content to make a permanent use of the war-machine to prime the economy and use the cry "Guns, not Butter!" and "National Emergency!" to deny the goods, services, education, meaningful and useful employment, civil rights, and the compassion of understanding to so many of its citizens?

What of the punishment of yet another Babylonian Captivity—perhaps the better symbol is the fleshpots of Egypt—overtaking the Church because it pines for and desperately seeks to become contemporaneous with culture? This occurs during the very years that the Church wrings its hands at losing the new and affluent and modern man of suburbia or glittering tenement to SNCC, CORE, TV and what is worse, to himself. Dürer's sixteenth century "Melancolia," surrounded by the symbols of achievement and modernity, stared blankly into space. The twentieth century's "Melancolia," surrounded by the pastel tiles of the bathroom, stares with an even greater fixation of emptiness—at TV.

To be certain that the highest type of young American will choose the ministry, and then to be certain that his choice will place him in one of the most respected and intellectually honest careers, seminaries, without regard to denomination or non-denomination, struggle to keep abreast of the world's output of art, movies, literature, political science, sociology, psychology, international and national power politics, philosophy, science, history, drama, dance, television, as well as abreast of the Church's output of chicanery, deals, moves, appointments, dismissals, old feuds, new alliances, personalities, openings, theological gossip, and business, social, governmental and military connections. But American youth shrug or smile, if even they take the time to glance at these sincere and breathless efforts. Few even do us the honor of scoffing. The lack of challenge in the Church is found in the very gimmicks that were supposed to make us relevant, realistic, up-to-date, and thus alluring to the best of American youth. So now they go into the Peace Corps, and SNCC and CORE, and SDS and Appalachian Volunteers and FSM and the Viet Nam Day Committee and CNVA and Vista and COFO—without looking back. And why should they.

* * * *

What to "do" beyond attempting somehow to rectify these and other obvious sins and injustices is not obvious. Possibly the most important and relevant beginning of a movement to "do something" would be to pray in all sincerity for the humility that would enable us to confess that for once—as a Church and also as one of the national communities of the world—we are not sure what to "do" in a time of judgment. Unquestionably, whatever it is that we must do will not be easy because to act under judgment and renewal is to act in fear and trembling. Traditions and precedences which might otherwise be most useful offer neither guarantee nor assurance that what we do is fitting and proper in a time of judgment. We can try to discern signs of our times and to respond, in the assurance that when God judges us He is with us, and in the strength we have been given by His reconciliation of us all "while still in life." To live in a time of judgment is to live in a time when we experience the coming to pass of the words of the Lord to Amos—"for three transgressions, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment"—whenever we read the newspaper or listen to the news, or go to church, or attend a meeting determined "to get something done," or preach a sermon or write an article about God's judgment.

God has promised that the punishment will not be revoked. This must be seen in the light of the Good News of Christ's reconciliation of us all. The promise that the punishment *will not* be revoked is Good News not of sentimental indulgences but of the promise and the judgment that "Lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age."

In that Light, therefore: "I will not revoke the punishment."

LAW AND LOVE IN LOWNDES

WILL CAMPBELL

If one thing is clear in the New Testament it is the central theme of the triumph of grace over law. While St. Paul stopped short of a rigid antinomian position, a complete disregard for law, he did make it clear that to abide *in* grace is more radical than to abide *by* law. And such law as he did emphasize was not law in the sense of entreaties of the State to make us behave, but an ethic, the fruit of the spirit, resulting from being "in Christ." Far more radical than law was the acceptance of this freedom.

Unless and until the Christian civil rights movement goes to the white segregationist — or the Negro segregationist — with that radical word we will continue to be little more than a pitiful addendum to the humanistically oriented organizations which got along quite well without us during our long period of silence and inactivity.

The real issue now is the *failure of law* in the racial crisis. (If anyone sees a few recent "convictions" as a denial of this let him understand that "failure of law" does not have to do with conviction or acquittal but with the fact that the acts were committed.) So to go on crying, "More law!" or "Better law!" or even "Federal law!" is to beg the question. It is akin to using aspirin for a headache long after it is discovered that the headache is caused by a brain tumor. There is no question that aspirin is a remarkable drug and continues to have its place even in the presence of brain tumor. But to rush around to find better aspirin—aspirin with buffering, aspirin that will dissolve minutes faster, aspirin with a combination of ingredients—simply because that is all the pharmacist could provide, is to place too much confidence in the pharmacist and too little in his allies of medical science. The patient is dying. We are suspicious of surgery for brain tumor because Dr. John R. Brinkley and other quacks used it to graft goat reproductive organs onto human beings with the claim that it would restore one to youthful vitality.

* * * *

The Christian doctrine of grace is suspect in the area of civil rights because "the South has had that preached to it for two hundred years and it hasn't done any good." The only trouble with that claim is that it simply is not true. The folk religion of the South has been a religion of law, not of grace, and it continues to be such. As Harry Caudill observed in his recent book, *Night Comes to The Cumberland,* concerning the Appalachian South, we also have never been the Bible Belt in the sense of a depth of understanding of the Bible. He points out that many rural folk of that area—and the same is true of the lower South—did not even have Bibles, and if they had them seldom could read them.

The religion that developed in the South was a strange combination of Indian lore, old wives tales, bits of Stoic doctrine passed on by the educated artistocracy, and superstitions based on Biblical quotations remembered from the time the Methodist or Baptist itinerant preacher spent the night on his way to Natchez.

The religious problem of the South is not Biblical literalism but Biblical illiteracy.

When religion in the formal sense did move South it was generally in the form of a rigid legalism, and for much the same reason that legalism is what we are promoting today in civil rights. That reason is to solve a problem, to get people to behave in a certain way. It was assumed that it would *work*. The drunkenness, knife fighting and general unruliness of the frontier South was not conducive to the success of mine, mill and field. What better way to control that than to proclaim that the Devil will get you if you don't watch out. Thou shalt not fight, thou shalt not get drunk or cause others to get drunk through the making and selling of the stuff, and above all, thou shalt not come to work late on Monday or run away if you are a slave. That is not Biblical literalism and it is certainly not New Testament literalism, unless one wants to twist Paul's letter to Philemon into a letter to Onesimus.

And it failed. The South has the finest laws but without a corresponding relationship to its crime rate. (It is true that the F.B.I. recently rated Mississippi as having the second lowest crime rate in the nation—next to Alaska—but if one considers seventeen men accused of murdering three civil rights workers, and none of them have been either indicted or convicted, one can see that the crime rate would be accordingly lowered.)

Legalism is failing again. Whether we can see it now or not, it is failing. It fails because the first lesson man learned was how to deal with the requirements of the law. From Eve to Thomas Coleman it has been the same. The way to handle law is to interpret it. Thus, "Thou shalt not steal," means children should not take apples from other children's lunch baskets, but it does not have anything to do with price fixing, or cheap labor or the stock market. "Thou shalt not commit adultery," means unless your wife doesn't understand you. "Thou shalt not kill," means one man does not take a gun and shoot a fellow he admits he hates, but it does not apply to a nation killing thousands of men, women and children whom it claims to love.

Yet, if we seem now to advocate the repeal of recently enacted civil rights laws or oppose the passage of others we are being less than clear. And certainly we are not suggesting that love and law are contrary to each other. The point is that those of us whc should be interested in relating the two seem not be relating them at all but to be promoting the one and ignoring the other. The further point is that the one we insist on promoting continues to let us down.

If law is for the purpose of preventing crime every wail of a siren calls out its failure. Every civil rights demonstration attests to the courts' inability to provide racial justice. Every police chief who asks for a larger appropriation because of the rising crime rate is admitting his own failure. Every time a law has to be *enforced* it is a failure.

The simple fact is that for the Christian, law is an inadequate minimal. Do not even the publicans the same? If this is all we have to offer the world then Jesus Christ was of all men most mad.

Still we hear, "But the Thomas Colemans must be restrained." Exactly! Then where is the fruit? When *will* he be restrained? The truth is that he now sees a truce being signed between his two traditional enemies, Negro leaders and the Federal government. No doubt, this has been necessary in moving in the direction of simple justice, especially when he has declined offers to be a party to the truce. Be that as it may, the rejections continue, the killings go on, the hostilities mount and intensify, perhaps to be set loose wholesale again on another day when the Feds and the Marchers have all gone home, or turned to stopping the war with Venus, and what we see as the gains of this day turn out to be the rack rent of that day.

The further truth is that he has not yet been effectively restrained. Law succeeds in putting him in a cage but he continues to shoot through the bars.

If the argument now is on the basis of what will work, then let us put it there.

Few criminologists today see punishment, and especially capital punishment, as an effective deterrent to crime. I have had the frustrating experience during the past six months of working with a group on a frantic, around the clock, basis in an effort to abolish capital punishment. The argument that got the most votes in the legislature was the above finding of leading criminologists. Since that time some of those same individuals have marched in the streets over the acquittal of Thomas Coleman. When they hear, "You are after revenge," they reply, "No, not revenge. Preventative." Now this is sheer madness.

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What then do we say? Certainly we cannot say we are not interested in stopping the killings all around us. Any Christian who is not involved to his maximum in correcting the injustices of the Southern region had best examine his commitment to Christ. Certainly we cannot say we are not interested in the success of the civil rights movement. Too long we debated the number of angels on a needle point while our brothers were in chains. Certainly we cannot advocate retreating from the world into the security of established religion. God knows that didn't work! But the question is, what is one's maximum involvement? Is it law or is there a still deeper issue and involvement?

What distinctive word, what message of hope does the Christian have for the racial crisis? It may be that he has no word of hope in the sense that hope is understood generally. But he certainly has a distinctive word. That word is *The Word. The Word* become flesh.

And that *Word* leads us to the death of Jonathan Daniels and our response to it. What can one say when a brother whom we have set apart and sent forth is dead? We can say, "Our brother is dead. Let's go bury him." Then we can say a benediction. And perhaps nothing more is appropriate.

But we who set Jon Daniels apart and sent him forth have said far more than that. We got immediate appointments with the highest official of the Department of Justice. We pressured through releases and statements and marches and court stays for Federal intervention. We have said such things as: "We must have Federal initiative and involvement in the investigation and prosecution of murders . . ." And now we are considering civil proceedings of our own against the murderer of our brother. We have indicated that the President is a scoundrel for not "doing something." And worst of all we have said that unless the conditions which we have set forth are met, Jonathan will have died in vain.

Yes, that is worst of all because nothing, absolutely nothing, any of us do or do not do now will cause his death to have been in vain. That is out of our hands. He can never have died in vain because he loved his killer. By his own last written words he loved his killer. According to those words, he did not love him (that is, Selma) the first time he saw him but he loved him when he died. (If one is looking for a martyr in it all, to die at the hands of one you love for a cause in which you believe

strongly enough to let the beloved kill you is coming mighty close.) If he had loved only the Negroes with whom he lived and ate and worshipped it might have been different. Then one might set up conditions and issue ultimatums in order to get mileage out of his death, in order to have his death "mean something." But since he loved his murderer his death is its own meaning. And what that means is that Thomas Coleman is forgiven. If Jonathan forgives him, as he did when he came to love him, then it is not for me to cry for his blood. Any act on my part which is even akin to "avenging" his death is sacrilege. Vengeance negates martyrdom. It never confirms it. The sacramental act was Jonathan's, not mine.

When he loved his killer he set him free, for that is what love is. We might at least have learned that much from two thousand years of punishing Jews for killing Christ.

But apart from that, for the Christian to invoke the law of the State in this case is as absurd as it would have been for the early Christians to have gone to Court following the death of Polycarp in 155, or for the Gospel Missionary Union to have lobbyed for a war with Ecuador when Nathaniel Saint was killed at the hands of a savage Jinaro Indian mob in 1958. Jonathan was as certainly an evangelist as Polycarp. He was as certainly a missionary as Nathaniel. And any time a Christian is set apart and sent forth to proclaim the bold and offensive *Word*, death is apt to be the outcome. While I cannot find it within me to rejoice in this death, we at least must know that what happened was the worst that they could do, that all Satan can produce is death and that that enemy has been conquered by *The Word*. If Tom had understood this, he would have seen his act as one of folly. Knowing well the law, it made a lot of sense.

That is what Reinhold Niebuhr was telling us years ago when he said that admonitions that the self ought to love itself and others "are spiritually impotent." He continued:

> An insecure, impoverished self is not made more secure by the admonition to be concerned for itself; for an excessive concern for its security is the cause of its impoverishment. Nor is it made secure by the admonition to love others because that is precisely what it cannot do because of its anxiety about itself. That is why a profound religion has always insisted that the self cannot be cured by law but only by grace; and also why the profoundest forms of the Christian faith regard this preoccupation as not fully curable and therefore as requiring another kind of grace: that of forgiveness.

Of course, we are insistent in all our sayings that what we are working for is a society in which this will not happen again. But even that is troublesome. I feel comfortable enough working and marching for a society in which a man can vote, go to school, ride a bus, buy a house, get a job or burn his draft card. I, somehow, am not quite so comfortable working toward a State that will defend God against those who stone his prophets.

Perhaps to be stoned is the only witness we have left.

And might the truth of the matter be that we don't quite, not yet quite after all this time and all our learning and all our protestations of faith, trust the central theme of the Gospel, the triumph of grace over law.

The notion that a man can go to a store where a group of unarmed human beings are assembled, fire a shotgun blast at one of them, tearing his lungs and heart and bowels from his body, turn on another and send lead pellets ripping through his flesh and bones, and that God will set him free is almost more than we can stand. But unless that is precisely the case then there is no Gospel, there is no good news. Unless that is the truth we are back under law, and Christ's death and resurrection are of no account.

When Thomas killed Jonathan he commited a crime against the state of Alabama. Alabama, for reasons of its own, chose not to punish him for that crime against itself. And do we not all know what those reasons were?

When Thomas killed Jonathan he commited a crime against God. The strange, the near maddening thing about this case is that both these offended parties have rendered the same verdict—not for the same reasons, not in the same way, but the verdict is the same — acquittal.

The Christian response here is not to damn the "acquittal by *law*," but to proclaim the "acquittal by *resurrection*." One frees him to go and kill again. The other liberates him to obedience to Christ. Acquittal by law was the act of Caesar. Render unto him what is his. The State, by its very nature and definition, can do anything it wills to do — Hitler proved that much. Acquittal by **resurrection was the act of God. And He has entrusted us with that message.**

Thomas also commited a crime against Jonathan. And Jonathan rendered a similar verdict when he loved him.

But he also commited an offense against us, against those of us who set Jonathan apart and sent him forth. Thus far we have come out worst of all.

Perhaps it is because we are afraid of the Colemans of this world. Perhaps it is because he rebuffed us in the Delta and elsewhere. But worse than either of these it may be that we just plain do not love him.

The blood that is on our hands is more than that of Daniels and Reeb, Schwermer and Lee, Cheney and Goodman, Evers and Jackson. The blood that is on our hands is the immortal souls of the Colemans and the Raineys. They did it in the name of Jesus Christ.

That makes them blasphemers. If we, the righteous ones, the children of light, can offer them only law for their deliverance we are approaching the point of joining them in that offense.

If he persists in his blasphemy, and we in ours, we may yet be integrated with him—but in Hell. What then have *we* overcome?

A few years ago I heard a civil rights leader say to a group of whites, "If I come in a restaurant and sit down near you I don't care if you hate me. I don't care if you vomit in your plate. Just don't keep me from sitting there." This is understandable. This may even be what simple justice is about and let us not minimize its importance. But it falls far short of the reconciliation affected by a crucified God.

That *Event*, that *Word* assures his right to the table because it abolished such worldly categories as race. And it stops the vomiting in the plate. That is what reconciliation is about. That is what God has done. Emmanuel.

The nine poems in this issue were written by Robert Stewart, a native of Texas who teaches in The Department of English at United College, Winnipeg, Manitoba. He holds degrees from Kenyon College and Yale University. His poetry has appeared in **New World Writing, Canadian Forum,** and **The Queen's Quarterly.**

END OF THE FALL

ROBERT STEWART

Down windy streets through leaves that fly I walk
while over all Connecticut October
is turning sober.
Drunkard of seasons, now let's sit and talk.

The step here looks presentable and warm
(west wind is chilly but this house will break it),
so why not take it
kindly, as offers made for love not form.

Will you excuse me if I seem abrupt,
I am not looking for a monstrous moral
and do not quarrel
with your intoxication—interrupt
if you feel moved to do so, time is ours,
the sun is not straight up yet. But my humor
(you know the rumor)
is to ask why brown leaves and faded flowers?

SEASON

I heard one rumor in the trees all night,
the wind of winter's killing breath loud blowing.
I must be going.
I naturally do not grudge his right.

I wear these not for death, much less for pleasure
I would repent. The red towns which I painted
I reacquainted
with that clear crop the monthly creatures measure.

Nature was blessed, wine was bright with the tang,
and I am not ungrateful for fruition.
No, my contrition
is not contrite, but lord! it has its pang.

MAN

If you do not fear death and have no sins,
what makes you low, what makes you so hung-
over?
Be like a lover
who thinks, if old love passes, new begins.

SEASON

Old pandar wisdom—but no use to me.
It is my brother comes again. The season
(and here's my reason)
once past is past like a broken wave at sea.

MAN

True, true indeed, but in the winter dawn
came Christ the King across the shining portal
to make immortal
all joy that is although past time is gone.

SEASON

Ah, I was not there then and that's the pain,
nor have I yet been called there since that coming.
You men, whose drumming
harries the nations to their arms again,

yours is that blessing; but you scuff the straw,
averse to what beset the star-bright stable,
turning a table
of hospitality back into law.

Of strength itself law splits the heart, cracks
through
the soundest bones, sucking their lively marrow.
And lost that sparrow
the wan wolf spies fall far afield like you.

MAN

Absolute trust prevents the wolfish meal
for every sparrow in his single flying.
But there is dying
of others. Law is our prayer to heal.

The Lord have mercy on our failure, we
try to do things he could and would do. Loving,
we must be moving;
and moving, we turn our back on charity.
The pity of it—see—puts out the sun,
and you and I must thus consent to parting.
The snow, now starting,
brings round the prayer, and so our best is done.

PRAYER

Now O calm King, come out through the gold door,
come Christ, the peoples' hope, the peoples' savior,
let fall behavior
evoke your great re-entrance. Come once more.

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The Failure and the Hope

WALKER PERCY

Those of us in the South who call ourselves Christians have come face to face with the most critical and paradoxical moment in our history. The crisis is the Negro revolution. The paradox lies in this: that the hope for the future — and both the hope and the promise, in my opinion and for reasons which shall follow, were never greater —requires as its condition of fulfillment the strictest honesty in assessing the dimensions of our failure.

What lies at issue is whether or not the South will bring to bear its particular tradition and its particular virtues to humanize a national revolution which is in the main secular and which is going to be accomplished willy-nilly with or without the Christian contribution—or whether it will yield the field by default.

The failure of the Christian in the South has been both calamitous and unremarkable. And perhaps that is the worst of it: that no one finds the failure remarkable, not we who ought to know better, not the victims of our indifference who confess the same Christ, and not even the world who witnessed our failure. No one was surprised. The world which said many years ago, "See how the Christians love one another," would presumably have been surprised if these earlier Christians had violated each other or turned their backs upon the violation. Now as then the children of the world are wiser than the children of light: they witnessed the failure we concealed from ourselves and found it not in the least remarkable.

The world in fact does not think badly of us. It holds us generally speaking to be good, an asset to the community. The sickness of Christendom may lie in fact in this: that we are judged by the world and even to a degree have come to judge ourselves as but one of a number of "groups" or institutions which have a "good" impact on society. One thinks of those panel programs and seminars on educational TV which set out to explore the means of combatting juvenile delinquency, crime in the streets, drug addiction and so on. Someone on the panel usually gets around to listing the forces for good in the community which can be enlisted in the battle. There is the home, the schools, the labor unions, the business community; and there are the churches . . . .

And in the matter of racial injustice, the churches are treated with the same respectful impartiality. The media approvingly report the news that such and such a bishop has integrated the parochial schools or that this or that minister has joined a bi-racial committee, in much the same tone with which they report that IBM has set up its own Fair Employment Practices Committee. The bad behavior of Christians is not treated as any worse or more scandalizing than bad behavior anywhere else. When God is invoked by the Klan and the Citizens' Councils, when ministers open the meeting with a prayer; when white Catholics in Louisiana get in fist fights with Negro Catholics on the church steps, nobody cries shame. The world does not laugh and in fact is not even pleased. Because, as everyone knows, churches are, generally speaking, on the list of good institutions and

do in fact make valuable contributions to the community — along with the home, the school, the media . . . .

Christians in the South should, of all people, know better. Or perhaps it is more accurate to say that if they don't know better then Christendom is indeed sick unto death. But in their heart of hearts they do know better. Because the South, more so than the rest of the country, is still Christ-haunted, to use an expression of Flannery O'Connor. Whatever the faults of the South, it is perhaps the only section of the United States where the public and secular consciousness is still to a degree informed by theological habits of thought, the old notions of sin, of heaven and hell, of God's providence, however abused and shopworn these notions may be. Flannery O'Connor, a Catholic novelist, counted it her great good fortune to have been born and raised and to work in the Protestant South. In the Catholic novel she claimed, "the center of meaning will be Christ and the center of destruction will be the devil." The South has always known this, even when its morality was mainly concerned with sex and alcohol to the exclusion of ordinary human cruelty. And the Southerner is apt to inherit, almost despite himself, a theological turn of mind. More likely than not he has grown up in a place drenched in tragedy and memory and to have known first hand a rich and complex world of human relationships which are marked by a special grace and a special cruelty and guilt.

Our region, I submit, is to a larger degree informed by theological habits of thought than the rest of the country. And those of us who are professing Christians have better reason than most to understand the theological basis and consequences of our actions and less excuse to fall victim to the sociological heresy which sees the Church as but one among several "good" institutions which can be used to engineer a democratic society.

It is all the more shameful then that the failure is precisely a theological failure. How much more tolerable would have been our position if it had fallen out otherwise, if we could have said to the secular liberals of the Northern cities: yes, it is true that we differ radically from you in our view of the nature of man and the end of man, that we have reservations about your goal of constructing the city of God here and now; further, we don't like some of the things you tolerate in your perfect city. But we applaud your attack on the perennial evils of poverty, inhumanity and disease, and we too believe that men can be reconciled here and now but that they can only be reconciled through the meditation of God and the love of men for God's sake. We strive for the same goals; we say only that you deceive yourself in imagining that you can achieve these goals without God.

But we can't even say that. The defect has occurred on the grounds of our own choosing. The failure has been a failure of love, a violation of that very Mystical Body of Christ which we have made our special property at the risk of scandalizing the world by our foolishness. A scandal has occurred right enough, but it has not been the scandal intended by the Gospels. The failure, that is to say, has occurred within the very order of *sin* which we have taken so seriously and the world so lightly. Where we have failed worst is not in the sphere of community action wherein little store is set by theological values. Churches indeed have not done at all badly in discharging their sociological functions, combatting juvenile delinquency and broken homes and alcoholism. The failure has been rather the continuing and unreflecting cruelty of Christians toward the Negro, the Negro considered not as beloved household pet ("Cruelty? No! Why, I would do anything for Uncle Ned and he for me!") but considered as member of the same Mystical Body, freed and dignified by the same covenant which frees and dignifies us. The sin has been the sin of omission, specifically the Great Southern Sin of Silence. During the past ten years, the first ten years of the Negro revolution, a good deal was heard about the "good" people of the South, comprising the vast majority, who deplored the violence and who any day would make themselves felt. But these good people are yet to be heard from. If every Christian era has its besetting sin, the medieval Church its inquisitional cruelty, 18th Century Anglicanism its Laodiceanism, the 20th Century Christian South might well be remembered by its own peculiar mark: *silence.*

The default of the white Southern Christian was revealed in its proper ironic perspective by the Civil Rights movement itself. When the good people of the South did not come forward when they were needed, their burden was shouldered by, of all people, the liberal humanist who, like the man St. Paul speaks of in his epistle to the Ephesians, is stranger to every covenant, with no promise to hope for, the world about him and no God—but who nevertheless was his brother's keeper. In the deep South of the nineteen sixties, the man who nursed the sick, bound his wounds, taught the ignorant, fed the hungry, went to jail with the imprisoned, were not the Christians of Birmingham or Bogalusa but were, more likely than not, the young CORE professionals or COFO volunteers, Sarah Lawrence sociology majors, agnostic Jewish social workers like Mickey Schwerner, Camus existentialists and the like.

It is possible for a Southerner to criticize his region in the harshest possible terms, not because he thinks the South is worse than the rest of the country and can only be saved by the Berkeley-Cambridge axis but for the exactly opposite reason: that, in spite of her failures, he suspects that it may very likely fall to the destiny of the South to save the country from the Berkeley-Cambridge axis. If this should prove the case, it is not simply because cities like Los Angeles and New York are exhibiting an almost total paralysis and fecklessness when confronted with Watts and Harlem, while at the same time Atlanta and Greenville are doing comparatively better. (Truthfully I think the South is "doing better" for an odd mixture of Southern and Northern reasons, none of which have much to do with Christianity, for example, Southern good humor and social grace plus a sharp Yankee eye for the dollar and the "public image.") No, the criticism is levelled and the game is worth the candle because, at least in one Southerner's opinion, the ultimate basis for racial reconciliation must be theological rather than legal and sociological and that in the South, perhaps more than in any other region, the civil and secular consciousness is still sufficiently informed by a theological tradition to provide a sanction for racial reconciliation. (By contrast, the Catholic Church in other parts of the country also provides a powerful sanction but it is a purely religious sanction and not necessarily reflected in the habitual attitudes of civil bodies such as legislatures and school boards.) The South can, that is, if she wants to. She can just as easily choose the opposite course, like Protestant South Africa.

II

The thesis that it may fall to the South to save the Union just as it fell to the North one hundred years ago, might appear not merely paradoxical but in the highest degree fanciful. Yet there are, I believe, good and sufficient reasons for entertaining special hopes for the future, not the least of which is the coming into being of peculiarly Southern groups of Christian churchmen. Like Israel, the South is still killing God's messengers, men like Reeb, Daniel, and Morrisroe, but at least she is killing them and not ignoring them, or worse, conferring upon them lukewarm Civitan honors. And now she may have new prophets.

There are also historical reasons which are largely negative and have to do with the failure of other "good" traditions, traditions which, noble though they might have been and still are, do not perhaps possess the interior resources of renewal which seems to be the perennial and saving gift of Christianity. These failures have cleared the ideological air as it has not been cleared since the first slave came ashore in Virginia. In the failure of old alternatives, future choices become plainer.

The traditions in question and their respective historical difficulties are: (1) the collapse of the old-style "good" white man in the South and the dramatic disintegration of his alliance with the Negro, and (2) the on-going demoralization of the secular urban-suburban middle-class society, the very culture from which so many of the Civil Rights activists derive.

The thesis of this article, for which there is not room to lay the proper ground, let alone defend, is that the major ideological source of racial moderation in the South has not been Christian at all but Stoic, that this tradition has now collapsed, that in spite of its nobility (or perhaps because of its nobility) it possessed fatal weaknesses and therefore served as a distracting and confusing alternative to racism, and finally that its collapse has confronted Christians with a crucial test the outcome of which will be unequivocal triumph or unequivocal disaster. The chips, that is to say, are down and it is time they were.

The degree of reconciliation achieved under this noble and mainly non-Christian ethic was more considerable than is generally realized. As a result of the old "fusion principle", as it was known, the Negro in the deep South enjoyed more civil rights in the period immediately following Reconstruction than at any time afterwards—until the last few months. Restaurants and trains were not segregated. Congressman Catchings of Mississippi, one of the noblest of the Old Redeemers, reported that there were more Negro officeholders in his district than in the entire North. This alliance, it is important to note, was struck between the Negro and the white conservative against the poor whites and the Radical Republicans. It has been this same white conservative leadership which in many parts of the South exerted a more or less consciously moderate racial influence even after it was politically overwhelmed by the latter-day Populist-racists, Vardaman, Heflin, Bilbo and their followers. The old alliance with the Negro was in part politically motivated. But it also had a strong moral basis. It is the contention here that this morality was paternalistic and Stoic in character and that it derived little or none of its energies from Christian theology. Even in those instances where the best Southern leaders were, like Robert E. Lee, professing Christians, James McBride Dabbs has shown that there was a strong Stoic component in their character formation. Perhaps the most distinguishing mark and, as it turned out, the greatest weakness of the Stoic morality, was its exclusively

personal character and its consequent indifference to the social and political commonweal. The Stoic took as his model, either consciously or unconsciously, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius who wrote in his *Meditations*, "Every moment think steadily, as a Roman and a man, to do what thou hast in hand with perfect and simple dignity and a feeling of affection and freedom and justice." Such a moral ideal, lofty as it is, has largely to do with the housekeeping of one's interior castle, specifically the maintenance of its order and the brightness of one's personal honor. In the light of such a code, the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ wherein each of us is a member, one of another, and no one is inviolate in the precincts of his soul, must remain incomprehensible.

But it was they, the Stoics, who lived by their lights and we who did not. The best of them kept the old broadsword virtues while the Christians by and large egregiously sinned against their own commandments, through commission and omission —in the latter case through an impoverished morality restricted largely to rules for the use of sex and alcohol. It was the Christians in the South who supplied the main ideological support for slavery. It is the Christians now who still underwrite segregation with Levitical quotations and Ham-Shem sociology. Nor is it enough to say that Christ was no social reformer and that St. Paul wasn't worried about freeing slaves. Where the Southern Christian failed was on his own ground, in his own performance in the face of here-and-now cruelty and suffering and inhumanity.

Even when the Christian did come to the aid of the afflicted and abused Negro, he often did so for Stoic reasons, with the old benevolence and the sense of personal bond toward Uncle Ned and Aunt Jemima but without that larger and more mysterious charity which at one and the same time binds men close and sets them free, one of another, and does not keep books on gratitude.

Most of us have known the old tradition first hand and recall it with affection and admiration. I remember in the most vivid way long conversations with my uncle about the plantation system. At that time — in the 1930's — the sharecropper system was coming under heavy attack from "Northern liberals." As a planter, my uncle felt that the attacks were unjust. He believed that the sharecropper system was an outgrowth of a natural partnership between the Confederate veterans who had nothing left but the land and the Negroes who had nothing but their labor. No doubt he was right. To justify its use in modern times, he cited his own experience and that of his friends, who dealt with their tenants, more than honorably, serving also as father and friend. To behave with dishonor was to these men a detestable thing, but to mistreat a Negro was unthinkable, precisely because the Negro was helpless. But other men, a great many other men, were not so scrupulous. And the Negro remained helpless, precisely because he had no entity in the public order of things and neither law nor religion felt constrained to underwrite such an entity.

We may speak now of the old tradition without fear of patronizing it, because it was it and not the Christian tradition which fleshed out some of the noblest men this country has produced. We may go even further. As Dabbs wrote in his remarkable book, *Who Speaks for the South?*, the final evidence that there was something wrong with the South as a society, that in the last analysis it was not a great society, was that it produced neither saints nor great artists.

Stoic excellence, in short, was not enough. Its code had little relevance in the social and political order. For not only was there the tendency to wash one's hands of prevailing social evils, there was ever the temptation to *Schadenfreude*, the peculiar sin of the Stoic, a grim sort of pleasure to be taken in the very deterioration of society, the crashing of the world about one's ears. Southern literature is full of direful, eschatological — and pleasurable — reports of the decline and fall of both the South and the United States.

Though it was defeated politically around 1890, the Stoic tradition has persisted until recently. Nearly everyone in the South has known someone like Atticus Finch in *To Kill a Mockingbird* with his quite Attic sense of decency (and his correspondingly low regard for Christianity) and his courage before the lynch mob. It is, however, this very Stoic tradition which has finally collapsed as a significant influence in the Southern community. The old conservative often became the new conservative, that is, a segregationist and "States' Righter." The force for moderation is now more likely to be the business man — the "power structure" — the mayor, the manager of the new IBM center or the NASA complex who wants no part of the K.K.K. or the Citizens' Councils, though for reasons which have nothing to do with Christ or with Marcus Aurelius.

The ideological vacuum created by the failure of the gentle tradition has been filled not by Christians but by other elements, the moderate business community and the secular reformer. The Christian clergy has been increasingly active but the inertness of cultural Christendom is well-known. Is it possible that this well-known lag between clergy and laity can be traced to still viable Stoic

elements in Christendom considered as a cultural artifact which one inherits more or less passively as he inherits language and custom?

There is not much doubt about the existence of such a lag. An increasingly familiar fact of life in the Southern parish, Protestant and Catholic, has come to be the tension between the "radical" new minister or priest and his "conservative" flock. There are the usual grumblings about brainwashing in the seminary. But is this lag to be understood in purely socio-political terms of liberal *vs* conservative? I think not, because this particular bias has proved quite as refractory to pulpit appeals as to political appeals. I suspect that a good deal of the offense taken can be laid to a fundamental Stoic offense to any demand for public appeal and political morality. There is still the old reflex which somehow rules the preacher out of bounds when he talks about social morality as well as sexual morality. The very man who will get up at all hours to get Ol' Jim out of jail and even risk his life to protect Ol' Jim from the lynch mob is also outraged when Jim's sons demand better schools and better police — not come hat in hand but demand them as ordinary rights of a citizen. And of course the fact is that many of the old-style "good" people, both Christian and Stoic, have now turned against the Negro because of what they deem his "insolence." "If the Negro had not become aggressive," a good Christian man told me the other day, "I'd still be on his side. It is these demonstrations, his *demanding* rights of me, which changed my attitude." Of *me*? Here is the heart of the matter certainly: it is where the rights are deemed to come from which causes the offense.

Such a response can be traced, I believe, to an antique Southern preoccupation, not with theology, as a rule of social intercourse, but with *manners*. By manners I do not refer in this context to that courtesy which one Christian awards another by virtue of the infinite value he assigns to the other's person but rather to manners understood as a primary concern with an intercourse of gesture, a minuet of overture and response. It is an economy of gesture which in its accounting of debits and credits, of generosity given and gratitude expected, of face and loss of face, which is almost Oriental. (Note also the similarities of the classic Stoic tradition with certain Oriental moral philosophies.) A great part of the social intercourse between whites and Negroes in the South, I daresay, was founded on a complex and meticulously observed protocol of manners. And it came to pass that an extraordinary social fabric was woven between black and white using these very elements and in the face of the most trying circumstances. Nor is this to say that this Southern tradition of manners is irrelevant to the problems of the day. It would be a great pity indeed if the ordinary everyday good manners of Southerners, black and white, should be overturned in the present revolution.

But the American Negro in 1965 may reply that the social graces of his ancestors in Alabama didn't in the end do him or them much good. It is his present "bad manners" which now offend his old ally—though in all honesty I must admit that the opposite seems the case: the continued "good manners" of the Southern Negro is nothing short of amazing. The point is of course that in a society based largely on an intercourse of manners even the mildest public and political action taken to redress grievances is apt to be received as a code infraction and hence "bad manners."

The old alliance failed through a fatal weakness which now stands revealed. It was based primarily on personal relationships and never really possessed the interior resources, political or religious, through which the integrity of the Negro's person could be guaranteed in its own right.

What is the lesson? The lesson is surely that at the very time the old order has collapsed and new social forces are beginning to stir the South from its long sleep, the Christian laity is still responding with old cultural reflexes to a new and somewhat unmannered order of things. Surely also, the remedy is theological, not merely preaching a gospel of reconciliation, but teaching: setting forth, that is, what is the case as well as what ought to be. What is the case is that the Christian porch is no longer habitable, that pleasant site of cultural Christendom neither quite inside the church nor altogether in the street from which one had the best of both, church on Sundays and at Baptism and marriage and death, and the rest of the time lived in the sunny old Stoa of natural grace and good manners. It doesn't work now.

III

The Negro in the South has a new ally. He is not the old-style gentleman or Stoic or quasi-Christian but rather the liberal humanist who is, more likely than not, frankly post-Christian in his beliefs. The clergy has been active in the Civil Rights movement, sometimes heroically so, but the impetus has not in the main been theological—except among black Southern Christians but even in this case to a decreasing degree, especially among the younger Negroes. Among the volunteers of the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964, it was the exception rather than the rule to come across anyone who had come to Mississippi to implement Christian principles even though the project was

sponsored by the National Council of Churches. It was rarer still to find a Southern Christian layman. And yet they were on the whole an earnest and admirable young group.

Here is a point of view, not at all atypical, expressed by one of the volunteers,

> Along with my Core class I teach a religion class at one every afternoon and a class on non-violence at four fifteen . . . In religion they are being confronted for the first time with people they respect who do not believe in God and with people who do believe in God but who do not take the Bible literally. It's a challenging class because I have no desire to destroy their belief, whether Roman Catholic or Baptist, but I want them to look at things critically and to learn to separate fact from myth in all areas, not just religion.

There is no reason to doubt this statement—that this young person does not wish Baptists and Catholics to lose their faith—though a good deal could be written about the assumptions and begged questions behind the statement. What is noteworthy perhaps is a lack of seriousness, a certain casualness with which the perennially mooted religious questions are assumed to be disposed of. The old animus against the Christian proposition has been replaced by a shrug. Here, at any rate, is the new "good" man, a person of unquestionable good will and earnestness who explicitly disavows orthodox Christian belief. She places her confidence, not on the old verities, but on "facts" (that is to say, observable and replicable phenomena) and on social techniques.

This secularization of the Civil Rights movement has been largely misunderstood in the South. The failure of Southern Christendom has not only been theological—a default in the duty of reconciliation—but prophetic in its blindness both to what happened and what is to come. Confronted by a revolutionary and to a large degree non-Christian movement and obfuscated by his own Stoic reading of race relations—"we have nothing but love for our Negroes and they for us" etc.—the Southern Christian has all too often made the unhappy mistake of labelling the Civil Rights movement as Communist, immoral, Unamerican and so on. Apparently there are a few Communists involved and apparently there has been some sexual misbehavior, but this is not an occasion for rejoicing. The reason the Christian racist goes to such lengths to discredit the new allies of the Negro and is so pleased when they uncover sexual sin is not hard to discover. For the bitterest pill for him to swallow is the fact, hardly to be contested and which in his heart he does not contest, that the Negro revolution is mainly justified, mainly peaceful (from the side of the Negroes) and mainly American. For to admit this hard reality would entail *pari passu* a confession of his own failure.

How stands the Christian then vis-a-vis the challenge of the new-style "good" man? Better off than before, I think, and less compromised than he was in his relation to the old-style Stoic quasi-Christian gentleman.

The present hope is to be found, paradoxically as it is often the case with Christian hope, in the very extremity of the failure. The old Christian porch, that is to say, is becoming increasingly uninhabitable by moderately serious persons, which is to say our best young people. It is surely not too much to say that if Southern Christendom does not soon demonstrate the relevance of its theology to the single great burning social issue in American life, it runs the risk of becoming ever more what it in fact to a degree already is, the pleasant Sunday lodge of conservative Southern business men which offends no one and which no one takes seriously.

The larger hope and opportunity of the Christian gospel lies of course in the terrible dilemma of the new "good" man himself, the denizen, we might call him, of the victorious technological-democratic society. A great deal has been written about him and his Twentieth Century sickness. Suffice it here to say only what he has said about himself: that the very urban and middle-class society from which has come so many of the earnest young revolutionaries is itself marked by the malaise and anomie and other symptoms of the new sickness. There is nothing new in this. Indeed preachers speak every Sunday about the emptiness of modern man and the One who can fill the emptiness. And they are right. But God help us here in the South (or in Chicago or Los Angeles) if we imagine that reconciliation is not our business here and now and that all we have to do is convert the Communists and bring Christ to the "empty modern man." Because these latter are not going to be listening. The fruits, by which they had every right to know us, were too meagre.

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Southern Indirection | The Southerner and Time

JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS

After ten days in the South, a Northern acquaintance said to me once, "I don't understand you Southerners. I ask a straight question and never get a straight answer. You turn it off, you tell a story, you just don't notice." "Elizabeth!" I said. "Do you really expect to get a straight answer from a Southerner? Why, for several hundred years white Southerners have been talking with colored Southerners without getting a straight answer. The Negroes had better sense. They told the whites what the whites wanted to hear. Finally, everybody—that is, everybody—got to talking in circles. Listening to two Southerners talk is like watching two dogs meet: they go 'round and 'round each other. When a Southerner comes at you straight, he's getting dangerous."

This indirectness is rooted in both good and evil. Its evil root is cowardice. For a long time now we have been afraid to face basic issues; for the issue underlying all others has been the race issue. Since we didn't know how to handle this, there was a silent agreement to let it alone. "Thank God," says a character in a Southern novel, "some folks got sense enough to forget what they ain't got courage to change." So we have tried to forget the basic issue. But if we cannot raise the basic issue, then we can hardly raise any issue; for question leads on to question and suddenly we're facing the unfaceable.

Of course, you may call this good sense, and we've usually called it this—when we've thought about it. But it is good sense bought at the price of judgment and wisdom; we have practiced getting along; we haven't really tried to solve our problems.

On the other hand, this way the Southerner has of walking around people is also rooted in wisdom. In respect for other people. In the belief that there's an inner private life, where a man is alone with his conscience and his God. Trying not to intrude upon this privacy, we walk around a person, finding out where he stands, what connections he has, what relations, most importantly who are his relatives, his family, his kinfolks. The typical question addressed to the stranger is, "Where're you from?" What place, what family, what people? And, after all, this is about all you can surely know about anybody. You learn this, and then you guess what kind of person he is.

This hesitation about probing the inner life of a man is rooted, therefore, both in fear and in respect. It's the way we've learned to look at life; it's a part of Southern culture. What would Christianity say about it?

It would have to say that the roots that reach down to fear are unchristian, and that this fear is the judgment of God upon us for our subordination and mistreatment of an entire race. We are all afraid, whites and Negroes together, that we may raise questions that may lead to violence. "Let sleeping dogs lie," we say.

The roots that reach down to respect are deeply touched by Christianity. But this respect needs to be softened and deepened by compassion. Our culture makes us aware of the essential loneliness of the individual. Birth and death are private, and all the great crises between. But Christianity makes us aware that, though we are separated from one another in this world, we are still one in God; that underlying the private world of everyone of us is the great public, the universal, world, where we rest at last in God, in whom even now we live and move and have our being.

Southerners have more time than other Americans. In the first place, the early settlers brought more time with them: they brought more of the past, more of Old England, than did the Puritan settlers of New England. The Puritans fled from a corrupt England to set up the Kingdom of God in New England; the Southerners did not think of themselves as leaving a wicked world behind to set up the Kingdom of God ahead. They brought, therefore, more of their past, thus enriching their present. The present became not simply the ground for future hope, it was also the memory of past life.

Not only did Southerners bring more time with them, they've always taken more time. They've had more leisure and they've valued it more. There's a story of the great American historian, Francis Parkman, which illustrates this by contrast. While exploring in the West, Parkman shot a beautiful antelope. The expressive eyes of the dying animal reminded him of a woman's eyes, and "If I'd had time," he said, "I could have felt remorse. But I didn't have time." Southerners have had time, and it is partly because of this that, though we have done our share of evil, we have been inclined to feel remorseful and guilty. We have had time to think about our sins. Too seldom, alas, have we had time to repent of them.

This brings us to the whole matter of racial injustice. White Southerners have been unjust to Negroes generally, but, when we had time to think about it, we often felt remorse. It is ironic that it was from the labor of the Negro that we gained time to feel remorse about our treatment of him. Of course, only a few whites gained this leisure; but, because of the position of these, leisure became an ideal. Southerners generally haven't had to apologize for moving slowly, for taking time to play, indeed for working sometimes as if they were playing. Negro Southerners have valued leisure even more than white Southerners, mainly because they couldn't make as much out of their work, and couldn't see so clearly, therefore, the advantages of the future.

Actually, it doesn't matter now how Southerners came to have a sense of the richness of the present. In rather sharp contrast with other Americans, they have it. We didn't plan it this way; this is the way it worked out. From the Christian point of view, this is the grace of God working among us. What we do with this sense determines whether it will bless us or curse us. If we merely use the leisure gained for our own physical pleasure, or if we continue to use leisure which we do not ourselves earn but take from the hard work of others—then this grace of God will become his judgment, and we shall find ourselves increasingly separated from other people, from the world, and from God. For, as Jesus said, my Father works till now, and I work; and in one way or another, in fear and trembling, we are always working out our salvation.

Working it out in this world, in time. Working out of time into eternity. Perhaps this is what life is for; perhaps this is what the world is for: to learn how to live beyond it. We shall not pass into eternity except as we pass through time; we shall not find eternal life except as we find temporal life; and temporal life is now, in this moment, not in the past or the future. He who really lives in the moment, probing its depths, exploring its possibilities, may at some unforseen moment find himself, though still alive and in the flesh, in eternity. Then will the truly saving grace of God be manifested to him and in him.

Living richly in time the Southerner, often unaware, is moving along the borders of eternity.

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The Crisis In Christian Leadership

CHARLES E. RICE

The presence of Christians in the public struggle for racial justice is a matter of fact. This phenomenon may yet overshadow the ecumenical movement as the great new fact of our era. The sheer notoriety of Christians among civil rights demonstrators has engaged the attention of Americans of every rank and denomination. Black and white have stood with the minority race and have faced firehoses, police dogs, jail terms and murder.

No one can know how much the role of Christians has determined the character of the contest for racial justice, for the end of this movement is not in sight. Neither can we know yet what impact the behavior of the Christian demonstrators will have on the churches. The latter question is already a critical one for the white churches. It will surely become more critical than is now apparent for the Negro churches. Regardless of the outcome of the civil rights movement, therefore, the churches are confronted with a crisis in Christian leadership. Legislative progress in civil rights has not and will not diminish or resolve the problem for Christians, because the very nature of Christian leadership and the mission of the Church have been called into question.

The problem about Christian leadership takes shape if we review the recent history of white Christian involvement in the cause of civil rights. In the beginning was "the pronouncement." Denominational bodies, state and national councils of churches vied for press attention with their resolutions, most of which merely echoed and can be dated by the watershed ruling by the Supreme Court in 1954 on school desegregation. In a document billed as "A Message to American Christians" by the National Council of Churches of Christ in 1952, for example, there is scant mention of racial equality as an urgent Christian theme.

At best, the pronouncements, before or after 1954, are not impressive as documents of a peculiarly Christian sensitivity and influence. They bear the stamp of the professional which events have shown is far from indicative of faith and practice in the churches. The timing of these documents betrays little influence on the political machinery of the country. The judicial, legislative, and executive efforts for racial justice cannot be pointed out to our children as Christian milestones. The only notable effect of the pronouncements was the polemic fever which they evoked in segregationists.

The first concrete sign of Christian leadership in the civil rights arena came with the advent of "token" school integration. The white clergymen emerged as the prominent example of Christian response. At first he seemed swept into the action more as a victim than as an instigator. He merely happened to be where the action was. He was the pastor in Little Rock, Clinton, or New Orleans who could not stand by while Negro children en route to school, were taunted and bullied by adult toughs and agitators. Whether his behavior was lauded or cursed, his action and the events which prompted it now seem long ago and far away. He was but the prelude to a more deliberate and more provocative clerical involvement in public events.

The publicity which has accrued to professional Christian leadership in recent years is without parallel in Christian history. The clergyman via the mass media has been made visible around the world as a figure in sit-ins, kneel-ins, and marches for civil rights. Bishops, mothers of bishops, priests, deacons, nuns, preachers in business suits, and seminarians have been a part of the big picture. Inevitably, they have projected through the land a new kind of specialized ministry—the Movement Ministry. The peripatetic parson now—all of a sudden—claims the world of civil rights as his parish.

This new form of Christian leadership or ministry leaps all lines of denomination and doctrine. The Movement Christian has developed a special kind of missionary strategy. He is writing manuals designed to help the initiate learn Movement tactics. The substance of evangelism is the enlistment of other Christians in the cause. The Movement itself is his orthodoxy, even though he may be aligned with a particular denominational social action group. His recital of experiences in places like Selma or Bogalusa takes on almost cultic significance. His liturgical calendar is rapidly being filled with a host of the newly martyred.

We cannot question the faith or courage of the Movement Christian. We can, however, question the mixed blessing which his witness has produced for the identity and mission of all Christians. He has reinforced two ancient stumbling blocks of the Christian ministry: professionalism and individualism.

Much of the effectiveness of the Christian Movement leadership is inseparable from the image of the professional cleric. For good or ill, it is tagged more as clergy behavior than as Christian vocation. Understandably, much of the resistance to this role is, in part, anti-clericalism. This feeling is underscored when one assassin reports his deed with the words: "I've just shot two preachers."

The individualism of the Christian role in the civil rights movement is even more pronounced, and perhaps more fatal, than the professionalism. Individualism is *the* all-American virtue by which each man acts according to the dictates of his singular conscience. He may, in the name of conscience, defy all other authority on earth. He may defy the Bishop, the law of the state, the Supreme Court, local taboos, or whatever. And this virtue has thus far been the only common denominator of Christian behavior in the social struggle for civil rights. It has been the first and last resort of the Movement Christian and, ironically, it has been the first and last resort of the segregationist Christian.

The Movement Christian has made a powerful witness in behalf of a cause—the cause of justice for the Negro. This much cannot be gainsaid. But the character of his witness has not and cannot by its very nature be heard as judgment upon the willful, rampant individualism which is the besetting sin of all American Christians. The white, segregationist Christian has not renounced Christ as he understands Christ. The question of loyalty to Christ and the issue of Christian identity and mission is obscured so long as both sides cast it in terms of good guys and bad guys.

II

The behavior of individual Christians cannot be described as Christian leadership unless it illuminates the peculiar and common mission of Christians, that is to say, the vocation of the Church. The performance of Christians in the civil rights movement has so far produced no decisive signs of renewal of the Church. Those who had devoutly hoped that this renewal would come through the Movement have by now found other reasons for staying in the Movement. The white churches, meanwhile, have perpetuated themselves without notable misgivings about their identity and mission. History, ecclesiastical or secular, cannot record that the churches as institutions were significant factors in the racial crisis of our generation.

There have been, of course, militant and vocal pockets in the churches but, at best, they have revived old schisms and provoked new ones. The twin evils of clericalism and laicism, as we have noted, have been fanned to a warm glow. Distrust, bitterness and strife have erupted. No amount of clever public relations work or slick image building can deliver us from our crisis. The Church needs more than remodeling; she needs renewal. The potential leadership for renewal meanwhile seems stalemated on the issue of race.

The difficulties now confronting Christian leadership are much deeper than the issue of race. Long before the racial struggle assumed its present grievous proportions, we were in trouble as the Church. Our ineptness and frustration in this particular social upheaval is but a symptom of the Church's condition. The question for Christians is whether the Church of Jesus Christ as an historical entity can vindicate herself as a viable vessel of faith. Is there such a thing as Christian leadership at the very substance of the Church's life? Is there, in fact, a society — a phenomenal interpersonal reality — cutting across all human

divisions with such reconciling depth as to warrant divine appellation?

To march or not to march? — that is not the question. Who *are* we as the Church, whether we march or not, is closer to the question. Our question is not resolved, even should all the objectives of the civil rights movement be realized — with or without the help of Christians. We will never know the Christian significance of the Movement, in any case, unless we have wrestled with the prior question of whether *any* dimension of history has import for the mission of the Christian Church.

The turbulence of racial reforms and the reaction to them by church folk have stripped us of any easy optimism about renewal. Those of us who welcome the twentieth century gains in ecumenicity, Biblical studies, and liturgical revival are learning that all these, valuable as they are, do not spare us the travail which is involved in the radical renewal of the Church.

The cause-conscious Christian has simply not been radical enough for all his boldness. He has not reckoned with the identity and mission of the Church even if he has been clear about his own vocation. The Christian "Movement man" has been more convincing as an advocate of political and social liberalism than he has as a churchman. Perhaps he wants it that way and perhaps he is faithful, but he has at best merely helped confront the Church with her question. He has been tempted to forget that, as a Christian, it is *his* question too. The cause-oriented clergyman, in particular, has found the burden lighter when he joins a movement than when he seeks to recall the Church to her judgment and vocation. When this kind of clergyman has had his day in the streets, we are still reminded of the words of Yeats:

> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity.
>
> Surely some revelation is at hand,
> Surely the Second Coming is at hand.

Many Christians have already found a sense of accomplishment, camaraderie, excitement and meaning outside the churches. Many others have acclimated themselves to similar rewards in boards, bazaars, budgets and other ecclesiastical good works. Some have even contrived to have the best of both worlds. But there remains a great gulf between all these options and the possibility for Christian responsibility in the renewal of the Church.

III

Renewal presupposes judgment. Wherever we may be as Christians we cannot fathom our responsibility unless we can identify and accept the judgment which is upon us as individuals and as churches. If we make a commitment to renewal we must make it without knowing what forms the judgment will take. The securities of budgets and full pews and institutional success are in jeopardy; and so are the certainties we have courted in the movements and para-church groups (a euphemism for "in-spite-of-the-churches").

An alert, recent graduate of a state university asked his priest, in all earnestness, "How does it feel to be a part of a dying institution?" His query revealed both his sensitivity and his academic illusion. Life is always lived in the throes of dying institutions. The time will come when the young graduate will have to face his own question. Renewal of the Church at least means that we will resume our creative response to the omnipresence of mortality. As Christians, our mission is neither to save the churches nor to hasten their demise. Faith asks only how can we be the Church in the midst of dissolution, death, and decay. A responsible answer to that question can be as vital in the churches as out of them.

Renewal is not an occasional office of Christian leadership. It is not a challenge or a penance visited upon any one generation of Christians. Renewal is the substance of Christian mission and the definition of Christian leadership. Christian leadership is not a matter of promoting the churches or of promoting social movements. Christian leadership is found only wherever initiative has been taken in delivering life from any form of death. This is the form and this is the authority of Christian ministry. The possibility of a life which is cruciform and continually resurrected—this is the hope and the design of renewal of the Church.

Leadership in this dimension cuts across all the customary lines. It undermines any dualism of clergy and laity, church behavior and street behavior. There are diversities of gifts, functions, and occasions, but the common calling of Christians to renewal of the Church is at once corporate, charismatic, and commissioned.

The churches are going to change. Let there be no doubt about that. Whether in changing we rediscover what it means to be in Christ we cannot yet know. On this crucial question the crisis of Christian leadership becomes the burden of every Christian.

Dr. Barth is Professor of New Testament at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary. His most recent books include **Acquittal by Resurrection** and **Conversations with the Bible.** The following article is based upon a study of Galatians which will be published sometime later.

Jew and Gentile; White Man and Negro:

An Exegesis of Gallatians 2: 11-21

MARKUS BARTH

11 But when Cephas came to Antioch I opposed him to his face, because
12 he stood condemned. For before certain men came from James, he ate
with the Gentiles; but when they came he drew back and separated
13 himself, fearing the circumcision party. And with him the rest of the
Jews acted insincerely, so that even Barnabas was carried away by
14 their insincerity. But when I saw that they were not straightforward
about the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, "If
you, though a Jew live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you
15 compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?" We ourselves, who are Jews by
16 birth and not Gentile sinners, yet who know that a man is not justified
by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have
believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ, and
not by works of the law, because by works of the law shall no one be
17 justified. But if, in our endeavor to be justified in Christ, we ourselves
were found to be sinners, is Christ then an agent of sin? Certainly not!
18 But if I build up again those things which I tore down, then I prove
19 myself a transgressor. For I through the law died to the law, that I
20 might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer
I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the
flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself
21 for me. I do not nullify the grace of God; for if justification were
through the law, then Christ died to no purpose.

—OR—

When Rock came to Albany I had to rebuke him to his face, because 11
he was clearly in error. For, before the committee appointed by James 12
arrived, he was eating with Negroes. But when they came he shrank
back and segregated himself because he was afraid of the whites. He 13
even got the rest of the white liberals to play the hypocrite with him,
so that even Barnabas was carried away by their hypocrisy. But when I 14
saw that they were not planting their feet firmly in the truth of the
Gospel, I said to Rock right in front of everybody:

"If you, a white man, have freely accepted integration and not
segregation, how do you now compel Negroes to accept white customs?
Here we are, white people by birth and not 'inferior niggers'. And yet 15
we know that a man can't get right with God just by walking in our
Southern way of life. It is only as we live the way of Christ Jesus. Now 16
all of us have put our faith in Jesus Christ, so as to be made right
by our Christian faith and not by our Southern traditions, because custom never made a saint of anyone. Now if, in our struggle to be true 17
to Christ we ourselves wind up segregated, does this make Christ a
party to segregation? Heavens no! But if I try to rebuild a wicked 18
system which I've already knocked down, then I may consider myself
a violater. For so far as the Southern way of life is concerned I died, 19
so I could be alive toward God. I was strung up with Christ. I'm no 20
longer alive. It is Christ who lives in me. This physical life which I now
have, it is simply an expression of my faith in God's son who loved me
and gave himself for me. I dare not reject God's unmerited favor. For if 21
getting right with God is a matter of observing traditions, then Christ
had no business dying."

Koinonia Cotton Patch Version
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Among the most difficult texts in the New Testament are the first three chapters of Paul's letter to the churches in Galatia. Yet few chapters in the Bible speak more directly to the crisis in human relations which besets the Church as well as the nation. Indeed, the children of the world have exhibited more determination and wisdom in facing this crisis, even though Christians are called out to be a light to the world. In his letter to the Christians in Galatia, Paul's words on the relationship between Jew and Gentile present an understanding of the consequences of the good news of Jesus Christ concerning "men, while still in life," which the Church today ignores at its peril.

Paul reports in Chapter 2:11-14 an incident in Antioch caused by Peter's withdrawal from table-communion with Gentile Christians. The event culminates in a public, and apparently passionate and flaming, reproach or refutation of Peter by Paul. There is no explicit statement that Peter yielded to Paul's argument, but commentators usually assume that the clash ended with a victory of Paul. Either a submission of Peter to Paul on the spot, or a return of Peter to Jerusalem, or a departure of Paul to new conquests on Gentile soil are among the possibilities that have been suggested as the consequences of that victory.

The words of Paul found in verses 14c-21 treat of at least three different topics: of Peter's impossible behavior (vss. 14, or 14-15); of justification by faith and not by works (vss 16-17, or 16-18); and of Christ's death and life, including Paul's participation in both, death and life (vss. 19-21).

Before us, then, we have the description of a dramatic incident, the pronouncement of justification by Jesus Christ, and some astonishing utterances concerning a man's union with Christ. The misdeed faced in all parts of this section is the imposition of the law upon Gentiles. He who falls back upon legal restrictions breaks up the community at table; any pounding upon works of law contradicts justification by faith; if righteousness

were attainable by the law, Christ's death and life would serve to no good. A most common and secular matter, even eating together, is linked up with the judgment of God. To settle the table issue, Paul unfolds the criterion valid and the procedure followed in God's court. In turn, table fellowship and God's judgment are connected with the most intimate and existential statements treating of union with Christ in death and life. The meal question provides necessity and opportunity to speak of God's way of "right-wising" or "rectifying" man. The reference to God's judgment and Christ's role in it leads to the statements on Christ's and man's death and life. Food and faith, righteousness and Christ, death and life, belong together, whenever this passage is treated as a unit.

I

In 2:11-14 a case pertaining to the realm of ethics is presented. We might also speak of the realm of church order, or of brotherly love. Paul does not treat this realm as an appendix to the *kerygma* or *didache* of justification by faith. He who is wrong in one matter will be wrong in both. The subsequent statements about unity with Christ in death and life (vss. 18-21) are not opposed to or in tension with the proclamation of justification, but they are introduced as the core, reason or mode of that justification which excludes separate tables. Ethics is to live according to justification; faith is to live in union with Christ and with Gentiles; to live without resuscitating divisive laws — this is to live for God. According to this passage Paul does not know of an abstract, theoretical, ethically irrelevant doctrine of justification, or of an equivalent faith in justification. Neither does he suggest a mystical, personal union with Christ, which would have nothing to do either with the specific past, present or future judgment of God, or with the conduct of Christians among another and under the eyes of non-believers. To put it more bluntly: "justification in Christ" (vs. 17) is according to this passage not a theory, but a moral matter; therefore, union and solidarity with Christ in death and life can only be affirmed when there is also union and solidarity with brothers. All these elements are interdependent, inalienable, inseparable. "The social and moral character of Christology", or "the ethical essence of justification and faith" — these may be called the topics of Galatians 2:11-21. In this passage sharing at a common table — this "secular" act — is the criterion of orthodox faith. We learn that there is no union with Christ, except in the union of Jew and Gentile. Individual Jews, or individual Gentiles, are not justified, except together; they cannot die to the law or live for God, except together. This means that no man approaches God through Jesus Christ's mediation, except in the company of fellowman. Ephesians 2:18 says in one sentence the same thing: "Through Him both of us (together, and only together, not, each of us!) have in one Spirit access to the Father."

The ground and core of Paul's stance at Antioch and of his report to the Galatians are contained in those things which Paul says about Jesus Christ. To understand his logic we may well have to start from the basic and final argument with which he originally confronted Peter, and which he now presents to the Galatians. Paul's presupposition is contained in the statements about Christ. Paul's conclusions are contained in his utterances *ad hominem*. His Christology is soteriological; it determines his anthropology and ethical admonition.

What does Paul say about Jesus Christ in these verses? In paraphrasing or quoting the utterances of Paul and in starting from the end and going backward to the beginning, the following affirmations are central:

2:21: Christ died not in vain; He is the grace of God. For (2:20) He loved me and gave Himself for me. I live bodily and historically by (or in) His faith, (or, faith in Him). He lives in me. With Him I am crucified (2:19). He is our legal deliverer from sin, not a minister of sin; or, with other words, His action for sinners in God's court, and reliance upon Him, do not make Him a sinner (2:17). All men and each man, including Jews, are justified alone from or through the faith of Jesus Christ; therefore, we Jews came to believe in Jesus Christ as much as Gentiles did. Past, present and future events are enumerated: Christ has loved and died; He is living; through His faith, we will be, or seek to be, justified.

But not only explicit Christological statements are found in Galatians 2:11-21. Much is said also about man. Verses 11-14 treat in narrative form of the communion, then of the conflict, among men. Judaeo and Gentile-Christians of Antioch, Peter and Paul, James and visitors from Jerusalem, Barnabas and the assembled Antioch congregation are the men mentioned. A former harmony is disrupted by a snowballing tendency toward segregation, and by open strife and condemnation. In the didactic part of 2:11-21, first (vs. 14cd) the impossibility of Peter's behavior is pointed out: while he lives no more like a Jew, but like a Gentile, how can he force Gentiles to submit to Jewish customs? Then (vs. 15) the common background of Peter and Paul (and other native Jews?) is acknowledged: they are Jews by birth, they are not of Gentile origin. Then (vs. 16) a decisive event is pointed out: these native Jews came to

know how any and every man is justified by God; acknowledging this, they believed in Jesus Christ in order to attain that same justification. Thereby they submitted to the judgment that they, too, are sinners in need of justification by Jesus Christ (vs. 17). The parenthetical statement made in verse 18 affirms that rebuilding a formerly broken structure (which has proven useless as a defense mechanism against God's indictment; cf. Romans 2:1-29) is equivalent to suicide in God's court. Verses 19-20 deal with the life and death of an exemplary man; even of Paul himself. The puzzling statement is made that he has already died—by the law to the law (or: by one law to another law?)—and that this death was the necessary presupposition of his life for God. The self which lives is not the old ego, but "Christ in me." Though Paul's life still has all features of bodily, temporal, mortal life, faith alone is the realm, the climate, or the power in which he lives. Living thus, he can and does not nullify God's grace.

All these statements on man might be considered a series of observations concerning man's condition, behavior, experiences, and aspirations. They are indeed so incisive and far-reaching, so diverse and coherent, so plain and surprising, so relevant in individual and social regard that some scholars (for example Rudolf Bultmann in his *Theology of the New Testament*) felt bound to suggest that the whole of Paul's theology may be summed up in a special anthropology or soteriology. However, we should take note that all conditions, changes and guidelines concerning man's experience and existence are not self-supporting or self-evident. When Paul turns to explaining *why* Jews as well as Gentiles are sinners, *why* a man can be dead and alive at the same time, and *why* there is no necessity or right to make Gentiles subject to Jewish customs, then he speaks of Jesus Christ and of His love, His death, and His life, and of the judgment to which all men are subject because of Jesus Christ. The anthropological statements, dealing with the realm of the subjective, are important and true enough — true to God and true to man. But they do not exhaust or confine the truth; truth is not only in the subjective. These statements rest upon the solid ground of the objective deeds of God done through Jesus Christ. Without God's judgment and Christ's love, the designation of all men as sinners, and the triumphant assertions concerning the faith and life of justified men would be pessimistic or optimistic guesswork. They might well express self-delusions.

A preliminary sum of the matter presented in Galatians 2:11-21, then, may look like this:

1) Jews and Gentiles are so closely joined by God's judgment that they form one congregation, eating at one table, untroubled by any laws (vss. 11-14). This assertation may appear to stand in no slight tension to the restrictions contained in the Apostolic Decree (of Acts 15:20, 29; 16:4; 21:25; cf. Revelation 2:14, 20); but it agrees with the revelation given to Peter and the stand taken by him in Joppe and Caesarea (Acts 10-11), and with Paul's message to the Corinthians (I Corinthians 10:25).

2) The reason for the table communion is what Lutherans call the death-and-life article of the church, even the doctrine of justification by faith not by works, (vss. 15-18). This justification is obviously "by Christ alone" or "by faith alone", not by faith *and* works of law.

3) The verses 19-21 offer both the objective and the subjective reason of that "doctrine": Christ's death and life are not "in vain" but they are the very events that involve, affect, inform and form "my" life and death. Not only in some distant future, but even now, while man is still walking in the flesh, he is not condemned to walk *according* to the flesh (of II Corinthians 10:3). Rather Christ lives in him and he lives in Christ's faith. The love experienced is grace, and nothing but grace. It excludes taking refuge in the law and behaving as shamefully as did Peter at Antioch.

All these things are mysterious enough. And yet they possess a clarity, directness and beauty of their own which can be preached and explained to educated and uneducated alike. In his interpretation of this text Luther expresses his enthusiasm for Paul and his overflowing gratitude. He affirms that the message of justification and grace is in this way not found in any other New Testament author, except in John.

II

An application of Paul's understanding of the ethics of justification by Christ alone to a present crisis in human relations is clearly in order.

When white, good-willed, liberal North Americans are very enlightened and open to the social needs, necessities and opportunities of the present hour, they are willing and eager to receive the Negro into "our" schools, "our" neighborhoods, "our" jobs, "our" clubs, "our" churches, sometimes even into "our" families and bedrooms. The end of segregation and integration is very often identified with that kind of "acceptance." But it presupposes, among other things, that there are two cultures, two races, two histories, two types of man. It is hoped, expected and actively pursued that the two will encounter one another in such a way that the

white partner forgives the colored fellowman for being colored, that he makes him an honorary white man, and attempts to treat him as if there were no distinction, but just human beings. This is great progress against the subjugation of Negroes to slavery and their classification with inferior beings. No more is required of the Negro, than that he should learn his lesson, keep clean his front and backyard, keep down his voice, wash his hands, enjoy the treasures of higher culture, stabilize his courtship and marriage customs — just as white men supposedly have always done. We may call this attitude paternalistic or patronizing. It presupposes the superiority of the white man; it indicates his readiness to condescend to the lower level of others, and to help them to attain to the higher spheres. The paternal white man has his counterpart in the black Uncle Tom.

A Biblical analogy to this intention and procedure is found in the opponents of Paul who were ready to have Gentiles share in the privileges granted to Israel. The grace of God and the coming of the Messiah was expected to benefit fully the Gentiles, provided only that they accepted a minimum of the Jewish standards. We should be careful not to assume that Paul's opponents fought for a divided Gospel and a divided church. Rather, they were enthusiastic for unity and oneness; they were all against discrimination and for integration. But, they held that the unity sought was assured only in the continuation of previously particularist elements. To be a full child of Abraham, for example, a Gentile had to be circumcised.

Paul never wrote a word against Jews who kept circumcision, Sabbath and other commandments. He considered the law given to the Jews to be holy, righteous and good, and incomparably superior to the non-gods whom the Gentiles had been serving. But he lead a passionate war against a paternalizing or slavish attitude which tried to establish and maintain the unity of the church and the truth of the Gospel upon the lines followed by his Galatian opponents.

In some of his polemical statements we can discern whether Jews, Judaeo-Christians or Gentile Christians form and inform the opposition against him. Sometimes we cannot. Always it is clear that Paul proclaims a unity of Jews and Gentiles which is established, upheld, and to be confessed "in Christ." He does not preach a unity under the Sinaitic Law and its interpretation by the elders. And he declares those *anathema* who preach such unity. Therefore Paul does not proclaim or expect that the Jew should forgive the Gentile for his being a Gentile, or that the Gentiles have to become emulators and imitators of the Jews. That (Mosaic) law which is given the Jews, has not been given to the Gentiles also, and it should not be imposed upon them.

Rather both, Jews and Gentiles, have become something new — "one new man" as it is put in Ephesians 2:15. This newly created man is not a third type of man, a neuter between Jew and Gentile for example, or a superman to be dubbed *tertium genus* (third sort of man, a third nation) or a "Christian character" whose life and essence, virtues and values lie simply beyond history, culture, language, predilection or special gifts and tasks. The newness of the new man consists not of something which individual by individual can have for himself and about which they can exchanges notes. But as Ephesians 2:11-22 shows, the newness requires the presence of at least two men who were formerly on opposite sides, the one near, the other far; the one in, the other out; the one a Jew, the other a Greek.

Now when Paul, in I Corinthians 12:13; Colossians 3:11; Galatians 3:28, enumerates, in three catalogues, the constituency of the one (new) man in Christ, he always begins with Jews and Gentiles. But from Jews and Gentiles he proceeds daringly to mentioning other formerly divided social groups. Servants and free men, Barbarians and Scythians, male and female are distinctly mentioned. Parents and children might also have been included as indicated in Colossians 3:18-4:1 and the parallels. Today, perhaps, suburbanites and slum dwellers, Republicans and Democrats, squares and beatlemaniacs, Western democratic and Eastern Communistic people, highly skilled and culturally deprived persons might also be added. It is Paul himself, not this interpreter, who considers the union of Jews and Gentiles in Christ paradigmatic of a unity to be established between the existing different economic, sexual, age, national, *et cetera*, groups. God's world politics as established by his dealing with Jews and Gentiles has become for Paul the policy by and in which marriage, education, labor, cultural, national relationships have to find their order. Faced with today's problems, we may add economic development at home and abroad, racial integration and world peace. There is no limit set to the relevance of what has happened to Jews and Gentiles in Jesus Christ.

The application of these observations to the present state of race-relations in America appears obvious. The talk of "our" schools, "our" suburbs, "our" job, "our" culture is inimical and diametrically opposed to Paul, for it corresponds to the theology of his opponents. Certainly many of these opponents were Christians. They stood for the unity of the church of Jews and Gentiles and with-

stood a rigid segregationism. But they made the mistake of seeking to impose the law of the former ingroup upon the up and incoming outgroup. This mistaken search for the unity of Jews and Gentiles is, according to Paul, as serious and fateful as the error of those who never believed in integration and union of the two groups. Paul throws a curse against his supposedly Christian opponents only (Galatians 1:6-9), not against the Sanhedrin. The sin of the paternalistic friend of integration may be greater than that of his blind segregationist opponent.

What the "liberal" fighter for justice might learn from Paul is, among other things, this: There are no human races, but there are different histories of different groups of men. There is no solution in denying differences, but there is a way to overcome their mutual exclusiveness. There is not a third type of superman to be expected. But the existing types of men can live together in peace.

The judgment of God who finds both groups sinful and has mercy upon both, is the presupposition of a new attitude of both and between them. Acts of human justice, formation of new customs and opinions, and the actual behavior of men are all, be it positively or negatively, consciously or unwittingly, related to God's judgment. Not only the former outsider, but both the near and the far, the possessing and the indigent have to repent and to become something new. They need one another as much as they need God for attaining unity and holding it fast.

What Paul says about the church can be applied to social and economic life. There is not a black and a white culture, but culture in the high sense of this word (cf. the German *Kultur*) is present and worth describing only inasmuch as it is a noble, constructive, peaceful way of living, working, suffering together — even of black and white, man and woman, rich and poor, older and younger people.

America may recover or find a culture only inasmuch as school boards become willing to revise educational goals, as city planners and private builders find better solutions than the erection of depersonalizing towers and sprawling suburbs, as an ethics superior to Victorian moralism and boasting immorality is found. Solutions to these problems are not easy. They are not yet known and not at hand. But Paul's statements on Jews and Gentiles and his stance taken in Antioch are precedents that point in a good direction. He speaks of and to Christians and appeals to their faith. Today's situation is marked by the fact that often children of the world, that is, the non-Christians, show greater zeal or wisdom in public matters than the Christians who were called to be a light in the world.

TIGERS OF WRATH

I watch the sinewy tigers lapping blood—
they gain and gain. New size and force appear
to refill emptied veins, a kind of flood
by animal existences where mere
fluidity before bedaubed my heart
with refuse from the shores of upper dreams:
Man has not done me wrong or played the part
of hunter in my jungle, but it seems
right to rage past with these fierce animals
that course the quiet and settled streets, because
no one from mosque or merrymaking calls
God to relieve him of his weasel's claws,
his weasel's wish to suck the eggs; instead,
a weasel walks inside my tiger tread.

ON THE BAT'S BACK

In pursuit of summer I
rode on batback through a sky
blackening about our flight.

Faster always summer went
though my bat unresting bent
leather wings across the night.

Now, dismounting, I have come,
tired of my own purpose, home;
and the bat I used climbs high
in the moon's beam, without intent
riding the wind, complete as some
archangel in its proper right.

RELATIONSHIPS

At one with fox and flower
my foot goes where it will
in this mysterious hour
and yet is still.

The horror of the bone,
impatience of the blood
stop, like a ringing telephone
that's answered, understood.

But understanding rather
like breathing than like thought
has found in fox and flower
this kinship with my foot.

CUTTING THE TREE ON DECEMBER TWENTY-THIRD

The trunk gapes to the flashing axe
and fragrant blood cries down the wound,
while all the strings my heart can stretch
are twangling as if someone tuned
for stranger modes. Kind hold, relax
and do not twist the pegs to raise
the long-forgotten mystery.
The tree feels nothing. Through a phrase
we have lost our heart for fallacy.
Whose hand you are I cannot ask
nor why you cross my heart tonight;
I came out on a simple task,
fetching a tree to bear our light,
but now must go perplexed with plight.

For many years, Adlai Stevenson was chairman of the board of directors of the Field Foundation, and in that capacity became acquainted with and lent his support to the activities and interests of some of the members of the Committee of Southern Churchmen. We are grateful to Mr. Lippmann and the Washington Post Company for permission to carry his tribute to Governor Stevenson.

Adlai Stevenson

WALTER LIPPMANN

We must wonder whether we have buried with Adlai Stevenson some element of the promise of American life. For in this generation he has stood apart, not only for his deeds and his words and his wit and his lovableness, but as somehow a living specimen of the kind of American that Americans themselves, and the great mass of mankind, would like to think that Americans are.

He was not a common man or a typical American of our times or, indeed, of any other time. But he evoked for us the mystic chords of memory because he touched again "the better angels of our nature." From Lincoln to Adlai Stevenson the heritage is direct and unbroken, a family tradition which began with his great-grandfather. Like Lincoln he made men feel what this Nation had to be if the American experiment was to succeed. Like Lincoln he was what the prairies and the New World had made of the educated Englishman who led this country in the 18th Century.

This Lincolnian American is, as compared with Washington or Jefferson, the first authentic American, the new man of the New World. Before Lincoln, the distinguished Americans were transplanted Englishmen. Since Lincoln there has existed the idea of a special American type which is excellent and admirable and holds the promise of a better human future. Adlai Stevenson was a rare, perhaps a late-blooming, example of such an American. He was admired by the discerning all over the world and greatly loved. An essential ingredient of the admiration and the love was the knowledge that only America could have produced him, and that this revealed what America really was.

The question is now whether this country is still devoted to the American idea which he embodied. No one supposes, of course, that the country can be filled with Stevensons any more than a hundred years ago it was filled with Lincolns, any more than Britain is filled with Churchills. It is only occasionally and for a while that nations are represented by their greatest men. The question is whether in our critical moments the better angels of our nature respond to our authentic ideals.

For there is abroad in this land today a very different spirit contending for the soul of our people. The original American has had for a central idea, as Lincoln said at Gettysburg, that America was an experiment of consequence to all mankind and that, primarily, the influence of America was its example. The new spirit among us is imperious and assumes that our influence is measured by our money and our power.

The struggle between the two spirits has appeared and reappeared throughout our history. But with the enormous and sudden increase of our power and wealth, the stress and strain of the struggle for the American soul has become fierce. It is the uncertainty as to which spirit will prevail that divides, more than tactics or manners or policy, the American people among themselves and from the world around us.

Adlai Stevenson's enemies were not men whom he had injured. He injured no men. His enemies were men who recognized that he did not share and was a living reproach to the new imperiousness of our power and wealth, that he was a deeply established American who had no part in the arrogance of the newly rich and the newly powerful and the newly arrived. His very presence made them uncomfortable, even abashed, all the more because he was so witty when they were so hot, so elegant when they were making a spectacle of themselves.

Shall we see his like again? Or was he the last of his noble breed? On this question hangs the American future. On one course we shall plunge ourselves into the making of a ramshackle empire in an era when no empire can long survive, and we shall wave the flag to cover our spiritual nakedness.

Or, we shall, as Adlai Stevenson would have done, remain true to our original loyalty, and transcending assertiveness, vulgar ambition, and the seductions of power, we shall make this country not only great and free but at peace with its own conscience.

Father Berrigan is associate editor of **Jesuit Missions**, on assignment to Latin America. His book, **They Call Us Dead Men: Reflections on Life and Conscience**, will be published by Macmillan in February; they are also publishing a book of his poetry, **No One Walks Water**, in January.

"Dear Friends In Christ"

DANIEL BERRIGAN, S.J.

When a good man dies, there is no mistaking the loss. We know it in our bones and in our flesh. We know it as if we had awakened one morning and, turning to rise, come upon a bandaged stump in place of a whole limb. We know our loss, as the price of being awake at all. We know it, when we have loved another, his voice and face and living thought; when death has left us only a photo upon a wall, and silence, and a life of secret grieving.

Indeed death does not always have the same sting. It comes easily to the old; it thins their blood to water; then like a midday sun, it draws them into the atmosphere, leaves the veins dry, like a vine cut down in autumn. We can understand the word of the King to Hamlet: "you must know, your father lost a father, that father lost, lost his . . . ." But the death of the young is another matter: When it occurs in circumstances of injustice and brutality, it cleaves us to the bone; it challenges faith with manifest absurdity, it leaves us appalled and dismembered. How could such a thing occur? What is the meaning of this death? Or, indeed, does it have any meaning at all? And if the violent death of the young is meaningless, what are we to say of this absurd universe, of this absurd God? Our faith has accepted the fact of death, has made it at least remotely bearable. The word of God penetrates the appearance of death, blesses our hope of immortality, gently quiets our protest and rebellion. Those we love, it assures us, are not taken from us; their lives are changed for the better. A mystery breaks through the universal fate of death, which the Greeks saw as iron necessity and the Romans softened with a gentle longing for immortality in the memory of man The Christian word is both rigorous and merciful; it assures us that love of others is more than a temporal blessing, that we shall see again those whom we have loved in both flesh and spirit. "We shall all rise again." To be man is to be immortal, as man.

The words of Paul to the Christians of Corinth imply a universal release from the slavery of death. His words profoundly alter not only our view of the afterlife but our view of the world, our understanding of what human community is, of what our duties of piety toward others are, of what the simple word "brother" means. But the word of God is one thing; our understanding of it is surely another. Awareness of our brother, a living awareness that accepts the price and task of reconciliation, does not come easily to men. Such an awareness dislocates our loyalties; it demands that one go beyond the blood, beyond the tribe, in order to come upon the will of God. Family loyalties, family professions, family status, family ethics, are placed in question. When the Gospel is in the air, all, all other loyalties are heard only with extreme reservation; for their summons is often intoxicating . . . and sometimes poisonous.

But the blood of Christ summons us to all men. When I have drunk His blood, I may not ever again question the blood which runs in the veins of other men; of men of color, of men who worship in another Church, of men whose blood runs violated in the streets. When the blood of Christ is upon

the altar, there is neither Greek nor Jew, freeman nor slave, male nor female standing about the altar. There is only one New Man, Jesus Christ, of whom we all are members, limb for limb. A universal bloodstream joins man to man, religion to religion, race to race, sex to sex. The family of man is once and for all created in Christ; a delicate web of life joins me to the race of man, in Him. The constricting curse of nationalism, tribal loyalties, racial frenzies, class injustices, is lifted; in Christ the call of the blood is heard at last for what it is, in the manifest intention of God. It is a call, as old as the blood of Abel, as young as the blood of Jonathan Daniels; it cries out from the earth, I am your brother.

We have all been moved to the heart by the death of this man. Unworthy of the blood of Christ, we are unworthy of the blood of such a brother. We cannot easily claim him, we come only reluctantly, and with a kind of dread, to the truth in which this man's sacrifice implicates us. It is not easy to be brother to such a man; our understanding depends in fact on the most electric and ironic change of heart.

How can we know *my* brother, Jonathan Daniels, without knowing as well all the brothers whom he recognized as his own? How far will this death stretch us upon the rack of the world? We are not merely celebrating a new friendship this afternoon, as though I, a Roman Catholic, had come suddenly to understand in the death of a Protestant, the presence of a brother. Jonathan Daniels did not win me so easily. Nor can I welcome him easily to my own heart. Indeed this young death has called me further than I had thought, or even wished. How could I have gained this man for friend, and not have gained you? How could I grasp the hand of the dead, without seeing that this hand was closed, with the rigor of its final choice, upon white hands and black, Jew and Catholic, the defeated and the persecutor, the Vietnamese, the Congolese, the Russian—all men, all intractable and stained and unworthy hands—even my own?

No, we celebrate something far more than a new friendship this day. The word of God tells us so. The word of God says that the death of this man is martyrdom, a drama, a crisis, a summons to change of heart, a death and resurrection, mysteriously joined to the destiny of Christ, and the destiny of all men; a death that sucks us into its vortex, its moment of truth, its bloodletting and cruel defeat, its terrifying call to conversion. The truth of such a death comes hard to us. We are unready for it; we are used to an easy faith: which is to say, to easy lives and easy death. We expect faith to bless our somnolent hearts, to reduce our suffering, to prosper our blood line. But the Bible has another message for us; it calls us to an universal existence, to life in public, to responsibility for, and to, all men. And in order that a man may be a universal man, he must overcome the call of the blood and all it implies; its insularity and fear, its adoration of idols, its dread of life. The call is as old as the murder of Abel, the exodus of Abraham, the vocation of Moses, the call to the New Testament mission. The disciple must leave all things; he must leave father and mother and flocks and good repute and secure lodgings, and presuppositions and prejudice and false hope, and the cheap grace that flows tranquilly in the veins of the tribe. He must go out from himself; into exile or bondage or prison. And this is not all.

The New Testament summoning to faith may be a call to martyrdom. Blood will have blood, we are told; the Blood of Christ lays claim on the blood of man. All the idolatries and paganisms consecrated by the worship of blood, by the superiority of the blood, by the blood that visits the unthinking brain and the unconverted heart—all these are destroyed, the unholy fevers are stilled, the inhuman chill is warmed, when "a man lays down his life for his friend."

A transfusion of blood. The blood of Jonathan Daniels, flowing in the dust of an obscure southern town, has joined the great stream of the blood of Christ, the blood of martyrs, the blood of good men. Despite the call of the blood, the call to clerical peace and clerical immunity, unexpected and undeserved like the blood of Christ, Jonathan Daniels is joined to the bloody witness of black man and white, of Jew and Gentile, of man and woman, crying out from beneath the throne of the Lamb; "those who had been killed for the sake of the faithfulness of their witness."

Such a witness indeed sternly forbids all other calls. Before the spectacle of the martyrs, their moral splendor, their incorruptible gift, heaven and earth stand transfixed. We know with the best part of us, which the blood of heroes has quickened, that martyrdom is neither to be explained nor explained away. Before the martyrs our conceits fall silent, our human expectations wither; the web of nature, in which man had been ensnared, is torn asunder and the fact of martyrdom becomes a miraculous crossroads, a place crisis, a place of drama. No one can come upon it, and come away unchanged. The unbeliever is shaken by a mystery for which neither logic nor cynicism had prepared him; the believer is shaken from his paltry secruity, from a faith which had taken into account neither the omnipresence of tragedy nor the rigorous call for love.

A martyrdom is a crossroads and a place of meeting; it is also a place of worship. We know that in the early church, men spontaneously set their altars up at the place where good men had died in witness. Where the blood of good men had run, the eucharist was celebrated, the blood of Christ was drunk. And in that place, men came to know their brother for the first time; slave and free, Jew and Gentile became one in Christ, drawn one to another by the blood that lay warm upon the altar. In such a way, the witness of blood is a supreme witness to human unity. It is a hard saying; our blood runs cold at the price exacted in order that the simplest of human recognitions may have place, that man may know his brother. But who is to instruct us in a better way?

Dear friends, in the geography of our land, the rivers of the South may yet flow north. It may be that the land has imperceptibly tipped, that the blood sacrifices of one hundred years shall now turn in our direction; to ease our moral impasse, to shed light upon our path. Our own blood flows tranquilly in our veins; its untroubled murmur, its childish complaints, the fear that lies in it like a biotic, the dread that sends us fleeing change, fleeing sacrifice, fleeing neighborhoods, fleeing our brothers—who can speak to this death? Indeed, a few have stood in the breach, have conquered their dread, have put their bodies where their words were. In the letting of their blood, such men have been freed of the cowardice that plagues the blood of the living. And such men may yet help to free us of the imperfection to which life itself condemns us. Being white, we cannot be black; being Episcopal, we cannot be Catholic, being affluent, we cannot be poor. But when a man has given his blood, he has literally given everything; more, he has been transformed into his gift. So he becomes a universal man in the gift of his manhood. His blood has reached further, and cried out more truthfully, than ever his word could, so a gift that is normally postponed until the end of things, is brusquely placed in our hands. A man of the last day becomes the man of our day. We may now, if we will, take in our hands the life blood of Daniels where the gunshot released it. The living blood is offered to God, and to men, to transform our pusillanimity into heroism, our denseness into moral clarity, our dead words into prophetic speech, our inanity into faithful deeds. In this blood, may we take heart; may we take up with new heart the task of the living: one nation, one mankind, one Body of Christ.

This sermon was preached by Father Berrigan at the memorial service for Jonathan Daniels held at St. Andrew's Church, Yonkers, New York.

CHRISTMAS EVE

This branch of green amazes me, it shows
no sense of timing, sense of its role:
We brought it in for Christmas Day,
but somewhere in the spray
a recollection glows,
like fire in a coal
or thoughts of August on a winter night
with that delight
begun
in the sun
long ago
where the yellow cliff of sand
came grass-rimmed up—the beach below,
blueberries ripe to hand,
and in the wind that passed
God knows
what smell of summer's death and winter's snows
massed
upon bending boughs—
till I am not alone (though now alone),
but hear cicadas drowse
and drone,
hear grasshoppers and sparrows,
almost the feet of ants,
while calendars that dwindle,
world that narrows
at light's advance
show flickers from the heart can still rekindle
the dead wood of our past and all the past
of other thought or bone
so that the clarity, at last
and as much more than ghost,
lets the gnarled Jesuit who gave the Host,
the three converted Indians standing like stone
somewhere along the pinebranch—conjured lake
seem here to share port and the Christmas cake.

TIME'S RETREAT

Time has turned tail,
no more bark, no more bark.
You coyote time,
all the dark is your dark.
The moon's light was pale
but still light,
so you worried it half of the night,
with the daystar's return you turn tail.

ROBERT STEWART

SOME LIGHT ON THE MATTER

I would have bet Christ had it with the cross
or, if not that, from Christians anyway,
so you can guess my doubts were at a loss
while he shone in my door the other day,
Made rainbows on the panel like the top
of something crystal, say a candlestick
or a decanter; for the usual stop
of light by lumber (this was oak and thick)
Was missing there. Perhaps the one-time tree
felt carpenters should be made way for so,
but through whatever process, one could see
Christ flaming light in a prismatic bow.
Imagination plays us tricks; but things
which like the sun make rainbows shine, are some
way made so beautiful affection springs
to greet them like a dog whose master's come.

NEW YEAR'S DAY

The new year in the hand of God
lies like a brooding egg
inside a nest of love;
and yet my words, slow geese, still move
on but a narrow leg,
squawking the while they plod.
Look at them poke on flat and tame
in goosesteps through the yard
like earthbound infantry.
"Wake space, convert those honks to flame!"
(Launch footgoose or risk lard.)
Run at them. "Shoo! Grab sky!"
They'll be all right upon the wing,
for geese take then wild order
of high-spread V's. Remember,
they should get off before December
to find that southern border
which promises a spring
Whose April's always. So now let
clapped wings greet time that flies
faster than wrinkling feet,
the nest be built, the full bird set,
impulsive mysteries
against the thin shell beat!

THE COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
1106 19th Avenue, South
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212

3

Nonprofit Org.
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Nashville, Tenn.
PERMIT NO. 1634

RETURN REQUESTED

File Rel. on JS Ctee of Southern Churchmen

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Committee of Southern Churchmen
(Will D. Campbell, Director)

REGARDING

Distribution of Silver's MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY SOCIETY through the Mississippi Council on Human Relations

DATE(S)
Campbell correspondence to
Kenneth Dean - Feb. 2 and 3, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

State Councils: Mississippi

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Mr. Will Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
Nashville, Tenn.

REGARDING

Mailed zerox copy of Shanels report on the Klan

DATE

7/20/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

file
Committee of Southern Churchmen

via air mail February 16, 1968

Mr. Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 12044
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

Enclosed is our check of $1,700 in support of a joint exploration between SRC and the Committee of Southern Churchmen on an adult education conference center.

At your convenience will you please indicate on the enclosed carbon copy of this letter receipt of these funds.

Now to be less formal. I think this relatively modest expenditure may in time pay back dividends for the cost.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Received Feb. 19, 1968
Will D. Campbell

See Rels. orgs "Committee of Southern Churchmen"

April 16, 1968

The Reverend Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 12044
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Will:

Following our telephone conversation this is to inform you in writing that the following resolution was passed unanimously by the SRC Executive Committee on April 6th:

> "Resolved, that the contribution of $1,700 to the Committee of Southern Churchmen be ratified and that the Southern Regional Council accept title to the 400 acres of land near Asheville, North Carolina offered by the Committee. Provided it can be ascertained we are receiving a good, indivisible and unencumbered title."

That part of the resolution relating to the title and other legal affairs, it seems to me, can best be handled by George Barrett. Would

you be good enough to ask him if he would do whatever is necessary, and send us a bill for his services? As to the desirability of the site, I have no reservations. But to make it formal, Jim Wood will go to the property as soon as he can arrange it so that we can say we have had an on-sight inspection.

Thereafter, I hope we can get the legal transfer over with and proceed to set up a small committee from our two groups to spend some time thinking about what we should do next.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See ADL "Oscar Cohen"

April 22, 1968

Mr. J. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

I hope you have gotten this reutinely or are about to. But just in case, enclosed is our poverty issue of New South.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

FUNDS RECEIVED BY Committee of Southern Churchmen
DATE 10/25/68
Will D. Campbell

October 24, 1968

The Reverend Will D. Campbell
Executive Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 12044
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Will:

Enclosed is our check for $500 in support of the Committee's program in desegregation in higher education.

At your convenience please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed copy of this letter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

POST OFFICE BOX 12044
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212
TELEPHONE: AC 615/242-2448

WALTER B. CLANCY PRESIDENT
G. MURRAY BRANCH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES A. CARTER SECRETARY-TREASURER
WILL D. CAMPBELL DIRECTOR

October 22, 1968

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Committee of Southern Churchmen is anxious to have the services of Mr. Patrick Gilpin, a graduate student at Vanderbilt University, for the purpose of a short research project on the extent of racial desegregation at the college and university level in Tennessee.

His work on a part time basis will be approximately $500 for a two month period. The Committee of Southern Churchmen is not in a position to assume the financial burden of this project and would very much appreciate whatever assistance the Southern Regional Council can give us toward meeting the cost.

Cordially yours,

Will D. Campbell

Will D. Campbell

318

~~317~~

December 2, 1968

Mr. George E. Barrett
Barrett, Creswell & Mitchell
10th Floor, Third National Bank Building
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Dear George:

Fortunately, Will was by here for a brief visit last week and we have decided to have an appraisal made of the land before making any further decision on whether or not to dispose of it. Therefore, please hold off on any further action until this can be done.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

LAW OFFICES

BARRETT, CRESWELL & MITCHELL

GEORGE E. BARRETT
I. T. CRESWELL, JR.
JOHN G. MITCHELL, JR.
PIERCE WINNINGHAM, III
LARRY HELM SPALDING

10TH FLOOR THIRD NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37219
TELEPHONE (615) 244-2202

November 22, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Committee of Southern Churchmen, property in North Carolina

Dear Paul:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of Monday in regard to the property owned in North Carolina by the Committee of Southern Churchmen. Both you and Will seem to agree that the property should not be conveyed to the Southern Regional Council with restrictions in the deed because it makes disposition of the property in the future more difficult.

Will suggested, in which you concurred, that SRC accept the conveyance of the property free and unencumbered, looking forward to the possibility that the property will be sold. Both of you agree that this is hardly the time spent and the energy, money and effort that would be required to develop a facility for conferences, etc.

The suggestion I made after talking to Will, in which you seemed to concur, was that SRC and the Committee of Southern Churchmen, in the event that the land would be sold would then establish a trust fund for an educational scholarship for either rural students in the South or some similar idea. If the land could be sold free and unemcumbered, the income for such a trust could go towards a scholarship which would be jointly under the supervision of the SRC and the Committee of Southern Churchmen.

After you have taken this matter up with your executive committee and if it meets with their approval, please advise and I will draw the deed and have it executed by the proper officials of the Committee of Southern Churchmen.

Looking forward to hearing from you, I am

Sincerely yours,

George E. Barrett

cc: Will Campbell

December 3, 1968

Mr. Frank Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

I believe you were at the Executive Committee meeting where we discussed accepting a gift of 400 acres of land near Ashville from the Committee of Southern Churchmen. Subsequently, since we are in agreement that funds should not now be invested to develop this property, Will Campbell and I have discussed the possibility of selling the land and using the funds for some mutually agreed upon worthwhile purpose. Whether or not we make this recommendation to the Executive Committee will depend on the value of the land. Toward that end we need an appraisal of the value of the property.

It occurred to me that TVA must have some very competent land appraisers. Is there someone on your staff who could undertake to do this for us on his own time, with SRC compensating him for this service? If so, we will send him pertinent information on where the land is located and have Jim Wood, who visited the property, talk with him by telephone

or join him at the time of the appraisal.

I would very much appreciate your assistance in this if it can be given without undue effort.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

✓PA RC

COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

rek - rcs

POST OFFICE BOX 12044
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212
TELEPHONE: AC 615/242-2448

WALTER B. CLANCY PRESIDENT
G. MURRAY BRANCH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES A. CARTER SECRETARY-TREASURER
WILL D. CAMPBELL DIRECTOR

June 15, 1969

Dear Subscriber to Katallagete:

A few weeks ago we wrote you regarding our effort to move and repair a house for Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and her family.

This is to report the response.

We were pleased that gifts ranging from one to one hundred dollars amounted to slightly over five thousand dollars. This amount will go far in doing the necessary work. Mrs. Hamer joins us in expressing our deep appreciation.

We quote from one of many letters. This one came from Chaplain Samuel Beers of the Wisconsin State Prison:

> The check for forty-one dollars and ninety-five cents represents the contributions of seventeen inmates of the Wisconsin State Prison. I announced the nature of the gift and these men made voluntary contributions ranging from forty cents to five dollars and ninety-five cents. When you consider the fact that they make thirty cents a day, you will realize that the average of two dollars and forty-seven cents per man is equivalent of eights days pay. The largest contribution represents nearly three weeks wages.

What can we say after that except

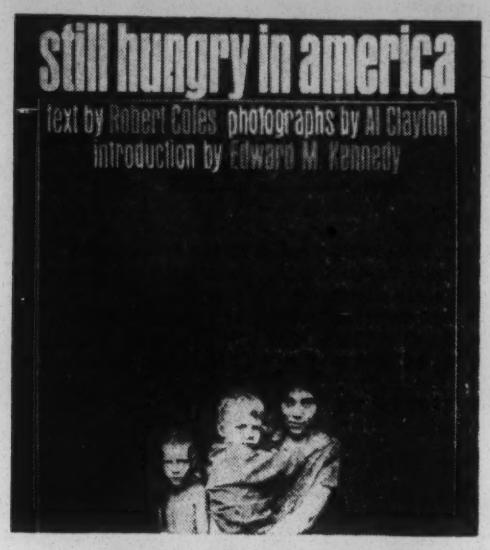
KATALLAGETE!

Will D. Campbell
Will D. Campbell
James Y. Holloway
James Y. Holloway

THE WASHINGTON POST
C4 Monday, April 14, 1969

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

From Katallagete magazine



HUNGER

STILL HUNGRY IN AMREICA
By Robert Coles
Photographs by Al Clayton

(NAL/World, 115 pp. $6.95)

Reviewed by Robert Maynard

Maynard is a National Staff reporter for The Washington Post

It is especially the faces of the children, grown so old and wretched, that lift off the pages of this moving book and distress the conscience.

I have seen them in Mississippi's Delta country, in the Black Belt of Alabama and in exotic little places such as Social Circle, Ga. One tends to forget that surge of electric shame at the sight of children in torturous pain from hunger and disease.

Al Clayton, a remarkable and committed man who has placed his talents in the service of the hungry, makes us remember in a way that we might never forget. He shows hunger; one can smell the dank and fetid air that only hunger and poverty breed.

Robert Coles, M. D., is probably one of the best journalists in America today. He moves, works and writes from a moral commitment and with an informed heart. His writing, therefore, carries an air of authority and truth.

Together, these two men have produced a document of conscience for our time. It is a deceptive book. Highly stylized in its typography and appearing to be a bit on the puffy side what with the glamorous name of Sen. Edward Kennedy on the cover as the author of the introduction, the book gently seduces the reader into the subject.

It begins, naturally enough, with the environment of poverty—a landscape strewn with the cast-off metal of a wasteful society, then a dog sniffing in the road, his ribs nearly bursting through his skin.

Then the people, the human castoffs, come into focus, white children and black children with swollen bellies and vacant eyes. This is not India, this is not a story of the favela of Sao Paulo. This is the United States of America in the Year of Our Lord 1968. Remember that, remember it especially when Rachel's mother tells Robert Coles about her:

"She was doing fine, real fine. I thought she was going to be fine, too. I did. There wasn't a thing wrong with her, and suddenly she was in real trouble, bad trouble, yes sir, she was. She started coughing, like her throat was hurting, and I thought she was catching a cold or something.

"I thought I'd better get her some water, but it wasn't easy, because of there were the other kids, and it's a far way to go . . ."

Rachel "went all of a sudden. There was no more breathing, and it must have been noon by the light."

The light through a window falls on the face of a woman dressed in denim holding a baby in her arms and down in the shadows another child peers at Al Clayton's camera. What percentage of a gross national product hurtling toward on trillion, dollars would it take for that family to eat decently and live in a house instead of a shack?

Such questions provoked by this book, questions of why poverty of this kind persists, make a cruel joke of moon shots and ABMs, weather satellites and supersonic transports.

There is a special quality to this book that should not go unmentioned. Clayton's photographs and Dr. Coles' commentary achieve a sense of humanity that makes the experience of the book very touching.

This also is a brutal book. Some of the stories that Dr. Coles tells fill the reader with a sense of impotent bitterness. And Al Clayton's camera strips away every obstacle to our understanding of what the life he is describing is all about.

But lest it all seem like some mystery of privation visited upon a few people by the angry gods, we should bear in mind that hunger in the United States is a political, and not a natural, phenomenon.

Last year, because of his photographs in an earlier volume called *Hunger In America* Al Clayton was viaited at his home in Tennessee by a couple of men who said they were from Washington and wanted to know what he knew about poverty.

He told me that he thought they "wanted to see some poverty, and Iwas going to take them through eight states and show them enough poverty to gag a goat."

But no, the men weren't interested in that. It turned out they were agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on loan to the House Appropriations Committee and sent by Rep. Jamie L. Whitten to investigate the people who had prepared the report on hunger.

Rep. Whitten, of Charleston, Miss., is chairman of the subcommittee on appropriations that passes on all funds going to the Department of Agriculture.

It was Rep. Whiten's judgment that conditions in this country were being exaggerated and he was out to find the culprits.

I trust this book will assist him in his task.

January 7, 1970

Mr. Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 12044
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

Thank you so much for the corn meal. All the true Southerners here enjoyed it thoroughly. I had good corn bread for the first time in years.

Every good wish from all of us for this interesting year ahead.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 24, 1970

The Reverend Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 12044
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Will:

We would indeed very much like to have the master tape of the material done by Mr. Dabbs.

Thank you for thinking of us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

POST OFFICE BOX 12044
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212
TELEPHONE: AC 615/242-2448

WALTER B. CLANCY — *President*
G. MURRAY BRANCH — *Vice-President*
J. ANDREW LIPSCOMB — *Secretary-Treasurer*
WILL D. CAMPBELL — *Director*

SEP 23 1970

September 21, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We have a set of fifty, five minute tapes which Mr. Dabbs did for a radio series for us a few years ago. If S. R. C. , or you personally, is interested in having them we would be glad to send you the master tape.

Cordially,

Will

Will D. Campbell

WDC/gm

August 2, 1971

Mr. Will Campbell
Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 12044
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Will:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness. In the months ahead I look forward to a visit.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

AUG 2 1971

COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

POST OFFICE BOX 12044
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212
TELEPHONE: AC 615/242-2448

WALTER B. CLANCY PRESIDENT
G. MURRAY BRANCH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES A. CARTER SECRETARY-TREASURER
WILL D. CAMPBELL DIRECTOR

July 30, 1971

Dear Paul:

Thank you for sending me a copy of "it." People in our age bracket who have been stable mates as long as you and I should not, I suppose, try to express our emotions to each other. You know already of my devotion to you and deep appreciation to you for leading SRC during the most critical years of its existence.

Thanks.

Good luck.

Love,
Will
Will Campbell

August 5, 1971

Mr. Will Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 12044
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Will:

I have just received a copy of your Eulogy for Ernest Curry. It is honest, and it is poetry. Having read it, I can understand how much this meant to the family.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

MA
D
MM
HCF

IMPORTANT--CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: Charles Jones, Student Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation

DAUGHTER OF SEMINARY PRESIDENT MISSING -- CAN YOU HELP FIND HER?

Karin Schomer, daughter of Howard Schomer, has been missing from home since December 8. Dr. Schomer, in addition to being president of Chicago Theological Seminary, is chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Because of clothing the girl took with her, Dr. Schomer believes that she may have headed South with the intention of engaging in the sit-in movement.

Karin Schomer is sixteen years old, but could pass for nineteen. She is 5'7" in stocking feet, weighs 140 lbs. She has dark brown eyes, a rather prominent nose and fleshy lips, and blonde hair. It is not impossible that she may be using an assumed name and/or her hair might be dyed.

The following items of clothing were discovered to be absent from the girl's wardrobe, and hence may serve as clues in locating her, although she had enough money that she might have purchased other garments:

a small round blue overnight bag
a blue-green raincoat
a blue-black overcoat
a black skirt with white KS monogram
a summer-weight white dress with blue polka dots
red high-heeled shoes
two swimsuits
a "Certina" Swiss wristwatch

If you have any information about someone who might fit this description, please contact Alfred Hassler, FOR, Nyack, New York. The New York City telephone number is LOrraine 8-8200. Please be on the lookout for Karin Schomer and pray with us for her safe return.

TO: BUTCH WRIGHT

FROM: MURDELL VARNADO

RE: Estimates from printers to publish newsletter monthly.

Printer	TYPE OF WORK	AMOUNT
Standard Press Harvey Schulman 739 Trabert Ave. N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30318	Sets type and layout	$125.00 appr.
SCLC Wilson Brown 522-1420	Photographs and prints lay out as as given	$59.75 appr.
Collegiate Press Rankin Street Atlanta, Ga. 681-2984 Reid Crow	Photographs and prints layouts as given in color selected. Will work with us on doing proper layouts. Appr. three to four days time needed.	$27.00 exact

THE COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

1106 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212

File Rel. Orgs. Ctee of Southern Churchmen

Les:

The enclosed is sort of the point of departure for the Committee of Southern Churchmen. It seems to me Brother Paul in writing to the church at Corinth told us Christians about all we need to know about race relations. But even he had to write them twice or there wouldn't have been a II Corinthians, so we should not despair that we don't always get a hearing.

You should take a field trip and spend a couple of days with us.

Will

Will Campbell

ML ✓
MA ✓
PWL ✓
PA ✓
VJ ✓
MJ-file

CHARLES JONES, CHAIRMAN WILL D. CAMPBELL, DIRECTOR JUANITA CLEGGETT, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

What happened to the attachment we were supposed to read?

PA – Not attached when he got it.

ML – Perhaps it will appear in New South

A CONSULTATION

ON

THE SOUTH: THE ETHICAL DEMANDS OF INTEGRATION
(Integrating a Desegregating South)

DESEGREGATION IS ONLY THE FIRST STEP ON THE ROAD TOWARD THE GOOD SOCIETY. DESEGREGATION REMOVES THE LEGAL AND PHYSICAL BARRIERS TO THE ENJOYMENT AND EXERCISE OF THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF OUR COMMON LIFE. THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION, TOO SLOW IN SPEED AND TOO SMALL IN AMOUNT, MUST GO ON. INTEGRATION IS THE NEXT STEP, -- THE POSITIVE ACCEPTANCE OF DESEGREGATION AND THE GLAD WELCOMING AND FULL PARTIPATION OF NEGROES INTO THE TOTAL RANGE OF HUMAN ACTIVITIES.

THE PROGRAM

1. "An Analysis of the Ethical Demands of Integration in the South"
   Martin Luther King, Jr.

2. The presentation and discussion of three especially prepared studies:

   1. "The Public Schools in Charlottesville, Va."
      by Paul Gaston and Tom Hammond,
      University of Virginia

   2. "Equal Employment in Greensboro, N.C."
      by Sarah Herbin and Tartt Bell,
      American Friends Service Committee

   3. "The Role of Religion in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta"
      by Samuel Williams, Morehouse College

3. "Observations and Insights", James McBride Dabbs pres. at NAACP

THE PLACE Nashville, Tennessee

ENTERTAINMENT Holiday Inn, Room (two in a room) $22.00
Meals - Breakfast - Holiday Inn
Lunch and Dinner - Vanderbilt University
Make reservations through Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

THE TIME Beginning Thursday afternoon, December 27th, 1962
Ending Saturday noon (lunch), December 29th, 1962

This consultation is arranged by the Southern Regional Council and the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. Some financial help is available if needed. For registration write Charles M. Jones, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Box 2, Chapel Hill, N.C. Registration: $2.00.

Planning group: Warren Ashby, Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., James McBride Dabbs, Julius T. Douglas, Leslie Dunbar, Jean Fairfax, J. C. Herrin, Neal Hughley, Charles M. Jones, Martin Luther King, Jr., Herman H. Long, Benjamin Mays, Nelle Morton, Anne Queen.

PAN
MA-file

FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
P. O. Box 2
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

December 18-

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsythe St. N.E.
Atlanta 3,
Georgia.

Dear Les,

This ought to be the last letter on this project!

Sam Williams called and says he is sending his study to Herman. This takes care of all the studies.

A few days ago Herman phoned me what he hoped was the final program data. He has you down to chair the session when the Charlottesville School study will be presented. Two inquirers will follow the presentation raising questions and making comments. After them the group will do its work.

Registrations continue to come in,--108 to date--with every state in the South represented except Texas.

Two things are yet unsettled: 1) someone to deal with the press, and 2) something or someone in the way of recording what goes on in the discussions. I note Mrs. Albright is going to be there. Were you taking her along to do this for you? In the letters of persons unable to come are a large number asking for some results. Maybe there will be none but if there should be we ought to get them. Could or would Mrs. Albright do this. A tape-recorder could get the presentations but it seems pretty inefficient in getting audience questions and comments.

Herman called and said Anne Braden had read the news stories and wondered if they could come. She seemed to have an idea it might be off-limits for them. I wrote them and told them we were not having representatives from organizations to present organization points of view or programs but the consultation would be made up of individuals representing only themselves and we would not exclude them, they would be welcome. I also pointed out we were not discussing desegregation but the establishment of good relationships when some desegregation is achieved.

Do you know Gil Rowland,-ex newsman, working on Field money in S.C.? He has been suggested as news handler but I do not know him. He has been invited to come but as yet I have

Not heard from him. If you know him and think he would serve well in this capacity I will call him. An Air Mail letter soon after you get this will reach me by Thursday or Friday.

I have decided what I want Santa to bring me,--a full year without conferences or consultations.

Sincerely,

Charles